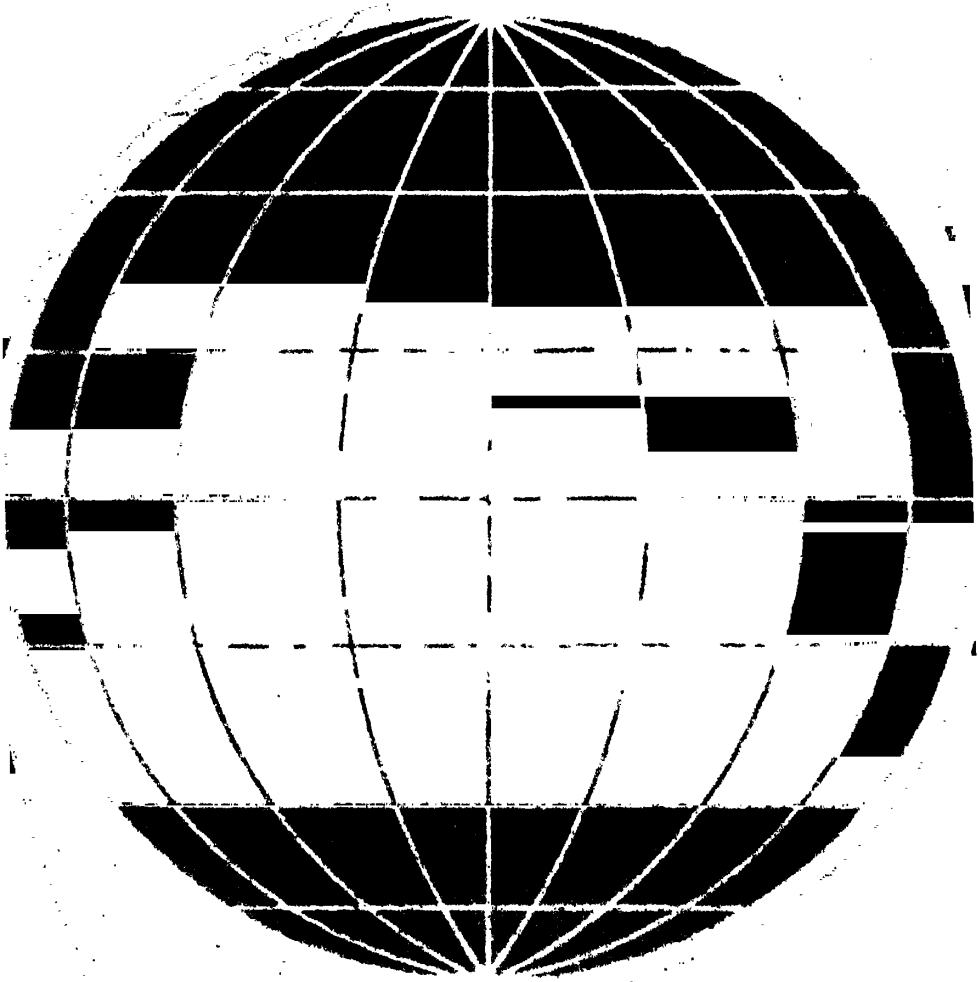


PROBLEMS
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PEACE
AND
SOCIALISM

Vol. IV JANUARY 1976 No. 1

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PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

Vol. IV FEBRUARY 1976 No. 2

COMMUNIST PARTY PUBLICATION

Price : Rs. 2/-

Editor: S. G. SARDESAI, M.P.

Printed at New Age Printing Press, 5 Rani Jhansi Road, New D
110055 by Pratul Lahiri and published by him from Ajoy Bha
Kotla Road, New Delhi 110002, for the Communist Party of In

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OF
PEACE
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SOCIALISM

ol. IV MARCH 1976 No. 3

COMMUNIST PARTY PUBLICATION

Price : Rs. 2/-

Editor : S. G. SARDESAI, M.P.

Printed at New Age Printing Press, 5 Rani Jhansi Road, New I
110055 by Pratul Lahiri and published by him from Ajoy Bha
Kotla Road, New Delhi 110002, for the Communist Party of I

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

Workers of All Lands, Unite

Vol. IV MARCH 1976 No. 3

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Statement about ownership and other particulars about newspaper P... of Peace and Socialism.

FORM IV
(see rule 8)

1.	Place of publication:	New Delhi
2.	Periodicity of its publication :	Monthly
3.	Printer's name :	Pratul Lahiri
	Whether Citizen of India :	Yes
	Address :	15, Ajoy Bhavan, Kotla Marg, New Delhi 2
4.	Publisher's name :	Pratul Lahiri
	Whether Citizen of India :	Yes
	Address :	15, Ajoy Bhavan, Kotla Marg, New Delhi 2
5.	Editor's name :	S. G. Sardesai M.P.
	Whether Citizen of India :	Yes
	Address :	12 E Feroze Shah Rd., New Delhi
6.	Name and address of individual who own the newspaper and partners or shareholders holding more than one per cent of the capital	Communist Party of India, Ajoy Bhavan, 15, Kotla Road, New Delhi-2

I, Pratul Lahiri, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Dt. 1.3.76

Pratul Lahiri
Signature of Publisher

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

Vol IV APRIL 1976 No. 4

COMMUNIST PARTY PUBLICATION

Workers of All Lands Unite!

Price: Rs. 2/-

Editor: S. G. SARDESAI, M.P.

Printed by Pratul Lahiri at New Age Printing Press, Rani Jhansi R
New Delhi 110055, and published by him from Ajoy Bh
Kotla Road, New Delhi 110002, for the Communist Party of I

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PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

Vol. IV | May 1976 | No. 5

COMMUNIST PARTY PUBLICATION

Workers of All Lands Unite!

Price : Rs. 2.00

Editor : S. G. Sardesai

Printed by Pratul Lahiri at New Age Printing Press, Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi 110055, and published by him from Ajoy Bhavan, Kotla Road, New Delhi 110002, for the Communist Party of India.

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PROBLEMS
OF
PEACE
AND
SOCIALISM

Vol. IV June 1976 No. 6

COMMUNIST PARTY PUBLICATION

Price : *Rs. 2.00*

Editor : S. G. SARDESAI

Printed by Pratul Lahiri at New Age Printing Press, Rani Jhansi Road New Delhi 110055, and published by him from Ajoy Bhavan. Kotla Road, New Delhi 110002, for the Communist Party of India.

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On the Dialectics of Peaceful Coexistence and Revolutionary Change

Rodney Arismendi

I

The Helsinki Conference can be compared to a bright star shining through the maze of complex and contradictory international relations of recent times. And though the Conference dealt with European problems, it consummated a historical period, ushered in a new stage in the development of relations throughout the world and exerted a substantial influence on them. The cold war, demands for frontier revision, brinkmanship and the "rolling back" of socialism, calls for a "preventive war" against the USSR and other socialist countries—these and other aspects of postwar imperialist activities are beginning to give way to the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different, mutually opposed social systems, and to detente on the basic aspects of international politics. It is probably true to say that this is the most important development in regulating relations between socialist and capitalist states since Yalta and Potsdam, since the difficult birth in San Francisco of the United Nations. All those momentous events differ from each other substantially, but they have one feature in common. Yalta, Potsdam and the birth of the UN were manifestations of far-reaching changes in the alignment of world forces following the defeat of German fascism by the peoples of the Soviet Union and other countries. These changes coincided with the beginning of a broad, multiform development of the world revolutionary process. Helsinki reflected the new qualitative changes in the alignment of forces in favour of socialism, democracy and national independence, i.e., the basic factors of universal peace.

Despite all the differences that surface in drawing historical parallels, it is not fortuitous that we mention Yalta, Potsdam and the emergence of

the UN in its present juridical status. For they were all the result of the collapse of the monstrous counter-revolutionary attempts by imperialism to use German fascism as a shock force to turn back the wheels of history to the times before 1917, and ward off for many years—for centuries perhaps—the "spectre of socialism". We often emphasise that the victory over German fascism is tantamount to a great socio-political revolution and a profound ideological upheaval. The emergence of the socialist system, disintegration of colonial empires, the enhanced role of the proletariat, the expansion and growth of the world communist movement and the various democratic forces supporting socialism or influenced by it—all this reflects not only the new social and political geography, but also the main content of our epoch. Hard-felt setbacks, clashes, mistakes, vacillation or deviations in one or another revolutionary process—even the tragic and destructive position of the Chinese leadership towards the socialist countries and the world communist movement—could not halt the main trend of our times.

Despite its restricted geographical scope, the Helsinki conference is fresh proof of the defeats sustained by imperialism over the past 30 years. *First*, it shows up the failure of its attempts to liquidate the positive results of the great anti-fascist war, reduce the zone of socialism, prevent the advance of national-liberation movements, remove from the political struggle or bring under its tutelage the proletariat of the capitalist countries, expel Marxism-Leninism from the ideological sphere as a rebel angel driven out of paradise. *Second*, it reveals the crisis of imperialist, particularly US, global strategy, failure of plans for a nuclear war against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and all manner of counter-revolutionary wars against the national-liberation movements and the progressive democratic forces. The cold war brought into being a whole system of aggressive organisations, NATO, OAS, SEATO and many more whose sinister activity was felt in every part of the world, with numerous acts of aggression, local wars, military plots and provocations, from Korea to Berlin, from Cuba to Vietnam, from the Congo to Algeria or the Middle East...

Nonetheless, there has been the steady strengthening of the world's anti-imperialist front and of the broad peace movement associated with it, in which are united even social strata that do not come out against the foundations of capitalism.

The positions of the capitalist world system have weakened in the social, political and ideological spheres, and even in terms of geography. The present deepening of the crisis of the capitalist system and the concomitant crisis developments (some researchers consider this the beginning of the fourth stage of the crisis) are due both to the sharpening of capitalism's internal contradictions and to the successes of the revolutionary, socialist, democratic, and national-liberation forces.

Despite individual and temporary successes of its aggressive counter-

revolutionary policy, imperialism has been dealt shattering blows and has sustained major military defeats. The epic history of the Vietnamese and other Indochina peoples is a symbol of our times and an eloquent political lesson. For it lays bare the aggressive essence of imperialism, and demonstrates its inability easily to impose its will on the peoples in the present conditions of history.

The successes and qualitative changes produced by peaceful coexistence and detente are based primarily on the all-round development of the world revolutionary process: the social, economic and cultural development of the USSR and other countries of the socialist community, the growth of their international influence and military potential, the changed political map of the world resulting from the collapse of colonial empires and the upsurge of the national-liberation movement, the enhanced role of the proletariat of the capitalist countries and of the supreme champion of its interests, the Communist parties.

II

The changing relation of forces implies more than a comparison of the military means and potentialities of the principal socialist and capitalist powers, though this too, of course, is a factor of immense importance. We should consider also the historical, economic, social, political, military and ideological aspects.

Historically, socialism was stronger than capitalism already in the very first days after the October Revolution, but it was not yet stronger militarily. And to survive, it had to consent to such "shameful" treaties as the Brest-Litovsk Peace. What in those days was no more than a historical perspective, achievable through dialectical struggle between the obsolescent and revolutionary, is today, as Lenin had foreseen, embodied in the might of the Soviet Union and the socialist system, in the development of the world socialist revolution and of the revolutionary process, and in the successive stages of the deepening crisis of the capitalist system. Socialism has already proved its social and historical superiority over capitalism in all the main criteria.

The ideological role of Marxism-Leninism in the second decade of the 20th century was, potentially, much greater than the political opportunities open to the international communist movement. In his *"Left"-wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder* Lenin posed, by way of discussion, the great task of converting the Communist parties into an effective political force. Today Marxism-Leninism inspires hundreds of millions in the socialist and capitalist countries and exerts an influence on world scientific thought and research. It has become the axis of progressive trends anxious to find solutions for the problems of the socio-political and scientific-technical revolutions taking place in the world of today. And Marxism-Leninism is

being enriched by new achievements resulting from its continuous theoretical development.

Speaking of the political aspect, the Communist parties are in power in the socialist countries, while in capitalist states they are fighting a multifold struggle, rallying tens of millions of people and seeking to win a decisive influence over the majority of the nation. In sum, on the international plane they constitute an *effective political force*. On the national plane, the Communist parties are prominent on the political scene even of the more "exotic" regions of the world. They vary, some of them being very strong while others have less weight and lesser members. But the main characteristic of the movement as a whole is a state of general uplift.

The changes in the relation of forces between the victorious and developing socialist revolution, a galaxy of revolutionary, democratic, anti-imperialist and other progressive movements, on the one hand, and capitalism in its imperialist phase, on the other, constitute a complex of dialectically interacting factors. And some of these—as sometimes in the case of the political and ideological struggle—may develop more slowly than the general cumulation of factors, which is objectively of a higher level.

Far be it from us to underestimate the military factors of big-time politics. That would be vulgar pacifism. Yet we do want to stress that the role of political and ideological factors as such, and particularly that of ideological struggle, is rising. In the conditions of international detente the ideological struggle will grow in intensity. It reflects the continuous and bitter class struggle which unfolds on the international plane mainly in the form of the peaceful coexistence of socialist and capitalist states. On the national plane its forms derive from concrete political tactics, the actions and experience of the masses, materialising in a drive for socialist-oriented democratic change in some capitalist states, and in democratic, anti-imperialist actions in others, depending on the stage of the revolutionary process.

Here are a few examples of the dialectical connection between the growing involvement of the masses in a sphere where in the past capitalist governments transacted diplomatic deals and pursued all kinds of intrigues, and the qualitative change of the relation of forces in socialism's favour. Take the period since the Stockholm Appeal for the banning of atomic weapons up to the present concrete Soviet proposals for banning nuclear tests and limiting armaments with the long-term perspective of an over-all ban on means of mass annihilation. On the other hand, given the present relation of forces, need we emphasise the international political impact of the campaign for solidarity with Vietnam or Cuba, with the Palestinian or other Arab peoples, or the campaigns condemning fascism in Spain, Chile, Uruguay, Brazil and other Latin American countries? Or could anyone underrate the ideological and political significance for the world revolutionary movement of the popularisation of the achievements of the Soviet Union

and the socialist community? Socialism's competition with capitalism—comparison of the character and rates of their social, economic and cultural growth, and also of the class content of their policy—is a form of struggle and cooperation for universal peace, for links with the peoples fighting for freedom, and support for all progressive movements. The revolutionary political and ideological force of example is visibly greater in the present stage of the building of developed socialism and communism, of socialist economic integration. Doubly so today, when the crisis is exposing the rot of the capitalist system. For us solidarity with the socialist countries is not only an international duty, but also a potential factor for the ideological and political invigoration of the proletariat and other democratic and anti-imperialist forces.

These examples may not give a conclusive idea of the conception as a whole, but are essentially valid. To cite Marx, ideas become a material force when they take possession of the masses.

III

The role of the masses in international and national matters acquires a higher quality at times of profound historical flux. And in the epoch of the world's revolutionary transition to socialism, when the great variety of forms of revolutionary struggle erode the citadels of imperialism, decisive importance attaches to the *subjective factor,* which depends first and foremost on the working-class party's ability to perform its vanguard mission. This was and will always be a problem of the class and the masses, their experience, mobilisation, organisation and education. It also includes the crucial question of allies, and of the scale, durability and flexibility of the alliance. In the final count it is a question of power.

As I see it, the present international situation is increasingly favourable for introducing a concrete political content into the basic Marxist-Leninist ideas on strategy and tactics and for their implementation not only in the explicative educational sphere and propaganda, but primarily in the field *of actual politics* that gives birth to new events. In other words, the time seems to have come to determine in the society of each country the concrete political course that would today or in future establish the alternative of power and enable the working class, all revolutionary forces, and especially the Communist parties, to accumulate strength more rapidly. We are required to show creative political initiative in determining the decisive link referred to by Lenin, to open up and travel along the path of approach to socialism, to define the successive phases, the transitional factors, in line with the objective realities and concrete political processes.

The theoretical and political quesions relating to the links between the

democratic and socialist tasks have special practical significance and urgency. They have been enriched by the specific, often unusual, forms that the revolution assumed in the present conditions. This is due to the role of Communists as standard-bearers of freedom, democracy, national independence, and the economic, social and cultural development of their countries, and also to the search for, and elaboration of, concrete roads to socialism. Though these roads will not essentially depart from the time-tested general commonalities, their specificality is sure to increase. Because, as Lenin stressed, appearance is richer than law.

This is a reference to the variety of situations. The democratic and socialist alternative has already become a concrete aim in some developed capitalist countries. In others the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution and the socialist revolution can unfold as a single historical process either because the proletariat was at the head or can put itself at the head of the revolution from the very beginning, or because it became the hegemon as the revolution developed. There may even be cases such as that of Cuba, where revolutionary democrats inspired by socialist ideas and led by our hero, Fidel Castro, espoused Marxism-Leninism and merged in a single party with the old working-class party. To what extent will other revolutionary democrats active in a number of other regions be able, *mutatis mutandis*, to reproduce this original experience?

But there are still more peculiar questions and themes. The variety of situations created by the scale and diversity of the world revolutionary process is truly kaleidoscopic. Take the complicated and essentially long non-capitalist road of a number of countries, or the problems related to the emergence of new "socialist-oriented" states. A whole spectrum of problems and unique situations arose with the establishment of many countries that will sooner or later have to determine their final orientation—socialist or capitalist. In some cases this will be done in conditions of millennial backwardness of the productive forces, with only an embryonic or weak proletariat and a large rural population, in setting of endless plots or neo-colonialist "temptations" dangled before them by imperialism. In many of these countries advocates of national reforms and national revolutionaries are already coming to grips over the country's choice of ways, with the latter often supported by the socialist-oriented leaders or organisations. The active solidarity displayed by the working class in the developed capitalist countries and by the communist movement, coupled with the support of countries of the socialist system, give this set of questions added significance. On the theoretical and political plane, these new situations give impulse to a still deeper creative development of Marxism-Leninism. We know that development is never arrow-straight. We have no idyllic illusions. The sharpness of the class and anti-imperialist struggle is evidence of the sharpness of the revolutionary processes.

In present-day conditions, it is logical to look forward to broader alliances and greater coincidence of views between the working class and other social strata in defending and winning democracy, combating colonialism and neocolonialism and fighting for genuine political and economic independence. This struggle is inseparable from the demand for the restitution of natural resources and the nationalisation of key industries. It is going on against the background of crisis in relations between imperialism and countries in vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In such cases, the struggle of the working class and other motive forces of the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution interlocks amid contradictions with a large-scale resistance in which the national-reformist or nationalist bourgeoisie plays the chief part. International organisations are formed to protect raw materials, oil, and so on. In Latin America, regional organisations are founded to the exclusion of imperialism or even against it. All this is evidence of a new international reality which raises tactical questons of national significance. In the political sphere, the establishment of fascism in some Latin American countries makes it our task to evolve an anti-fascist strategy in harmony with the fundamental struggle against imperialism and the oligarchy, the big bourgeoisie and the big landed proprietors, as the conference of the Communist parties of Latin America and the Caribbean (Havana. June 1975) stated in its highly significant declaration.

The difficult, bloody struggle going on in Latin America reflects certain crisis aspects of the present international situation. On the one hand, fascist regimes have been set up in some countries—complete with torture murder, economic, social and political repression, anti-Communist hysteria and subservience to imperialism—and there are seats of provocation whose existence runs counter to the general trend towards international detente. On the other hand, revolutionary processes are gathering momentum, the forces resisting imperialism are multiplying, trends towards democracy and political and economic self-determination are strengthening and the policy of peaceful coexistence is gaining ground. Many Latin American countries have established relations with Cuba. The imperialist blockade has been pierced. In spite of the hysterical stance of the dictatorial regimes of Uruguay, Chile, Brazil and some other countries the recent conference of army commanders of American states failed. Cuba as a member of the socialist community has become a factor for the cohesion of the forces resisting imperialism and of the countries upholding their patriotic demands. In Peru, power is in the hands of a national revolutionary government, Panama adheres to an explicitly anti-imperialist position, and there are similar trends in other countries whose governments advocate national reforms. But all this is based on the militancy and heroism of the working class and democratic forces, on the devoted struggle of fearless Communist parties.

A section of the middle strata that has joined the camp of the revolution—students, teachers, progressive intellectuals who, like military men of the same social origin, produce revolutionary democratic leaders from their ranks—plays an important part.

In the overall context of the situation, there is evidence of new phenomena in many countries. We mean favourable changes in the Catholic Church and other religious currents, and, on the other hand, the differentiation going on in the armed forces and the growing participation of the military in the peoples' patriotic, democratic and liberation struggle.

Conditions are also improving for the expansion and deepening of mass movements, specifically for political and trade union activity and for work with the Social Democrats, among whom left views are rising. The unity of Communists and Socialists and their cohesion with democratic parties and organisations are becoming more important than ever. There are also more favourable conditions now for defeating anti-Sovietism, anti-communism and other conceptions, such as *tercerism,*[1] which prejudice the revolutionary process.

Important problems of unity in every form are coming to the fore on the political scene. This is giving impulse to the parties' continued political, ideological and numerical growth.

To step up the international campaign in defence of political prisoners, for the release of Luis Corvalan, Antonio Maidana, Jaime Perez, Jose Luis Massera, Vladimir Turiansky, Alberto Altesor and thousands of other prisoners in Latin American countries, Spain, Indonesia and elsewhere, is the humanist duty of all internationalists and democrats.

In sum, we are in a period in which the national and the international, the patriotic and the internationalist, are inseparable in a setting of intense democratic, anti-imperialist and class struggles.

The sruggle to maintain peace and the peaceful coexistence of socialist and capitalist countries, consolidate detente promote it in the political and military fields and make it irreversible implies isolating the more intransigent militarists, eliminating seats of wars of aggression like the one in the Middle East, and isolating and stamping out hotbeds of fascism. These are primary, fundamental strategic and tactical problems whose solution would benefit the broadest social strata. They can also be solved by taking advantage of the ruling classes' internal contradictions. However, these tasks do not cover all of the future or immediate goals of the working class and other revolutionary forces.

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[1] Nationalist political current attacking both imperialist and socialist countries, both the United States and he Soviet Union.

IV

The dialectics of the developments, their breadth and depth, multiply their distinctive national international aspects. Development never stops. The big gains of the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence are indicative of the extraordinary scope of revolutionary processes. They are gathering unprecedented speed as they go deeper. This constitutes a great historic challenge to the political competence of the working class and its vanguard.

A fact we re-emphasise is that, more and more often, the solution of world problems involves the masses including social strata coming out against imperialist aggression, for peace and coexistence, and against fascism in some countries, against monopoly oligarchies and for democratic changes in others, and for political and economic independence in the so-called developing countries. Politically and ideologically, this struggle does not yet mean choosing between capitalism and socialism. In some cases this is due to political incomprehension, and in others to the class interests of definite social strata. However, the policy of socialism, apart from the overall significance of its example and aid, contributes objectively to the unification of heterogeneous and contradictory forces in line with its programme of struggle for peace, coexistence, independence and social progress. This is why the working class of a given country can use a wide range of coinciding points of view or of alliances for peace and democracy along with strengthening the basis, that is, the motive forces of the revolution. In this as in the revolutionary process as a whole, national and international factors closely condition each other.

Ever since nuclear weapons were devised and perfected, the substance of the problem has been to bring home the danger of destruction this poses for the greater part of mankind. Forecasts in this respect surpassed the imagination of even science fiction writers. This makes the comment that there were neither winners, nor losers at Helsinki particularly important. Only vicious madmen, the progeny of a moribund imperialism, only adventurers and political blackmailers, can walk the tightrope with a bomb in their hand, as in Chaplin's unforgettable film.

In these circumstances tremendous value attaches to the far-sighted peace policy of the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community, the powerful architects of international realities, both on the plane of international relations, of peaceful coexistence, and in strengthening socialism, the working class of capitalist countries and the national-liberation forces. They are the staunch standard-bearers of world peace and the motive force of the revolutionary process of today.

This policy calls for political vision and firmness of principle, which Lenin valued so greatly and which rule out any secret deals. The Peace Pro-

gramme approved by the 24th Congress of the CPSU and the initiatives put forward by L. I. Brezhnev, who heads the Central Committee of the CPSU have already proved it to be fruitful.

The realism of this policy has nothing in common with pragmatism. It embraces the broad, diverse problems of our time that fall within the concepts of peaceful coexistence and detente[2]; it also takes into account the totality of fundamental positions and obligations deriving from proletarian internationalism. This policy of peace is based on the building of socialism *and communism, defence of their gains, support of national-liberation movements and the interests of the international working class (whose victorious* vanguard is the socialist countries), and of *newly-liberated countries* and all forces of democracy. Hence it emphatically rejects export of counter-*revolution and the utopian notions of exporting revolution. Finally, that policy* applies a stubborn, patient struggle for strengthening the unity of the socialist countries and the world communist movement.

This theoretical and political approach harmoniously blends the present-day issue of peace and revolution.

V

Today, almost twenty years after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, and slightly less time since the international meetings of Communist and Workers' parties of 1957 and 1960 (which were followed up by the meeting of 1969), it is appropriate to recall and emphasise the unitarian and, simultaneously, many-faceted character of the analysis of world development and the prospects charted at the time. We do not forget the weaknesses and negative developments in our movement or strive to gloss them over. However, the correctness of the theoretical premises and political guidelines worked out at the time has been confirmed by experience.

The conclusions of the 20th CPSU Congress and the world communist movement were based on the changing correlations of world forces in the early 50s. They paved the way for a further creative and critical elaboration of the problems involved. They bring together the tremendously significant question of the socialist system's becoming a determining factor in the basic trends and features of contemporary development and the question of peaceful existence of states with different social systems in conditions when world war is not fatally inevitable; of the beginning of the third stage in the general crisis of capitalism; of the disintegration of the colonial system

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[2] Which imply not merely an absence of war, but cooperation in resolving issues arising from the internationalisation of economic, cultural, scientific, technological and other fields, which benefits the majority of mankind.

imperialism, and elevation of relations between the socialist system and the national-liberation movement, between the forces of democracy and socialism in the capitalist world to a qualitatively higher level. On the whole these conditions make for greater opportunities for the so-called peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism; for multiplying the approaches to socialism for the peoples engaged in national-liberation struggles and those who have already achieved victory and set up new and different nations; for potential transitional stages on the way to socialism in the developed capitalist countries.

Thus, the subjects of peace and coexistence are viewed in relation to the whole spectrum of the problems of socialism, national liberation and democracy. The struggle for democracy; development of the revolutionary process in various forms; the victories of Communist parties and their allies; the replacement of some monopoly and aggressive governments by progressive ones; popular-liberation revolutions and especially the defeat of neocolonialism; development of some countries along the non-capitalist road; the advent to power of revolutionary democrats, some of them socialist-oriented, etc.—all that is facilitated by a general global climate of peace; therein are rooted the factors contributing to peaceful coexistence and world peace. For example, the greatest contribution towards the establishment of peace in Latin America was the victory of the Cuban revolution, the dawn of socialism on the continent, the beginning of a new revolutionary period of continental proportions. Nor is this contradicted by the fact that US imperialism had embarked on aggressive moves against the island of freedom, moves which endangered world peace and provoked the so-called Caribbean crisis. The historic defeat of imperialism in Korea, the triumph of Cuba (not as a conseqeunce of world war), the achievements of the GDR, and the brilliant victory on the Vietnam front: these are decisive landmarks in the dialectic interconnection between coexistence and revolution, between peace and national liberation. They are proof that there is no geographic or any other predestination, that situations like the Chilean tragedy are not inevitable. Socialism can stand its ground in Latin America as well as in other "dangerous" regions, but of course, it will be accompanied by fierce attacks and conspiracies on the part of imperialism and bourgeois-landlord oligarchies, by stubborn class struggles. In itself the Chilean experience does not refute predictions of the possibility, in some cases and in certain circumstances, of transition to socialism without armed insurrection and civil war. In some countries detente and the changing correlation of world forces may facilitate this, provided an approach to revolution precluding civil war is found, and the issue of power and dismantling the military-bureaucratic state machine is settled.

Practical developments during this period have refuted some unfounded concepts regarding the interaction of factors of the world revolutionary pro-

cess, and attempts to make an absolute of one factor or another. They have also refuted the idyllic views of those who forgot, or at the very least ignored, the beastly essence of imperialism and the fundamental thesis of the Communist Manifesto that class struggle is the motive force of history. No exploiter class will go to its grave voluntarily. The most advanced movement of our epoch, especially when its actions body forth in such political categories as detente, influences the situation in individual countries and becomes a catalyst of national prospects. But what would become of us if we forgot Lenin's axiom that revolution breeds counter-revolution, and vice versa! The living example of Portugal demonstrates how the counter-revolutionary quagmire begins to seethe both internationally and nationally, and how the Social Democratic leadership repeats history when the peoples enter the struggle for their future.

Although the historically positive changes on the world arena are favourable for the revolution in some countries, they also aggravate the internal contradictions of the capitalist system and may be accompanied by increasing aggressiveness of the imperialists and local exploiters. More, these achievements may give rise to pre-emptive or retaliatory, but nonetheless real, counter-revolutionary actions, which may prove temporarily successful in different parts of the globe. Imperialism knows no moral restraints in its brutality, as the experience of Vietnam, in particular, indicates. The recent crimes of Francoism and resurgence of fascism in some Latin American countries, with the blessing of US imperialism, are instructive facts, if only because they involve Hitler methods of mass torture and annihilation of active members of patriotic, democratic and anti-imperialist movements, especially Communists. Chile, Brazil, Guatemala, Haiti, Uruguay, Paraguay and other Latin American countries, as well as Spain and South Africa, are proof that to consolidate international detente it is necessary to isolate and wipe out fascism. This, in turn, will help isolate the opponents of detente, and most aggressive imperialist circles.

The realities of our time have totally refuted the metaphysical views of the Chinese leaders and ultra-leftist groups that there exists a contradiction between peaceful coexistence and world revolution, between peace agreements involving the main capitalist and socialist powrs and national-liberation movements. The Chinese leadors spread the concoctions of the supporters of tercerism about "spheres of influence". Some Chinese "critics", like the most rabidly militant imperiailst circles, openly advocate a continuation of the cold war. They insist on the US imperialist presence in Europe, Asia and Latin America and most significantly, embrace the blood-stained fascist Pinochet. All this is an atmosphere of vicious anti-Sovietism and attacks against the world Communist movement.

But despite all these efforts the policy of peaceful coexistence, the cause

of world peace are making headway, and the revolutionary process is advancing all along the line.

Today the miraculous has become commonplace. Science has enabled man to reach other planets and penetrate the inexhaustible mysteries of matter. But our era will go down in history primarily as the era of the socialist, national-liberation, humanitarian revolution, begun in 1917. Since then the working class, which is at the hub of the struggle, has been holding firmly and unswervingly aloft the banner of peace and revolution. In the years to come it will be raised still higher. The working class will carry it on to complete victory.

Science and Communism

Sergei Trapeznikov

A noteworthy feature of our epoch is the unprecedentedly rapid development of the creative forces of science on the solid basis of growing productive forces and the tremendous intellectual potential. Never before has the scope of science been so immense, nor has it ever had to play so great a role as now, in the age of the decline of capitalism and the transition to socialism, the age of building communist society.

The rise and progress of Marxism-Leninism and its entry into the sphere of social struggles led off a radical transformation of the world, and this also changed the standing and role of science. Man's genius, embodied in remarkable achievements, extends the horizons of knowledge from century to century. The history of civilisation is also a record of the increasing power of science, of its ability to encompass a widening range of realities, delve deeper into the mysteries of nature and the objective laws of social development, and exert an increasing influence on material, social and spiritual processes.

Soviet scientists are dedicated to the transformation of life on socialist and communist principles. A fundamental advantage of Soviet science is that it is inseparable from the cause of building the new society.

"Socialism and science are inseparable and this is one of the reasons for the victory of socialism," said L. I. Brezhnev, addressing the Soviet Academy of Sciences on its 250th anniversary on October 7, 1975. "Socialism alone has made it possible to use the achievements of science in the people's interest, to bring out the creative potentialities and abilities which every people has in abundance. And it is only with the aid of the latest achievements of the natural and social sciences that socialism and communism can be successfully built."*

Thanks to Soviet power new contingents of scientists have come from the

ranks of our working class and peasantry. It organised or extended research facilities in both traditional cultural centres and in many remote regions, in new industrial and agricultural areas. As a result, Soviet science has scaled great heights and played an invaluable part in transforming the country into a highly developed power with a vast material and spiritual potential, which held its ground in the battle with fascism. The achievements of Soviet science are widely known. It holds first place in many key spheres of knowledge and has won world-wide recognition.

The Academy of Sciences of the USSR, founded 250 years ago, may be described as the general headquarters of Soviet science and is rightly considered a centre of advanced scientific thought. Its branches in the Union republics have long since become independent academies staffed with highly competent personnel. The scope of Soviet science is measurable by the research institutes operating in the material production sphere—industry, construction and agriculture—as well as institutions of higher learning scattered all over the country. As the 25th Congress of the CPSU draws near, our scientists, along with the whole people, are adding to their achievements in building communism, the highest and most perfect type of society.

Mankind has entered the historic period of a farreaching scientific and technological revolution accompanied by deep-going changes in production and in public life. Each new major victory of science adds to its influence on the life of society and enhances its role in speeding technological and social progress. And while this is not the first time that society has effected important changes in science and technology, never before have these changes been so great as now.

Science is increasingly establishing itself as a mighty productive force. "If the production process is becoming an *application of science*," Marx wrote, "then, by the same token, science is becoming a factor, or a function so to speak, of the production process." This forecast is absolutely true, for research is becoming more and more meaningful under socialism, helping to discover new possibilities of furthering technological progress, greatly increasing output, raising labour productivity and steadily improving the people's living and cultural standards.

Soviet natural scientists have done much to develop the productive forces, strengthen the defences of the Soviet Union, subdue the forces of nature and build the material and technical basis for socialism and communism.

Soviet scholars, primarily those concerned with the social sciences, have played an important role in generalising the experience of socialist construction, educating the new man and moulding the people's communist world outlook.

The laws of science and its development trends are now more or less fully understood. Today, one can no longer speak of science in general; one must distinguish its two principal aspects: (1) fundamental research, and (2)

applied research. Until recently the functions of these two lines were not distinctly demarcated and they coexisted under one roof, as it were. Now each has its own independent function.

Fundamental research, or so-called "pure science", does not always reveal its great power and magnificance; for a time they exist only in laboratory experiments. Therefore it needs much solicitude, time and patience. But as soon as it appears on the surface of social development, laying bare its secrets, mankind becomes aware of its greatness and the compelling force of its progress.

Applied research is always in action and hence "visible". Precisely because it develops in the material production sphere proper, its results are evident and tangible. Applied research materialises theory, speeds the use of discoveries in the production sphere and contributes thereby to scientific and technological progress. Yet for all its fruitfulness, primacy must go to fundamental research.

The two lines of research are intimately interconnected, of course, but there are clear distinctions between them. Fundamental research paves the way for the advance of the scientific and technological revolution. It has done so in the past and plays the same revolutionising role today. This means that if we want to win the scientific and technological competition with the capitalist world, we must continue to give primacy to fundamental research and its close connection with applied research and material production.

It can be said that the essence of our advance to communism consists in transforming every aspect of the life of Soviet society through the use of the latest achievements of science and technology. Accordingly, the 24th Congress of the CPSU set the historic task of organically linking the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system, and giving more scope for the inherently socialist forms of linking science with production.

It is hard at the moment to fully visualise the vast prospects lying immediately ahead for science in socialist society. The time is not far off when science will unravel many new mysteries of nature, helping people to get rid of now deadly diseases, raise the overall standard of their health, greatly increase productivity in agriculture and provide ample supplies of high-quality food and raw materials.

By discovering and using new sources of energy and synthetic materials, by extending automation and mechanisation and transforming transport and communications, science will make labour substantially lighter in our society, so that it will become ever more creative as man's highest requirement. The prospecting and utilisation of natural resources will be further intensified. Space achievements will serve the people's needs. There will be full protection for the natural environment. Man the master and friend of

nature and creator of society, will become still more powerful thanks to science.

Increasingly strong links between science and production and the fact that science is manifestly becoming a direct productive force have seriously shaken or even demolished the opinion that science and its benefits are separated by a great distance. However, it would be wrong to go to the other extreme and exaggerate the utilitarian significance of science to the detriment of theory.

Analysis of the relationship between science and socialist production in conditions of the current scientific and technological revolution reveals the following aspects of the problem:

First, the latest scientific discoveries have made it possible to evolve more perfect technologies, bring into being whole new industries and new forms of material production. The retooling of every industry on the basis of scientific achievements is changing the nature of labour, raising its standard and making it more productive. In turn, the development of production confronts science with new concrete tasks. This mutual enrichment of science and production is becoming part of man's effort to influence nature and constitutes a characteristic of the scientific and technological revolution.

Second, this revolution greatly reduces the time required for putting scientific achievements to use. Whereas the development of photography following the discovery of its principles required more than a hundred years, the telephone over fifty years and the radio more than three decades, it took only fifteen years to translate the idea of radar into reality and as for the principles of television, the transistor and integrated circuits, they only required twelve, five and three years respectively. The time separating research and designing from application in becoming progressively shorter. Prompt utilisation of the gains of science is a key condition for the progress of production and the life of society as a whole.

Third, research is penetrating the material production sphere more and more. There are more and more industrial and agricultural laboratories and institutes and the proportion of scientific workers and experts is growing in every economic field. Science is becoming accessible to a growing number of working people, the main productive force of society. Increasingly close links between science and production make for more rapid scientific and technological progress.

Fourth, the interaction of sciences, especially those that earlier were either unconnected or maintained only tenuous contacts with each other, is increasing. The power of science multiplies due to the mutual influence and interpenetration of many of its branches—an inevitable result of the interconnection of natural phenomena, of the oneness of the material world.

Fifth, science is advancing at every level of government and economic management. The Communist Party has put the management of social and

economic processes, on a solid scientific basis. This is a key law of social development under socialism. The need to evolve and widely use scientific methods in economic management heightens the role and responsibility of scientists.

Sixth, the scientific and technological revolution is turning science into an active component of material and spiritual culture. It has changed the nature of production and is helping to perfect social relations. This expresses itself, first of all, in the changed character of social labour. Overall mechanisation and automation is increasingly making labour in industry and agriculture a variety of the labour of engineers and technicians. Among the major problems of social development that are in the process of solution are the elimination of essential distinctions between town and country, between workers by brain and workers by hand, between workers and peasants, and the development of all Soviet citizens into members of a classless, communist society. It is on these lines that the social structure of Soviet society is advancing.

In an antagonistic society based on exploitation, the results and effects of the scientific and technological revolution are most contradictory and multiply the negative aspects of capitalist production. By contrast, socialist transformation of social relations makes scientific and technological progress a planned and controlled process whose ultimate object is the good of society as a whole, the good of its every member and the all-round development of the individual. Lenin said that "socialism alone will liberate science from its bourgeois fetters, from its enslavement to capital, from its slavery to the interests of dirty capitalist greed". (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 37, p. 411).

Socialism has made it possible to achieve a rate of progress enabling the Soviet Union to score scientific and technological achievements that amaze the world. Due to its rapid advance in science and technology, our country pioneered the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, reached outer space for the first time in human history, put the economy on up-to-date scientific and technological foundations, promoted education and culture on a vast revolutionary scale and trained numerous specialists and every industry.

Under socialism, scientific and technological progress is the concern of the whole people, an object of constant attention by the Party and the government, a decisive sector of the struggle for communism. The Soviet people spare neither energies nor funds for the progress of science. Scientists can always rely on the full support of the people, the Party and the government.

Steady scientific and technological progress is only one aspect of the matter. The other aspect is that this progress is not isolated from the life of society, nor has ever been, and is closely linked with social progress.

The founders of scientific communism were the first to prove the inherent connection between scientific and social progress. They also realised that scientific and technological revolutions contribute to the awakening and formation of the social and political forces that are bound to execute the sentence justly passed by history on capitalism, to deliver mankind from slavery and violence.

This is confirmed by the facts. There is only one class in the world, the working class, which, with the support of all progressive forces, can make technological progress serve social progress, the cause of freeing the working people from exploitation and establishment. At the same time, as Engels wrote, "the more ruthlessly and disinterestedly science proceeds, the more it finds itself in harmony with the interests and aspirations of the workers". The working class remains the most organised, the most revolutionary and the victorious class.

History has shown that the major scientific and technological revolutions were levers of social revolutions. And social revolutions have always been a great catalyst of scientific and technological progress and far-reaching changes in society.

The *first* scientific and technological revolution, brought about through the use of steam for energy, revolutionised the economic basis of bourgeois society in some European countries while in others it speeded the development of bourgeois revolutions which culminated in the downfall of feudalism and the establishment of bourgeois rule. At the same time the revolution in the socio-economic basis gave rise to a new class, the proletariat, the most powerful class and the gravedigger of capitalism.

The *second* scientific and technological revolution, based on electric power, in the imperialist epoch made for the maturing of the material prerequisites of a world-wide social revolution of the socialist type. It became a powerful catalyst of the development of socialist relations of production, first in one country and then in other countries of the world, in which the working class successfully carried out its liberating mission.

Now mankind is in the period of the *third* and most powerful scientific and technological revolution based on atomic energy and comprehensive automation. It may be said to have developed on the basis of its predecessors and brought about unprecedented economic, social and political changes in the life of society by logically carrying forward the general trends of scientific progress. This revolution will undoubtedly accelerate transformative social processes on every continent that will result in the complete and undivided victory of socialism on a world scale.

History also shows that where technological progress is not accompanied by social progress, it is lopsided, makes no gains and peters out. And where technological progress is combined with social progress, science and

society make rapid headway. Let us take a look at some aspects of the current scientific and technological revolution and its connection with social processes.

One of the characteristics of the technological revolution of today is that it is taking place in the period of revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism. It has strengthened the socialist world system. Democratic liberation movements have developed in every part of the globe. The colonial system of capitalism has fallen apart. We are, in effect, witnessing a gigantic movement of the peoples for their national, social and economic emancipation from capitalist domination. In line with the logic of dialectics we are certain that socialism will triumph through the use of the achievements of the present scientific and technological revolution .

Another characteristic. In a way, the scientific and technological revolution is at the centre of the struggle between the two world systems—socialist and capitalist. Its results and consequences are, therefore, a double-edged weapon—used by the forces of progress in the interest of civilisation and prosperity, and by reaction for the evil purpose of coersion and destruction. This is why the clash over the scientific and technological revolution is so acute, bringing out the close connection between technological and social progress.

The scientific and technological revolution is all-embracing. Previous scientific and technical breakthroughs concerned just specific fields of science and technology. The present one reaches into all fields of science and technology, into production, and into the social and cultural spheres. And every new discovery adds velocity to technological progress.

Hence, scientific and technological progress will not be meaningful unless it goes hand in hand with social progress. Merging in one great process, both stimulate the movement of millions of workers, farmers and intellectuals on all continents.

Here is the most distinctive feature of Lenin's party: not only does it scientifically conceptualise what it is doing, but it also does what it scientifically conceptualises. It relies consistently on Marxist-Leninist theory, which enables it to foresee the social processes and direct the country's creative energy to conform with the objective laws and the interests of the people. This assures planned and harmonious progress towards communism in all areas of society. No Communist should ever forget that there cannot be communist construction without Marxist-Leninist theory. In its absence the advance to communism would entail grave misfortunes and blunder off the correct path with dire consequences. This is why our Party devotes close attention to Marxist-Leninist theory and social science.

Soviet social science has made substantial advances in recent years. Its achievements are linked with the general uplift of the Party's theoretical

...ity. The documents of the 24th CPSU Congress, the subsequent Cen... Committee plenums and the decisions of the CC CPSU sum up the rich ...rience of the Soviet people building socialism and communism and ...ain a deep-going analysis of the world revolutionary process. This is ...ence of the Party's ideological vitality, of the immense importance it ...ches to developing revolutionary theory in the presentday conditions.

...or all its specific qualities, social science, like the natural, has two types ...esearch—fundamental and applied. These are neither opposed to each ...r, nor identical.

...t will be recalled that Marx, Engels and Lenin attached great signi...nce to fundamental research and warned against shallow-brained ...icism and one-sided practicism, against thoughtless subordination to ...arbitrary course of events and to irresponsible subjectivism and volun...ism. "Anybody who tackles partial problems without having previously ...ed general problems," wrote Lenin, "will inevitably and at every step ...e up against those general problems without himself realising it. To ...e up against them blindly in every individual case means to doom one's ...tics to the worst vacillation and lack of principle" (Vol. 12, p. 489).

...esolution of the fundamental problems of social science assures a fruit... link between science and practice and provides an effective methodologi... basis for applied research. Fundamental social research produces new ..., new and enduring judgements.

...t is universally accepted that for research to be successful it must treat ...ral and social science as a unity. Acting on this postulate, willed by ...n, the CPSU promotes the alliance of natural scientists and Marxist ...al scientists, based first and foremost on their common ideology, metho...ogy and aims, and the increasing need for joint comprehensive research ... scientists of many different fields. Based on Marxism-Leninism, the ...nic complex of social and natural sciences secures theoretical and prac... solutions for all the vital problems of mature and developed socialism ... its growth into communism.

...ut we must also remember that the scale and depth of the present-day ...ectives set new demands in the theoretical field and necessitate further ...th of social sciences. The usefulness of research, its practical value, ...ends mainly on the scientist's fidelity to the Marxist-Leninist metho...gy. This shows the importance of the philosophico-ideological and ...hodological function of social sciences. The slightest neglect of scientific ...odology is liable to impair the results of research, detract from their ...logical value, and sometimes even open the doors to alien views and ...ceptions.

Marxist-Leninist social science, the communist ideology, is the result ... of abstract mental exercise, but of analysis and generalisation of many

centuries of human thought, culture, revolutionary practice, and of the experience of the masses. Their organic unity is a mighty stimulus for the further creative development of all the three components of Marxism-Leninism—philosophy, political economy, and scientific communism.

Below are the methodological aspects of the creative development of social science in the present conditions (important for understanding the increasing role of the Party's theoretical activity).

As in all modern cognition, there are two convergent and objective processes in social science: *differentiation* of knowledge, or appearance of new directions of research, on the one hand, and *integration* of knowledge, or pooling of different sciences to solve comprehensive problems, and the resulting interaction and interpenetration of methods and approaches, on the other. And in our scientifically administered society we do not want either of these tendencies to run their course without control. The new trends in research, represented by large scientific collectives, should always have a definite purpose. In some cases the projects may be tied to vital needs, with chiefly propaganda or, as some say, applied value. In other cases they may involve deep-going, long and fundamental investigations of long-term relevance. It is important to secure this harmony to proportions in all social science research.

The most effective criteria of the role of social science in our socialist society are its academic fidelity, substantiation in theory, purity of its Marxist-Leninist quality, intolerance to even a hint of vacillation or conciliation with the bourgeois, right-opportunist or "left" adventurist ideology. This is why the question of the scientist's responsibility and integrity is of such cardinal importance. The responsibility he bears is great, for it contains ideological, philosophical and political elements.

Social science resting on the Marxist-Leninist theoretical foundation is in substance an *exact science*. When dialectical and historical materialism came into the world, social science acquired a dependable methodological basis and essentially became just as exact as natural science. They have the same principles and laws of development, and their investigative instrumentarium is increasingly enriched with mathematical methods and modern technical accessories, notably computers. Hence, strictly speaking, the division of science into exact and inexact has become meaningless.

The emergence of the communist social-economic formation creates enormous new problems for the entire theoretical front. The substantive changes in the modern world call for deep-going study and class analysis, thorough investigation by theorists, and for an invigoration of the ideological offensive against our adversaries.

The more consistently the party principle is followed in science, the CPSU holds, the more accurate, deep and comprehensive will be the knowledge gained. And the more conclusive and rich the knowledge gained, the

more it will conform with the interests of the Party, the workers and all other working people. The party and class principle has deep scientific significance and interminate validity. And our scientists see their duty in committing all the power and might of Marxism-Leninism against their ideological opponents, in fighting for the triumph of communist ideals, for minds and hearts.

Real science is in essence profoundly revolutionary and transformative. Its essential purpose is to facilitate mankind's progressive development. "Science was for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force," Frederick Engels said in his speech at the graveside of Karl Marx. "However great the joy with which he welcomed a new discovery in some theoretical science whose practical application perhaps it was as yet quite impossible to envisage, he experienced quite another kind of joy when the discovery involved immediate revolutionary changes in history, and in historical development in general."

The call for social progress echoes across all the continents. It is sought by millions upon millions of workers, farmers, all the oppressed masses. This means that the bourgeois system has become unacceptable, that its economic and political system is discredited, that the masses are not content with the specious and hypocritical promise of bourgeois democracy, on the one hand, and that there is a search for the road to socialism, the more just social system, on the other. It is therefore the cardinal purpose of progressive scientific thought to help the revolutionary forces find the right way, the right means and methods, to the cherished aim—the worldwide victory of socialism.

By revolutionising and socialising the production process, the capitalist mode of production has already created the material and technical conditions for socialism. In the world-historical context, the productive forces, and the scientific and technological revolution as such, have gone far beyond the capitalist framework and provide ample evidence that society is ripe for socialism. In the eyes of the peoples the fusion of monopoly capital with the state has discredited both the economic basis of the bourgeois system and its political superstructure. Briefly, capitalism as a socio-economic system has outlived its time.

It must be remembered, however, that the existence of objective material conditions for socialism does not by itself secure capitalism's conversion into socialism. Capitalism does not collapse automatically. Neither does socialism come by itself. Noting the existence of socialism's material preconditions in the imperialist epoch, Lenin stressed that capitalism would not die a natural death, that its decay might drag out in the absence of the subjective factor, of revolutionary action by the working class and the masses headed by the Marxist party. Given active mass support and leadership of

a genuinely revolutionary party, none but the working class can ensure the triumph of socialism.

The scientific and technological revolution has denuded imperialism's ills, its inherent antagonistic contradictions. Lenin's analysis of imperialism's social essence and its place in history in "Imperialism, the Highest Satge of Capitalism", is still entirely valid and provides a key to the new developments and the present features of imperialism. The general crisis of capitalism precipitated by the October Socialist Revolution continues to grow. It has become all-embracing. Imperialism is suffering setback after setback and is faced by the might of the powerful socialist world system.

The working class, other working people and the progressive forces are coming to understand that private ownership of the means of production endangers the future of the world, that it is the prime cause of society's division into classes, the source of class antagonisms and class struggle, and the source of the war danger. Hence the need for transferring power to the working masses, for abolishing private property.

With imperialism's antagonistic contradictions growing sharper, progressives are applying the maximum energy to promote international detente and consolidate peace. The lessons of history and contemporary events take us back to Lenin's tenet that the struggle for peace will not yield the desired results until backed by organised mass action bridling imperialism's militarist and extremist forces, or, in other words, until the fate of peace is placed in the hands of the peoples. The greater the revolutionary consciousness of the masses and their readiness to fight for class aims, the stronger is the counteraction to imperialist ambitions, and the more insuperable is the barrier to the extremists' designs of remodelling the world to their own pattern at the price of the lives and suffering of millions of people. Such is the dialectics of the struggle for preventing war, for international security.

One should not expect any dampening of the class struggle on the ideological front despite contentions to the contrary by right reformist and bourgeois ideologists. The struggle is not slackening. On the contrary and in the circumstances we see our task in raising the theoretical value of socio-economic research, and in mounting a scientific offensive against anti-Marxist conceptions aimed at dressing up capitalism and maligning the socialist system.

The revolutionaries of today, the Marxists-Leninists, have the great mission of raising the role and significance of revolutionary theory, pitting its force and power against revisionism's shoddy concepts and dogmas, and facilitating mankind's final liberation from all forms of oppression and exploitation.

In the Soviet Union, scientific and technological progress goes hand in hand with social progress, leading our society to the peaks of human civili-

..n. It works in the interest of building a new, as yet unknown, type of ...y—communism. Socialism assures limitless scope for science and tech... ...gy, and secures high rates of growth. This explains why our country ...able to accomplish its giant advance in the Soviet years to become a land ...foremost science and technology.

...he socialist society moulded and established a new type of scientist. He ...ot isolated from the interests of the people or the class battles. On the ...trary, he is flesh of the flesh of the people, an active ideologically con...ced fighter, a participant in the people's struggle for the triumph of com...nism boundlessly faithful to the achievements of socialism. He is a patriot ..., at the same time, a consistent and thoroughly internationalist blazing the ...l by the side of his people to the radiant future for all mankind. Socialism ...vides him with all the conditions to be faithful to his vocation, and his ...iefs and humanist ideals. Our system guarantees every scientist that his ...scoveries will be used in the name of the working man, for the good of ...e people and mankind, for the triumph of peace, democracy and socialism.

The great thing about Marxist-Leninist theory is that it provides the key ...o transforming the world, that it directs the revolutionary locomotive of ...story in the right direction. The building of the material and technical ...asis of communism, achievement of the tasks of communist construction, ...e graphic evidence of the great transformative power of science in Soviet ...ciety. Developing on a truly scientific foundation, our society knows that ...will succeed in building communism and inscribe on its banner: "From ...ch according to his ability, to each according to his needs".

The Communist Party Will Live On

Martin Gunner Knutsen

The history of the Communist Party of Norway is that of 52 years of deovted struggles by Communists loyal to the cause uniting them. The Party was active in years of crisis and war, during the occupa·tion and in periods of intense social battles. For all the mistakes and vacillations that occasionally affected it, the CPN built up its strength ideologically and organisationally and fought on, carrying out its mission among the working class and the people. It upheld the vital interests of ordinary men and women by campaigning against NATO, emergency legislation and the high cost of living. All this earned it respect in the trade union and other mass move-ments, in the Storting and in self-government bodies.

This is perfectly natural, for the CPN is part of the working class of our country, a democratic, Norwegian party. Its policies are based on all that is best in the history of the Norwegian working-class movement, in the workers' struggle for democratic progress for better conditions, for peace, freedom and national independence

We Norwegian Communists stress that our's is an independent party, neither controlled from without nor subordinated to anyone In shaping our policy here in Norway, we take account of what we believe to be in the best interests of our working class and people.

There is nothing contradictory about the fact that we base ou policies on Norwegian reality, while at same time marching shoulde to shoulder with brother parties which are building their future o the same solid foundations as the CPN, that is, on the principles o the victorious Marxist-Leninist teaching. A contingent of the world Communist movement, our Party emphatically declares against th so-called "third way"—a way lying somewhere between the impe

...alist world and the socialist world. We identify ourselves with ...e working class of socialist countries, which we regard as the main ...rce in the world-wide struggle against imperialism. Just as ...oleheartedly we support national and social liberation movements ... all parts of the world and strengthen our fraternal bonds with ...e Communist parties of capitalist countries.

This is not to say that when it comes to the socialist countries ...d brother parties the CPN sees everything through rose-coloured ...ectacles. We are aware of the mistakes made in the past and as ...r the future, we do not intend to shut our eyes to solutions we ...d unacceptable to us. In such cases we have offered, and intend ... offer, open and comradely criticism, for this is part of our inter...tionalist duty. Norway's Communists, in turn, consider that they ...ust heed the opinion of brother parties when they believe this or ...at action of ours to be wrong. But they do refuse to have any ...rt in bringing grist to the mill of anti-Sovietism and anti-com...unism.

We Norwegian Communists reject both inflating and underrating ...tional conditions and interests. We are aware of our national and ...ernational responsibilities. There is no contradiction in this. The ...onger the working class is internationally, the greater the oppor...ities for progress in the fight for the goals of the working class and ...ple of our own country and the likelihood of achieving success by ...aceful means in revolutionary struggles for a socialist Norway.

Departure from a Principled Position

Left unity is a most important prerequisite of victory in revolu...nary battles. The extent to which the policy of class alliances is ...lemented conditions to a tremendous degree the immediate re... of the Communists'-struggle and the future of their party, its ...y and cohesion, its place and role in society. I would like to go ... some details of the lessons of Norway's experience in this ...ct.

...fication of the Norwegian Left has lately been interpreted as ...ing the formation of a united Socialist Left Party (SLP) with ...proviso that the other left-wing parties, in particular our own, ... be dissolved. Let it be said in passing that a few years ago ...nterpretation was not the only one. Besides, it was not only ...unists who voiced serious and justified doubts about the advi...y of hastening unification at all costs.

...CPN programme of principles, for its part, says nothing about ... conception of unity. What it does say is that "in fighting

against monopoly domination, it (the CPN) seeks alliance with all anti-monopoly and democratic organisations and groups" and that "the Communist Party of Norway declares for cooperation with other working-class parties". In other words, the programme does not commit itself in any way to a "complete organisational merger" into one party.

Nevertheless, there was a great deal of optimism regarding the outlook for this kind of unification. It was particularly strong at the close of the 1973 general election. That election brought major gains to the Socialist Electoral Alliance (SEA) uniting the Socialist People's Party (SPP), Information Office of Workers (IOW)[1], non-party people and the Communist Party. This success gave still greater cause for hoping that the SEA would become a unifying political alternative to the Norwegian Labour Party's policy of class collaboration and its reformist drift to the right.

The demand for the organisational unity of the parties to the electoral alliance was first voiced in the early period of its formation. The SPP insisted in the form of an ultimatum on discussing the matter, seeing unity as a condition for all further cooperation. At that time we in the CPN did not fully realise the danger posed by this initiative. We joined in the discussion. And while the jubilee congress of the Party (1973) passed no decision on the issue of unification, its deliberations revealed that the Communists wanted the SEA to be preserved as an alliance of independent parties.

After the congress, however, strong pressure was brought to bear on the CPN in an effort to make it disband and become part of the new party to be formed on the basis of the SEA. In January 1974 a meeting of our Party's Central Executive adopted a decision which gave rise to the illusion that unification was imminent. "As of now," the meeting said in its resolution, "the Central Executive sees no serious difficulties likely to prevent unification within a Marxist Party." This was unfortunate both in inner Party terms and from the standpoint of our relations with our SEA partners. This resolution could be construed to mean that neither the dissolution of the CPN, nor the founding of a united left-wing party presented any problem. This was wishful thinking and no such resolution should have been passed.

This stand amounted to complete abandonment of the unity line laid down in the programme of principles, to a break with the policy based on working-class unity of action, with the policy of alliance of the people's democratic forces against monopoly capital. It was

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[1] A group broken away from the Social Democrats.

as good as renouncing the view which predominanted in the Party and which declared for preserving the SEA as an electoral coalition, an alliance of sovereign partners, one that was broader and more effective than a party formed on its basis could be. This is why a resolution on the Party's Oslo-Akershus Regional Executive described the demand for transforming the SEA into a party as a "fuse" threatening to blow up the Party's policy for unity. However, the Party leadership held that it would be "unrealistic" to oppose the other partners' demand for a united party.

The national conference of the CPN in March 1974 approved by a majority the idea of transforming the SEA into a party with the proviso that the member parties would continue to exist. The Communists maintained that the various components of the SEA must be preserved until political unity was attained. The conference resolved that the Party congress would be free to decide on the issue of unification in due course. That was the line adopted by the CPN Executive before the SEA held its first national conference (April 1974).

On the Road to Unification

Differences between the parties to the SEA became sharper during conference preparations. Whereas the CPN suggested February 1, 1977, as the deadline for the merger, the SPP insisted on an earlier date, for it wanted the merger to be completed as speedily as possible. By the time the conference opened, no unity of views had been reached.

The CPN tabled a motion going further on several points than the January 1974 decision. To begin with, the Party leadership called for the abolition of the right of veto enjoyed by the four SEA members. It argued that this was necessary as a means of ascertaining how far the partners could be relied on and whether they would be ready to compromise when it came to voting against each other. However, the abolition of the right of veto, far from uniting the partners, endangered their cooperation by causing a number of deplorable clashes.

The motion contained another questionable provision saying that "responsible committees of the parties concerned" must by January 1, 1975, adopt a binding decision on the "execution of the second and third phases" of unification; but as regards the CPN, only its congress can take decisions of this nature.

After a long debate on problems of coordinating the SEA members' joint activities, the time limit and stages of unification and the

final merger into one party, the conference unanimously approved the motion for the merger. The third and last phase of this process was to be the gradual reduction of the parties' activity and their abolition. In the end, it was decided to test a model of unification that would result in constituting a united party on the basis of the SEA during the so-called trial period, that is, by January 1977.

However, the question arose at once what the new organisation should be like. The SPP insisted on an "open mass party" devoid of a solid ideological platform, with numerous factions and groups. The CPN could have accepted the formation of such a conglomeration of parties provided the CPN itself continued as an independent party. But in that case there would have been little difference between the new organisation and an alliance of sovereign partners striving for unity of action. If, however, it were a question of dissolving the CPN, the following conditions would have to be met in founding a party on the basis of the SEA:

—the new party to be based on Marxist-Leninist principles;

—its founders to evolve common strategy and tactics and commit themselves to advocate stage-by-stage advance to socialism; the party to launch a broad movement for the unity of the working class and all the democratic forces of the people and lead the fight against monopoly;

—the new organisation to adhere firmly to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

On May 21, 1974, the Party's Central Executive warned in a letter against the illusion that after the April conference of the SEA unification would virtually be a fact and the CPN would virtually cease to be a sovereign party. On the contrary, it said, effort by the membership could make the CPN ever stronger and more efficient by the time the new party held its founding congress (spring 1975).

Differences

The April conference decided to draw up a programme of principles of the new party, as part of the merger process, to be endorsed at a merger congress in March 1975. Our proposals for the programme were discussed by the CPN Central Executive in August and September 1974. It passed a resolution laying down in unambiguous detail our positions on the type of programme we could endorse. Based on CPN principles and entailing no ideological concessions they were the guidelines for our representatives on the merger commission set up by the SEA partners to draw up the new party's draft programme. In December 1974 the Central Executive

stressed that only our Party congress could decide on the merger issue.

No agreement on a common draft programme was reached. There were, actually, two drafts, ours and that of the other SEA members. Despite agreement on some important questions, contradictions on decisive issues were so great that it was impossible to go on discussing a joint programme acceptable to the CPN should it be integrated in the new party. In the course of the elections of delegates to the merger congress the differences concentrated on three main problems: the programme, attitude towards the socialist countries, and the unificatoin process. The whole course of the debate reaffirmed us in our belief that we had been right form the outset in calling for the development of the SEA as a broad alliance of equal participants.

Meanwhile at its congress in January 1975, the Socialist People's Party took the line that the united party should be based on its organisation, and flatly rejected Marxism-Leninism. Also, it became apparent that there was a danger that the merger convention would adopt the new party's programme by a simple show of hands. In that case, our Party pointed out at its March 1975 conference, the Central Executive should at once vote that the new party' programme of principles would not be endorsed as binding on CPN members, and that there would be no winding down of CPN activities, much less its dissolution, either locally or centrally. The CPN would, however, continue all-round cooperation within the SEA framework and continue to promote comradely relations and united action.

On a motion of the Party Chairman, the CPN Executive and the delegates elected to the unification congress at Trondheim decided to oppose a vote on articles of the programme on which there were differences. Other SEA participants declared for dropping those articles from the programme. At the new party's foundation congress it was moved to delete and defer for subsequent examination and action the following issues: the Party's attitude towards Marxism-Leninism; questions of strategy and tactics; an analysis of state-monopoly capitalism; attitude towards proletarian internationalism; policy on the women's question; ecological problems.

Ultimately an emasculated draft was drawn up which some of our comrades felt could not be called a programme of principles. Still, on a motion of the then Chairman of the CPN it was decided, by a majority of [illegible] to 10, to agree with its being called a "programme of principles" in order to avoid a "split over a name".

At the Trondheim congress an attempt was made to insert statements hostile to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as a

COMMENTARY

Internationalising the Advantages of Socialism

Vladimir Shundeyev

The socialist community marks its entry into the last quarter of the twentieth century with major accomplishments. We are [illegible] period of continuing internationalisation of the advantages of so[illegible] ism as a system in its competition and contest with imperialism [illegible]

This is the salient feature of the historical background ag[illegible] which one can appreciate the importance of the stage the fra[illegible] countries are passing through. Their entry into the closing q[illegible] of this century coincides with a series of Communist congresses.

This issue goes to press at the time of the Seventh Congress [illegible] Polish United Workers' Party and the First Congress of the [illegible] munist Party of Cuba. The Rumanian Communist Party and [illegible] [illegible] Socialist Workers' Party have already held their con[illegible] The [illegible] Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet [illegible] scheduled for February 19[illegible] The spring and summer of 19[illegible] [illegible] Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [illegible] Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the [illegible] Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the [illegible] gress of the [illegible] People's Revolutionary Party. Fa[illegible] [illegible] countries deeply analyse every aspe[illegible] [illegible] their countries, and their documents become guidelines [illegible] the progress [illegible]

Every Congress [illegible] sums up the economic gains [illegible] country [illegible] socialist community. The advantages [illegible] [illegible] the capitalist economic system are obvious. [illegible] [illegible] years, the CMEA countries' national income increased [illegible] than [illegible] per cent [illegible] their industrial output by 35 per cent [illegible] [illegible] of the Common Market countries [illegible]

ed 15 per cent. With approximately 19 per cent of the world's ea and about 10 per cent of its population, the CMEA countries day account for nearly one-third of the industrial output of the orld, and fulfilment of the Comprehensive Programme for socialist onomic integration will increase their share to two-fifths. As for al industrial output, the socialist communiy has outstripped the ited States and produced roughly twice as much as the EEC Nine. e capitalist economy, which in recent years has been wrestling th a deep crisis, shows zero or even negative growth. By con-st, all members of the socialist community enjoy high and steady owth rates, which will be maintained in the next five years as ll. "The sense of security and ordered purpose in Soviet society," ote **The Times**, (Sept. 1, 1975), "contrasts more starkly than ever th the constant political and economic drift from crisis to crisis, so much of the world."

The brother parties regard guidance of the economy as one of eir key political functions. This explains the tremendous atten-n they devote to measures to improve the machinery of socialist nomic management and the functioning of all government agen-. The Party congresses assess results and set new economic delines. They also examine a wide range of problems involved furthering social and cultural development, consolidating socialist hood and extending socialist democracy in breadth and depth. e brother countries' successful efforts in behalf of peace, the of their governments' coordinated foreign policy, are well wn. For the progressive forces, the outgoing five years have ly been a period of struggle for peace in which more favourable ditions were provided for the further advance of both the revo-nary process in capitalist countries and the world-wide libera-movement against imperialism. No one today questions the fact the socialist community played the decisive part in convening uring the successful outcome of the Helsinki Conference. ile opponents of detente describe the Conference as a "Soviet they are unable seriously to influence world opinion, which e credit to the profoundly humane policy of the Soviet and other members of the socialist community. The actual or reaction's attacks on the conference results is that aggres-perialist force now have less scope for political manoeuvre. is making it more difficult to keep our military posture U.S. News & World Report commented on the eve of the ce.[1]

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[1] *News & World Report*, April 28, 1975, p. 21.

The CMEA countries have made particularly impressive progress in creating conditions for the all-round development of man, and in effecting qualitative changes in the very content and meaning of life. The 24th Congress of the CPSU and congresses of the fraternal parties of other socialist countries declared that a radical turn towards fuller satisfaction of the people's social needs and higher living and cultural standards is a condition for building developed socialism. Bourgeois propaganda lost no time in construing this as a sign of socialism "converging" with the ideal of the capitalist West's "consumer society".

In the socialist countries, growing consumption is not only an index of material progress of the individual, but also a means of his cultural advance and a prerequisite of his creative activity. Communists have put fresh emphasis on "man the creator" as the socialist ideal. This also explains their enormous effort to ensure social equality and justice, perfect socialist popular rule and inspire everyone with devotion to the ideals and values of the socialist community and the world revolutionary movement. Culture in general and education in particular enjoy special attention under socialism. The CMEA countries are leading the world in number of school and university students, educational standards, number of books published and read, number of theatre-goers, and other indices.[2]

Significantly, the working people of capitalist and developing countries are impressed—as reports in the world progressive press show—not only by growing wages and the low cost of public services in socialist countries, but also by the distinctive moral and spiritual atmosphere of a society free from exploitation and the oppressive power of money. A historically higher type of human relations is the basis of the sense of security that people have in socialist countries, of the community of their interests and this is what makes up the socialist way of life.

History shows that the internationalist coordination and cohesion of the forces of socialism greatly increased its impact on the world. Each new five-year plan makes for closer economic cooperation within the socialist community. This has become the rule. But the changes taking place today are so important that we may speak of a qualitatively new stage of economic cooperation. We are witnessing ever closer relations in the production sphere and the adoption of increasingly complex forms of cooperation between national economies. Cooperation has advanced far enough to make it possible, as well as coordinating development programmes, to move on to s-

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[2] Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1974 g., Moscow, Statistika, 1975, pp. 134-135

tematic utilisation of the advantages of the international socialist division of labour. The 29th Session of the CMEA approved a plan for multilateral integration measures for 1976-80 and put the general long-range orientation of the community's economic development on an international basis.

For the first time ever, nine socialist countries have drawn up a plan for a series of joint major projects which will be incorporated in each national economic plan. The CMEA countries, their press noted, are on the eve of the first five-year integration period.

Closer economic relations between members of the socialist community will now increasingly be determined by qualitative criteria, organic, and not just mechanical, internationalisation of their productive forces and closer identity of economic structures. In this way the advantages of socialism will become ever more manifest both within the national framework and as advantages of the socialist international system of economic management. This will confirm Lenin's brilliant prediction that socialism will have to complete the historic tendency towards the creation of a single world economy regulated according to a common plan (see **Coll. Works,** Vol. 31, p. 147).

The fraternal relations between socialist countries are in striking contrast to the capitalist type of inernational economic relations and offer the developing countries an alternative in their foreign economic contacts. Those countries' close links with the socialist community are a dependable guarantee of ending age old backwardness and surmounting obstacles to economic progress. It is becoming more and more difficult to fool anyone with falsehoods about "exploitation" of the Third World by the "superpowers" or about "antagonisms" between the "rich North" and the "poor South". Refuting them, Layachi Yaker, Algeria's Minister for Foreign Trade, said: "Indeed, the highly advantageous opportunities for cooperation offered to Third World countries by socialist countries entitle us to exclude them from the bloc of exploiters and to exempt them from responsibility for an act to which they have not contributed. To include them in the North bloc, seen as a region to which the resources of developing countries flow, is to play the game of imperialism and disregard an objective reality, namely, the superiority of the socialist system."[8]

The unity of Communist and Workers' parties on fundamental domestic and international policy issues is the supreme manifestation of the unity of the socialist commonwealth, a unity whose bene-

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[8] *France Nouvelle*, July 21, 1975, p. 15.

fits have won world-wide *recognition*. "The unity of our parties on key issues of socialist development and communist construction," said L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, speaking at the 11th Congress of the HSWP on March 18, 1975, "enabled us confidently to pursue a correct, Marxist-Leninist line. It helped us fittingly to rebuff attempts by rightist and 'leftist' elements to distort Marxism-Leninism and enabled us to deal with complicated political situations that arose at times in this or that country. Our political unity led the socialist commonwealth as a whole to a higher stage of social progress." The brother parties have adopted various forms of mutual contacts. They have been characterised by regularity, a business-like atmosphere, the wide range of problems discussed and, above all, effective results.

Blazing new trails in history, socialism tackles complex problems, never explored before, and requiring scientifically based solutions. For the system is to make progress, theoretical thought must contribute to advanced social practice. This is the inherent socialist mechanism of making decisions that inevitably assume a historic charter.

The Communist parties of the socialist commonwealth have made substantial progress in the sphere of theory. They carefully study problems of mature socialism, its prospects and its development into a communist society. These problems include the distinguishing features of the economy of developed socialism; the measures needed to raise the effectiveness of production; ways and means of improving the scientific standard of planning and of making it more comprehensive, as well as of increasing economic incentives; problems of adapting the scientific and technological revolution to socialist relations of production; the problems this raises of the role of the Communist party, the state, the collective and the individual in developed socialist society. The Communists' ability to frame the right policy and make decisions in keeping with the needs of the times is due to their sustained work on theoretical problems of the revolutionary transformation of society and to the profound knowledge of the laws of social development which Marxist-Leninist science provides them with.

An innovating, Leninist approach to the formidable problems that crop up daily in building the new society is becoming an internationalist standard of the socialist community. Joint research into current problems of the socialist world system is conducted on a large scale. More scientific works are being produced by research teams from various socialist countries. National academies of sciences are developing multilateral cooperation in economics, history.

philosophy and other social sciences. CC secretaries of brother parties confer periodically on international and ideological matters and on problems of party organisation.

The almost simultaneously convocation of Communist party congresses is an indication of the further internationalisation of life in the socialist community. It is something more than a mere confirmation of the magnitude of socialist and communist construction tasks which only a closely knit community of states can accomplish. The brother countries advance together, removing differentials in their economic development levels. At the same time they solve many related economic, political and cultural problems. Congresses held simultaneously enable the parties more comprehensively to chart the general line of the community.

The immense socio-historic effect of the coordination of forces and the unity of brother parties today invites the conclusion that the socialist commonwealth determines the main line of development of socialism as a world system. It is the community of socialist countries that sets an unprecedented example of internationalism in economics, politics, ideology and culture. It is this community that allows the greatest scope for the operation of the laws of socialism and affords the best conditions for closer economic cooperation and political consolidation of the socialist countries and the internationalisation of the socialist way of life. The socialist commonwealth is the most complete embodiment of the inherent connection between proletarian internationalism and the democratic principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and national independence. A great goal, communism, generates the great energy of socialist internationalism.

The congresses of brother parties, the bearers of this internationalism, have powerful worldwide repercussions. "Some events," Unsere Zeit, the West German workers' newspaper, wrote five years ago on April 10, 1971, in connection with the 24th CPSU Congress, "do not have to be explicitly raised to the rank of international events. They are such by their very nature. That Soviet Communist Party congresses are so classed may seem unusual in view of the estimation generally made of party congresses in our country. But it has long been an accepted expression of the fact (whether one recognises it or not) that the course of history today is set in decisive measure by socialism."

Subsequent world developments confirmed this. The conceptions, plans and peace initiatives of the 24th Congress of the CPSU and the Communist parties of other fraternal countries served as an

action programme for hundreds of millions and were in the focus of the ideological struggle.

The new congresses will be attended by the majority of the fraternal Communist parties of the world. Now, too, Communists of the socialist commonwealth are well aware of the extent of their revolutionary responsibility, for they are accountable to the broadest masses of working people, who link their hopes and aspirations with socialism and look to it for answers to many burning questions. In a congratulatory message to the CC CPSU on the 58th anniversary of the October Revolution, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile expressed confidence that "the coming 25th Congress of the CPSU will mark a new stage, not only for your country, but for the entire revolutionary movement, for the whole of mankind, which is fighting for peace, democracy, social progress, socialism and communism."

No notable event in the socialist world goes unheeded by the class enemy. This time too, anti-communist "experts" of every description, emigre groups and various "foundations" zealously serving imperialism are stepping up their activities, obviously having in mind the 25th Congress of the CPSU and other fraternal party congress. They use mostly old, discredited methods, such as misrepresenting events, spreading calumines or shedding crocodile tears over "lack of freedom'. Life has defeated attacks of this nature again and again.

The enemies of socialism would like nothing better than to misinterpret the irrefutable fact that the leading role of Communist parties equipped with Marxism-Leninism is a decisive condition for every achievement of socialism.

The period of important decisions which the socialist community is passing through makes new exacting demands on the standard of party leadership. And the Communist parties themselves are striving for higher standards. Anti-communists and people far removed from scientific communism cannot understand that the norms and laws of Communist party life are determined above all by the Leninist approach.

Today this implies a higher standards of work, more efficient leadership, administration and economic management. It implies that Communists must be more keenly aware of their responsibility in every field and that every builder of socialism or communism must, for his part, show a better performance.

The work being carried on by the Communists of the socialist commonwealth is of historic magnitude. It requires effort to overcome difficulties and "growth pains", solve problems and correct

miscalculations. A Leninist approach includes criticism and self-criticism, an uncompromising attitude to defects. Party congresses furnish the finest examples of this. The working people of the world may rest assured that it is the firm voice of Leninists that they will always hear from the rostrum of Party congresses.

The working people of the socialist community react to every Communist congress as a most important landmark in their lives. Congresses assess past progress and set goals for the future. They express the will and aspirations of the masses. In every socialist country, the pulse of public life quickens of as the Communist Party congresses draw near. There is a marked upsurge and nation-wide enthusiasm.

The press of brother countries, which gives pride of place to the approaching Communist congresses, carries reports of a vast emulation movement to fulfil five-year plan assignments and on more and more new initiatives in the production sphere and public life generally. This speaks of widespread recognition of the fact that the decisions of every Communist congress bring the working people nearer to the lofty goals for which Marxism-Leninism has raised its internationalist banner all over the world.

The Communist parties of the socialist community are advancing from victory to victory. Their's is a truly historic contribution to the world revolutionary process. They see their duty to the working class of the world in continued internationalisation of the advantages of socialism.

The Image of Our Own Future

Reflections on Socialism and the Ways of Its Achievement

Ib Norlund

Man has always sought to peer into the future. That is particularly so in our time. And not only because of the dynamism of our epoch. Interest in the future is particularly sharp in this epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. Mankind has gone a long way towards that goal. There is the socialist world system, the major changes in the alignment of forces in the world and within the capitalist countries. In contrast to the profound crisis of capitalism, the countries of the socialist community enjoy continuous economic development, social stability and rising prosperity standards. They have launched a peace offensive. People in the capitalist and developing countries look with close attention at this picture of the new world. For some it is not altogether clear, others still have misgivings, for the ingrained stereotypes of bourgeois propaganda do not vanish all at once. But this much can be said for certain: in many interest in the future merges with interest in socialism.

For us Communists that is only natural. We proceed from the understanding that the process of history, the change of social formations, is not accidental, but is subordinate to "tendencies working with iron necessity towards inevitable results".[1] And only by examining the process in its unity, by revealing the laws that govern it, can we understand the sequence of events in the different countries and foresee their future. In emphasising the objectivity of socio-historical regularities, the Communists are fully aware that they differ from the regularities governing development in the physical world. For socio-historical regularities are revealed in the process of man's activity. "History is not, as it were, a person apart using man as a means to achieve *its own aims*; history is *nothing but* the activity of man pursuing

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[1] Marx. Preface to the first edition of *Capital*.

his aims."[2] That is why the Communists call for revolutionary action by the masses and why Marxist philosophy sees its mission in changing the world and not merely in explaining it. The Communists consider it their duty to be scientifically precise, to base all their judgements, whether in theory or practice, not on pious wishes, but on substantiated research of the real facts of real life.

That explains our special, scientific interest in existing socialism, in the experience of those who led the peoples to this new social system based on the socialist principles enunciated by the founders of Marxism-Leninism. Marx once remarked that countries ahead on the road of progress would show others "the image of their own future".[3] It is only natural that the pioneering experience in applying the common laws of social progress should inspire and guide other countries striving for progress in their own, specific conditions. In this sense the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community have set an example for the working people of the world.

This differs fundamentally from what our enemies ascribe to us. The Communists, they allege, want to impose some "foreign model" of socialism. The fact is that the Communists do not recognise any "model of socialism", any mechanical copying of the methods of the building of socialism in one or another country. But they do maintain that there are common laws, discovered by Marxism-Leninism, that govern the transition to the building of socialism. And guided by these laws the Communists search for ways of successfully achieving social progress in their own countries.

Each Communist Party is independent—that is recorded in the documents of the communist movement—in shaping its policy to conform to the concrete conditions of its country, and bears full responsibility for the methods of struggle it has chosen. But this implies also a responsible attitude to the experience accumulated by others, using its positive aspects and taking account of mistakes so as not to repeat them. Like every science, scientific socialism must base its regularities on propositions that have been tested and confirmed in practice. That is why Marx adds to the remark quoted above: "One nation can and should learn from others. Society can neither clear bold leaps, nor remove by legal enactments, the obstacles offered by the successive phases of its normal development. But it can shorten and lessen the birth pangs".[4]

When workers' delegations and other progressives speak with satisfaction of their visits to the Soviet Union or other countries of the socialist community, they show a keen interest in socialism's achievements, because this

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[2] Marx and Engels, "The Holy Family", Collected Works, Vol. 4, p. 93.
[3] Preface to the first edition of *Capital*.
[4] Preface to the first edition of *Capital*.

suggests what socialism can do for their own countries. Of course, they have no intention of copying all the rules, all the features of one or another socialist country (though one should copy good methods and positive features—and there are many such—that have been tried and tested the hard way); they are concerned with the common features of the new world and how they could be used to change conditions in their own countries.

An understanding of these essential features and of the laws of their formation is necessary not only for a party that wants to build socialism. It is necessary for every Communist who has devoted his life to bringing the new society into being. The latter-day reformists like to speak of different socialisms, of different "models" of socialism. They have inflated national peculiarities to an extent where they obscure the general, the central, that which is the very essence of socialism. Powerless to distract the masses from the ideas of socialism, its enemies in the capitalist world, bourgeois and reformist ideologists, are doing everything they can to distort the very concept of socialism, make it innocuous, holding no dangers to the ruling class.

We have seen this technique applied in Denmark. The Social-Democrats have been in power for most of this century, but this has changed nothing in the character of society, has not altered its capitalist essence. A prominent Social-Democrat writer has admitted that "the division of wealth between the higher, lower and middle classes" remains the same as one hundred years ago. None the less, the talk has always been of "socialism", or of "growing into" a "Danish", "Nordic", or "practical socialism, as opposed to scientific socialism and the experience of the socialist countries. The Socialist People's Party, which at times was the mainstay of government policy, claimed that "shoots of socialism are coming to the surface in capitalist society". Even a former Conservative leader, Moller, at one time proclaimed: "We are all of us socialists". In this way the very concept of socialism loses all real meaning.

And yet, socialism is a scientific concept. Its essential features are not the product of abstract dreams of a better future, but of the scientific prognostication of the founders of Marxism-Leninism. They have given us a comprehensive picture of the new society, with its inalienable, law-governed features. No one is likely to argue that there are different models of capitalism though, of course, capitalism differs from one country to another: capitalist FRG is a republic, capitalist Denmark is a monarchy. However, these differences, though important, do not alter the foundations of the capitalist system. Socialism is the very opposite of capitalism, but it, too, is a uniform system and not a pluralistic conglomerate of "models" and variants.

There is hardly any need to enumerate all the features of socialism as set out in the classics of Marxism-Leninism. I will cite a few examples to show, on the one hand, how they are embodied in the existing socialism and,

the other, that without them—even without one of them—no society can im to be socialist.

Socialism is, above all, the negation of capitalist production, the express n of which is profit, the increase of capital. Under this system the pro- cer is separated from the means of production and lives by the sale of labour power, and when there is a "redundance" of labour power, he comes unemployed. Socialism rejects the very principles of the capitalist ode of production. Neither Denmark, nor any other country which claims be "growing into" socialism has taken a single step towards socialism. or all their election slogans and pledges, the Social-Democrats in power ave never encroached on the economic status quo: the capitalists remain possession of their capital, the workers in possession of their labour power. The capitalists draw profit from their investments, depending on their size and the degree of exploitation of wage labour. The workers can sell only one commodity, their labour power, and not always in accordance with its cost. Of course, the workers can be sold shares—capitalists "share" with them crumbs from their profits. This acts as a material stimulator (or, more correctly, stimulates the workers' self-exploitation). For a certain time this can create an illusion of "partnership" among a section of the workers. But more and more people are coming to realise that the essence of capitalist relations, the capitalist-labour relationship, remains unchanged, and everything the capitalists do is to their own advantage. When I hear talk about "people's" capitalism, about the "industrial society", and so on, I can't help thinking that you can juggle with words and describe partial reforms as the "beginnings" of socialism, but that does not change the economic basis of society.

Existing socialism differs fundamentally from the capitalist mode of production. Its economic basis is public property of the means of production. In economic, social, and legal status in production and society, the working man is co-owner of this property—he works for himself, not for the capitalist.

I recall an item in the Moscow *Pravda* about the chemical plant at Shchokino, near Moscow. The production process was re-organised and productivity rose 136 per cent in four years. How did the workers fare? One thousand jobs were eliminated, but not a single worker was sacked and there were no wage cuts (in fact, wages rose by an average of 34 per cent). How was this achieved? Commissions with worker representation were appointed to explore ways of creating new jobs (for instance, by branching out into synthetic fibres). The transfer to new jobs was carried out gradually according to plan and only with the worker's consent. Increased production naturally meant higher earnings. Much could be said on this account, but I am not discussing the organisational and technical aspects. What I want to emphasise is that in a socialist enterprise nothing is done that militates against the worker, that could, say, leave him without a job or reduce his earnings.

That is so, first, because the workers are in power, and, second, because the workers control all the measures taken by management. At Shchokino, for instance, the reorganisation plans were discussed at workers' meetings, by the trade union and Party branch, which has control authority over management and, moreover, the factory director, as a Party member, is accountable to the Party committee. All the plans, all the calculations, all the records, the bank accounts, were laid before the workers, everything was carefully discussed. In other words, they discussed what in capitalist society the capitalist and his managers discuss in secret. And all this is taken for granted at every factory in a socialist country.

The worker's position, his relation to the means of production, his effective participation in management, is not simply a question of industrial democracy, but a cardinal question of the economic relations that determine the character of the social system.

Public ownership of the main means of production is central to the transition to the new system. The process is not the same in all socialist countries. In some it was found that it was not advisable to begin with nationalisation of all the means of production.The socialist state can for a long time cooperate with private industry, which serves important needs of society. For instance, in Poland, which has already begun building developed socialist society, the peasant farm still plays a considerable part in agriculture. In Hungary, the private sector has a definite role in the service industry. However, notwithstanding all these national specifics, the *main means of production* must be transferred from private to public ownership, to the working people.

Taking even this one essential feature, can we envisage "gradual evolution" into socialism without social revolution, without a fundamental change in social relations? There is no record of this ever happening.

Factories, even whole industries, were nationalised in several capitalist countries, but this did not change the social system or the position of the workers, who remained sellers of their labour power. For all such measures, carried out in different countries and for different reasons and purposes, in the end serve the interests of state-monopoly capital. More often than not nationalisation is confined to industries operating at a loss or barely paying their way. In other words, by bailing out individual capitalists the state is acting in the interests of the capitalist class as a whole.

In a number of countries the Communist and Workers' parties have proposed alternative nationalisation programmes. They envisage public ownership of key rather than unprofitable industries, elimination of monopoly power, and public control in the interests of the working people over the main national wealth and means of production. The Communists are fully aware that this can be won only in hard-fought struggle, for the monopolies will never voluntarily surrender their capital or power.

The nationalisation the Communists demand at the democratic stage of the revolution is not yet socialism, but can be a long step towards it, for it would be one less link of state monopoly direction of society, but would give the workers more rights, enabling them to influence economic development and economic policy. This is an essential element in stimulating the democratic and anti-monopoly struggle which can change the alignment of class forces and open the way to fundamental social transformations.

Though the transition to socialism assumes many different forms, it is always based on *active struggle by the working people for democracy and democratic rights. This, too, is a general regularity.* Lenin wrote: "Consistent democracy, on the one hand, is *transformed* into socialism, and, on the other, *demands* socialism" (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 25, p. 452).

Consistent struggle for democracy leads to struggle for socialist socialisation of production which, in turn, leads to a fundamental change in the position of the worker—from seller of his labour power he becomes owner of the means of production. This is the most decisive, the most deepgoing, democratic social change. That is why big capital is trying so hard to prevent it. To what lengths its resistance can go has been demonstrated by the tragic events in Chile. Hence, to implement and uphold the socialist revolution in social relations, we must assure fundamental change also in the system and structure of political power.

What lessons can we draw in this respect from the experience of the socialist countries? The forms of the new social system could vary from country to country, depending on concrete conditions. Among the countries that have made the transition to socialism some were backward (Bulgaria, Rumania) while others were industrialised (Czechoslovakia, the GDR). The role of parliament differed. But these and other national features did not alter the fact that though the *forms* of state power varied, the *essence* was in all cases workers' power, what Marx and Lenin called the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This brings us to another *important common regularity of the transition from capitalism to socialism.*

Our ideological opponents are at pains to discredit the very concept of proletarian dictatorship. In this context, it is proper to recall that *any* state, including the bourgeois state irrespective of its degree of "liberalism", is a dictatorship in the scientific meaning of the term. Lenin wrote: "The dictatorship of a *single* class is necessary ... for every class society in general" (Vol. 25, p. 413). It all hinges on whose class interests the state represents. If the government of our own or any other capitalist country shunts the burden of the crisis to the working people while safeguarding monopoly interests, if it in effect blesses the price spiral and employment cuts while stimulating private enterprise with direct subsidies, and if it gives freedom of action to monopolists while curtailing workers' rights, *it is, in fact, doing*

*[illegible] and foremo[illegible]t of **big capital**.* **If,** on
the will of the [illegible] the new state **in the socialist countries** [illegible]
other hand, the [illegible] economic and political **power is** to wip[illegible]
to do after stripp[illegible] [illegible] economic ground for a steady **improvement** of [illegible]
unemployment and to lay the ground for a steady **guaranteed** righ[illegible]
standards, giving the working people broader and [illegible] it is ***doing the will principal***[illegible]
social matters, education [illegible] 'dictatorship'', **is the crux** of
the working class That, not the word 'dictatorship', **political role** of [illegible]
matter. Here we can legitimately speak of the leading **the Latin, scien**[illegible]
working class, because as Lenin put it, if we translate the **proletariat' into** simp[illegible]
historico-philosophical term 'dictatorship of the [illegible] class, ***namely, the*** [illegible]
language, it means just the following: only a definite **is able to lead** [illegible]
workers and the factory, industrial workers in general, ***struggle*** *to* [illegible]
whole mass of the working and exploited people in the ***struggle*** *to ma*[illegible]
off the yoke of capital, in actually carrying it out, in the work of creating ***the new,*** [illegible]
tain and consolidate the victory, in the work of creating
social system" (Vol. 29, p. 420).

Reformists often counterpose *proletarian dictatorship to* ***democratic*** *ele*[illegible]
tions, proletarian dictatorship to the broad left front, etc. ***They even al***[illegible]
a fundamental difference between the "Leninist" and '***democratic***' *roads*
to socialism. This is either a misconception or a deliberate ***distortion.*** [illegible]
certain circumstances and principally with political support ***from the broa***[illegible]
mass of the people, the road to working people's power may ***be paved*** *by*
democratic elections, more, in the countries of the socialist ***community,*** [illegible]
the conditions of existing socialism—after the revolution and for **alread**[illegible]
many decades—it is **based** on precisely this expression of **popular** will
Working people's power may result from the revolutionary action **of the**
masses. Why is voting according to rules set by bourgeois **legislation,** often
discriminatory, considered "democratic" while elections to **top organs** of
power at a lawfully elected Congress of Soviets, as in Russia, at **the cres**[illegible]
of a revolutionary [illegible] the masses and their action **against the hand-**
ful of capitalists and landlords, are "undemocratic"? **Opposing Lenin's** to
[illegible] way is something short of absurd.

Working people's power replaces the state created to **serve capitalism**
with [illegible] state that serves the people. That, too, is a **token of its demo**-
cratism. All too often the democratic aspirations of **the people are thwarted**
or suppressed by the state machine of the old society. **It stands to reason**
that the working people can and should gain influence **through democrati**[illegible]
[illegible] say, the elective organs of the state, **spurring them to initiate**
democratic and social reconstruction. More, in these **circumstances som**[illegible]
[illegible] institutions can be turned into an instrument of **working-class govern**-
ment. But the old state as such cannot serve the new **society. Recent** expe-
rience, too, shows that reactionary elements seek to use it **against the people**
Hence, there can be no question of direct **continuity in questions of the** sta[illegible]

Communists prefer peaceful socialist change. This is why they deliberately and consciously prepare the best conditions for the revolution, which they associate with organising millions of working people. And this broad alliance of *the main forces of the revolutionary movement—the working class and all who are interested in liberation from big capitalist rule—is one more important common feature of the passage from capitalism to socialism.* The Danish Communists are aware of its great theoretical and practical significance.

And what do we see in practice? The more of the real political and economic power is concentrated in a few big monopolies such as A. P. Moller, Burmeister og Wain, Danfoss, and F. L. Smith, the broader is the front of anti-monopoly forces and the more tangible the objective conditions for their broad alliance. It is a specific feature of the present struggle that the disparities among anti-monopoly class forces are usually manifested in the existence of several parties. And unless these cooperate there is hardly any chance of serious success. This is why our Communist Party addresses itself to all the democratic forces in Denmark—the Social-Democrats, People's Socialists, Left Socialists and unaffiliated trade union activists. "We have differences in outlook and ideology. They are serious differences. Let's discuss them and explain our positions. But let us also determine what unites us. Let us see what concrete objectives could facilitate cooperation". This appeal is implicit in the anti-monopoly programme of the 24th CPD Congress, aimed at "creating a force that will transform society".

The Communists' policy of class alliances, their willingness to cooperate with other democratic trends, has nothing in common with the tactical manoeuvering of bourgeois parties seeking immediate goals, on achieving which the ally of yesterday is promptly dropped. We are moved by a sincere belief that struggle is the best of teachers, and that on acquiring experience of struggle people find that they want to understand the laws of social development as conceived by scientific socialism. We, who have deep faith in our theory, do not hide our wish of converting our allies of today into fellow Communists tomorrow.

Some portray the Communists' drive for left unity as a bid for "leadership" among other parties; some even refer to the Marxist tenet on the Party's leading and vanguard role. Yes, there is this tenet. But they forget or deliberately distort the fact that it refers to the Party's leading and organising role in relation to the *masses*, primarily the *working class*, not to other parties. This has been stressed in contemporary Marxist writing, including this journal.[5]

The Communist Party is the forward unit of the working class. It is its vanguard. Precisely in this sense does *Marxism-Leninism conceive the lead-*

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[5] See *PPS*, August 1975

ing role of the Party as crucial for the passage from **capitalism to socialism.** Lenin's teaching on the party of the new type, and the **experience of the** CPSU and other fraternal parties, show that only a **Marxist-Leninist party** can lead the people to socialism. No Social-Democratic party, **though it** may proclaim socialism as its goal, has ever done so. **The outcome of the** dispute on this score early in the century between **Leninists and their oppo-nents** in the social-democratic camp was clearly **in favour of the former.**

Some say that in the socialist conditions there should be a system of political parties and freedom of activity for political organisations and groups—those in opposition, as well as those in power. But that depends on what exactly is meant—if just the existence of several parties, then, as already noted, this is no novelty for the socialist countries. And if by opposition they mean diversity of viewpoints on concrete aspects of economic and social development in the socialist framework, it is no novelty either. It will be recalled that after the October Revolution the Bolsheviks formed a bloc with the other parties represented at the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets. There was an opposition even in the country's top organs, comprising the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries, the Menshevik-Internationalists and representatives of lesser political groups. This opposition existed until the day it declared open war on the revolutionary power. If the opposition wants to turn back the clock, if it opposes the socialist system as such, and if it aims to strip the working class, the people, of their gains, their dominant place in production and society, that kind of opposition, that kind of "pluralism", is unacceptable. And the main point here is that the masses themselves would not accept such an opposition. All the talk that overlooks this important point, smacks of subjectivism.

The EEC set the condition of "pluralist democracy" before it grants a loan to Portugal. But when a Danish minister was asked what this may signify in the case of a country that has many parties, and this also in the government, he said the EEC wanted a "democracy it would be able to recognise". There were class interests, those of the monopolies dominating the EEC, behind the demand. The same is true for attempts to use the "pluralism" idea to generate hatred of the existing socialism. It is the active adversaries of socialism who want that kind of "pluralism".

The entire system of economic, political and social commonalities cannot be covered within the space of an article. The reader will find a comprehensive analysis in documents of the fraternal parties and the collective documents of the communist movement.

Experience shows that in practice recognition of, and reliance on, basic laws and commonalities is the road to success. Conversely, underestimation or neglect has always slowed up development and, in the more serious cases, brought about a crisis. What would rejection of a law of development mean? For example, rejection of socialising production? Does it

mean leaving the factories to capitalists, even returning enterprises already nationalised? This, incidentally, is exactly what certain Russian Mensheviks *suggested after the October Revolution, and what the Hungarian counter-revolutionaries demanded in 1956. Does it mean negating the power of the workers, of the revolutionary people?* We can only say one thing: it means accepting the domination of the big bourgeoisie. Any single "rejection" of this kind is enough for all traces of socialism to evaporate.

It says in documents of Communist and Workers' parties that the new life in the socialist countries was shaped with an eye on the objective laws and regularities, and that this was the key to success. No bourgeois state has been able to match the kind of dynamic and stable growth that turned backward Russia into a socialist world power. None of the underdeveloped capitalist countries has been able to rise to the level of highly developed. On the contrary, the gap between the developed and the backward continues to widen. In 1960-1971, the average per capita growth rate of the national income was 3.6 per cent in the developed countries and 3.1 in the backward and developing. While Spain and Greece are still at the bottom of the ladder in Europe, just as they were fifty years ago, things in the socialist world have turned out differently. Poland, Bulgaria and Hungary have forged ahead from among the backward to the rank of industrially developed states.

The very same documents also refer us to damage done by neglect of the main laws and regularities of socialist construction. The documents of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (1959) analysing the causes of the counter-revolutionary revolt of 1956, note that the former leaders misinterpreted the dialectical link between the common regularities of building socialism and the national specifics, and "proved... incapable of applying correctly in the conditions of our country the main regularities of socialist construction, which have international relevance." And two more examples: the meeting of the Central Committee of the CP of Czechoslovakia on May 29-30, 1969, which examined the events of the preceding period, pointed out "that various opportunist movements grew inside the Party ... and under the slogan of an entirely new 'model of socialism' rejected the basic principles of the Party structure, the Party's leading place in society, its internationalist character and obligations." The Yugoslav Communists noted in a document issued shortly before their 10th Congress and at the Congress itself that the tendency "to contest the vanguard role of the League of Communists" had done the Party and society incalculable damage. It was stressed that "socialist relations of production can develop only if there is conscious action by society's organised socialist forces and the League of Communists exercises its leading role as a united ideological, political and militant organisation of the working class"

But back to Denmark. "The passage to socialism," says the resolution

of the 24th Congress of our Communist Party, "can assume different forms in different countries and at different times. But everywhere it is subject to the main common regularities discovered by Marxist-Leninist theory". This is the foundation of our Party's policy. In October 1975 a national conference decided to put up the Party Programme for public discussion. The aim of the Programme is to rally the working class for an offensive against big capital, which is shifting the burden of the crisis of its system to the people, making an anti-monopoly alliance doubly urgent and necessary.

Big capital will not retreat until the working class unites the people in an active struggle for a new social system. To create anti-monopoly democratic relations, the struggle must rely first and foremost on a democratic policy directed against big capita. This would shape more favourable conditions for the working people and for their further struggle.

The only ultimate aim this struggle can have in Denmark as we have said, is socialism. At this time, when the successful growth of the socialist countries contrasts so strikingly with the crisis of capitalism, socialist ideas are attracting more and more people New horizons are opening for them. But their struggle will not be successful unless it relies on the basic commonalities first applied by the existing socialism and enriched each day in the all-encompassing and active struggle of the international working class for peace, democracy and socialism.

The Power Structure and the Alliance Problem

In elaborating an alliance strategy it is essential to analyse the condition of classes and their objective economic interests[1] But that, I think, is not enough. Such an analysis must be supplemented by an investigation of the power structure and of the polarisation of class forces according to their atitude towards the existing political regime. The economic positions of classes in many of the developing countries have much in common. However, alliance strategy often varies widely The problem of allies is, generally, different in countries with reactionary regimes than in those with progressive, or even conservative, political forces in power. That is because the immediate aims differ. In some cases an alliance may be aimed against the regime as such, in others it may be designed to deepen democratic processes taking place within the society.

Thus, a solution of the problem of allies requires analyses of relations both in the basis and in the super-structure assessment of not only the economic but also of the political interests of classes. It is such a comprehensive approach to the problem that our Party, the Communist Party of Indonesia, advocates as it puts forward its programme for a National Unity Front.

The pro-imperialist policy, the policy of rabid anti-communism pursued in Indonesia by the reactionary military regime set up after the coup of October 1, 1965, does tremendous harm to national interests Not everyone in our society realises this, however. It often takes time for people to grasp their real situation and genuine interests which may require giving up illusions and old notions However, it has been amply shown that the working people are capable of waging the struggle even before they fully realise their situation

[1] See the contribution of Indian Marxist Indradip Sinha to the discussion (*PPS* November 1975).

or the relation ... interests to those of other classes ... still spontaneous, ... struggle tempers its participants, ... the growth of their class consciousness, and thereby prepares ground for further development.

The multi-structural character of Indonesia's economy ... complex, intertwining conflicts of interests, desires and moods ... people and social groups. The absence of democratic institutions generally prevents any conscious expression of all this, leaving room only for spontaneous manifestations. The forces actively opposing the regime are as yet small. But at the same time the regime's inability to deal with the difficulties it has bred is apparent.

Having set itself the task of seeking and uniting allies, the Communist Party primarily strives to grasp the polarisation of public attitudes and forces that has begun as a reaction to government policy.

The regime has, it would seem, done everything to nip in the bud any possibility of organised manifestation of workingclass discontent. To that end the trade unions were incorporated in the government-controlled All Indonesia Workers' Federation. Nevertheless the workers, frequently against the will of the leadership, hold strikes or take part in joint demonstrations with young people and students, that is, they act against the trade union centre's official line and in opposition to the regime. The significance of this in a country under arbitrary military rule need not be over-rated. But neither should it be underestimated or ignored, if the interests of the proletariat are to be appraised "according to the class antagonisms and the class struggle which find expression," as Lenin wrote "in millions of facts of daily life" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 228

Even more vivid examples of dissatisfaction with the regime can be observed among the youth and intellectuals, especially school and university teachers. The history of the Indonesian people's struggle shows that the youth has always been in the front ranks of revolutionary fighters and participated actively in public life. True to its revolutionary traditions, it remains, despite police repressions, an active participant in the struggle for democracy. Lately even those social groups among the youth that had actively supported the coup are beginning to question the reactionary regime. Turbulent student and young worker actions in the latter half of 1973 and beginning of 1974, with demands for the democratisation of political life and restriction of the power of foreign monopolies, ar... proved that a broad revolutionary stratum is taking shape within the younger generation.

The intellectuals are also calling for the restoration of democracy

rights and academic freedoms in universities and colleges, for the formation of an independent professional organisation; humanistic moods are growing in response to the policies of arbitrary repression.

In reflecting on the realisation of the programme for setting up a National Unity Front in a predominantly Moslem country it is also important to reckon with current discontent among believers. That discontent may be different in character and sources. Militant Moslems, as represented by landlords and big capitalists, are dissatisfied, for example, that the regime is in no hurry to proclaim an Islamic republic, does not make sufficient use of "aid" from American imperialism, and is too soft, as they see it, on Communists and other democrats. However, there are also many believers who hold that the government pays little attention to the fate of rank-and-file Moslems, irresponsibly permits the spread of Western bourgeois culture, etc. That point of view is generally shared by moderate and democratic elements within the middle sections of the society.

The mounting economic, social and political oppression also affects the character and growth of peasant dissatisfaction. The poorest and some middle peasants subjected to various forms of exploitation—feudal, national-capitalist, foreign—demand lower taxes, oppose arbitrary acions of local authorities in evicting peasants from their farms, and fight against political oppression. Patriotic elements among the wealthy farmers are dissatisfied with anti-national policies oriented on foreign capital. That, too, is the target of criticism by patriotic servicemen and junior officers, who see how army generals are profiting from corruption and deals with foreign monopolies. Fiction has also begun within the army. Medium businessmen advocate the establishment of a government body capable of defending their interests against the encroachments of foreign monopolies.

Not all of those dissatisfied with the regime among urban and rural workers, intellectuals or representatives of progressive religious circles are as yet prepared to become allies of the working class. It is not easy, of course, to establish a National Unity Front after ten years of anti communism elevated to the status of an official policy. The Party realises that and has accordingly set itself the prime task of as rapidly as possible restoring its ties with the masses, drastically weakened as a result of the terror, and doing everything possible to inject revolutionary purpose into their struggle.

There are stages of development when the interests of the most diverse classes and social groups faced by a common enemy may coincide. The objective basis for such coincidence exists today in Indonesia as it embarks on the struggle against reaction. The ob-

jectives of Indonesia's national-democratic revolution—full national independence and genuine democracy—can unite all patriotic-minded, anti-imperialist forces and sections of the public.

The Communist Party recognises the inevitability of a further, in the course of the revolution, of a new regrouping of forces and interests when the focus of attention, convergence or divergence of class attitudes towards the regime to, for example, from issues of class structure. The Party will invariably reckon with the processes of polarisation in Indonesian society and continue to be guided by Lenin's requirement of a precise knowledge of "those varied interests of different classes that coincide in certain definite, limited common aims" (Vol. 12, p. 404).

Elaboration and promotion of the policy of alliances call for the solution of a wide range of questions. Experience shows that victory in a revolution can be assured only if there is a firm united front of revolutionary forces of all supporters of democracy on the basis of an alliance of the working class and the peasantry.

Satijadjaja Sudiman

Member of Leadership, Communist Party of Indonesia

Patriotism and Internationalism of the Communists

This is the transcript of a dialogue at our Editorial offices between Friedl Fürnberg, member of Political Bureau, CP of Austria, and Mel Doig, member of Central Executive, CP of Canada.

Patriotism and Internationalism—Do They Conflict?

Doig. We feel the need to discuss the combination of patriotic and internationalist principles in the activity of Communist parties because, in the case of our Party for example, a number of new problems has arisen and certain aspects that had always occupied us appear in a new light. The economic crisis, unemployment and inflation have caused shifts to the left, but have also aroused the right forces have stimulated nationalist sentiment and chauvinism. These are being deliberately cultivated by the right. The opponents of detente, of what is now known as the Helsinki spirit, rely on and take up nationalist ideas. We see our duty in combating nationalism, especially its spread in the workingclass movement. And any penetration of nationalism into the Communist movement is more dangerous still! It is something our ideological adversaries would like to happen, as they urge us in various ways to disavow our internationalist principles. We are criticised from the right and the left (by Trotskyites, Maoists, and the like), and are accused of lacking patriotism as internationalists, or of being "dependent on Moscow", not independent in our policy. Such pressure is liable to affect some of the Communists, let alone the masses. This is why it is important to clarify some of the aspects of the matter.

Fürnberg. Yes, we Austrian Communists feel as you do. I should begin by clarifying some of the concepts, because our opponents try to juggle with them, and distort the Communist standpoint

On the face of it, patriotism is a single concept. Diction... define it as devotion to the country, clan, or tribe of one's fa... Lenin described it as one of the most deeply ingrained feeling... rooted in us by centuries and millennia of separate fatherlands (... Coll. Works, Vol. 28, p. 187). But when society divided into cla... the concept acquired a class complexion, became more complicat... because the patriotism of a class, say the working class, is bou... to reflect the attitude of that class to the existing social syste... The concept "internationalism" appeared much later, connoti... class solidarity that transcends national frontiers. Is the contradictio... between patriotism and internationalism unavoidable? Our ideol... gical opponents—those, admittedly, who are the least devious—ta... it for granted, as it were, that it is inevitable. This is why the... maintain, in fact, that Communists, who treat the problems of the nation in the light of the workers' international struggle, are ... patriotic.

But bourgeois ideologists are finding this more and more diffic... to prove. The facts deny it. In the Second World War, Commun... stood at the head of the Resistance, while the monopoly bourge... betrayed the interests of their countries. Recent experience, ... shows convincingly that the imperialists are hostile to national int... rests. This is especially apparent in the smaller countries, wh... capital, lusting for profit, subordinates national interests to ... policy of international monopoly. It does not even bother to conc... this. The working class and its Communist party, on the other h... express the interests of the entire nation. Uniting its ranks, ... working class is now able to head a broad national front of patr... anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly forces, is prepared to take ... power and assume responsibility for the nation's development. T... 1917 October Revolution gave rise to a fundamentally new con... socialist patriotism.

Doi... Let's go back to the dialectics of patriotism and inte... tionalism. If taken on an abstract theoretical plane, a contradic... between them certainly exists. But while opportunists becom... entangled in it and slide into nationalism, Communists resolve it ... the help of Marxist-Leninist theory. For them, any nation wi... capitalist society is not a single, homogeneous whole. They see ... while the interests of the bourgeoisie of one country inevita... conflict with those of the bourgeoisie of other countries—and ... despite the development of international processes—the essen... interests of the working class of different countries coincide. T... working class struggle for emancipation and radical transfor... of society is, in essence, international. Remember what Leni...

pital is an international force. To vanquish it, an international rkers' alliance, an international workers' brotherhood is needed" ol. 30, p. 293). If we acknowledge that success in the national uggle for the new society is directly related to the successes of world Communist and working-class movement, it should be vious that the national interests of the working class in any coun- require it to consider the international objectives of the class uggle as their own. Here, the patriotic and internationalist prin- es coincide.

urnberg. Let me give the example of Austria's neutrality.

During the Second World War the Communists did not anticipate Austria would become a neutral state and remain in the capi- st system. We thought that after nazism was defeated, Austria ild take the road to socialism. However, the relation of forces in country and the world after the Second World War, the objec- s of the struggle for peace in Europe and the rest of the world, wed us that it was in the interests of the Austrian people, and of the international struggle of the working class to abandon slogan of immediate passage to the socialist road, and instead phasise Austria's neutrality. We encountered fierce resistance n the bourgeoisie, which wanted Austria in the NATO bloc.

oig. Were you criticised by the "Left"?

urnberg. We were. Even the Socialists, who still wrote "De- racy Is The Course, Socialism Is The Aim" on their posters in e days, accused us of being Soviet agents and of wanting Aus- s neutrality because it suited the Soviet Union. We could not , of course, that the USSR had an interest in Austrian neutra- We said: "Yes, neutrality is in the interests of the Soviet on, but it is still more in the interests of our own country, be- se it is a dependable basis for a sovereign Austrian state, and main safeguard peace, benefiting all peoples.

ow, it is universally acknowledged that we were right. No ificant political force in the country would think of opposing trality. Our government, those who had opposed neutrality, profess to be its advocates. This is creating new problems for Party's patriotic activity. We have to show with concrete ex- des that the government of the bourgeoisie, though it pays lip ice to neutrality, jeopardises it at every step. We oppose Aus- s economic subordination to the Common Market. We oppose to attempts to make Austria a centre of anti-socialist espionage. oppose saturation of Austrian culture with elements of US and culture. As we see it, only this can guarantee Austria's inde- dence and help consolidate peace and detente in Europe. It is

basic for the revolutionary struggle in our country, and an example of how patriotic and internationalist aims blend.

Doig. I could say the same about the struggle for real Canadian independence. It is a struggle against US economic, political and cultural domination. US imperialism, helped by Canadian monopoly, is plundering Canada's natural resources— her iron ore, oil, natural gas, water reserves, timber, etc. Though there is a housing shortage, building has declined because the transnational monopolies are buying up much of the suitable land. Communists are fighting this. We demand the nationalisation of land, natural resources and energy, and democratic control over their use. The Communists' patriotic struggle is also a struggle for an independent foreign policy, a policy of peace and detente, for Canada's withdrawal from NATO and her military alliance with the United States, and for friendship and trade with the socialist community. We are in solidarity with all the anti-imperialist movements in the colonial countries, especially those exploited by Canadian imperialism, and are working for anti-imperialist unity of the working class. In whose interests is this struggle? Here, too, patriotic and internationalist interests interweave.

Furnberg. The Communists' patriotism is an active patriotism, a patriotism of deeds. Also it projects into the future. It is not simply devotion to the land of the fathers in its present shape, but also a dedication to improve that land, to create a new and more [illegible] society.

Doig. Would you accept the following brief summing-up for this part of our dialogue: the interests of the working class in all countries are the same? Hence the true patriotism of the working people is inseparable from internationalism, from solidarity and fraternal cooperation with the working class of different countries, against imperialism, for world peace, and for freedom, democracy and socialism. Organising that struggle, the Communist Party is the most consistent champion of the national interest, because it has the most progressive class, which expresses the interests of the majority of the nation.

Furnberg. Yes, I accept it. But haven't we overemphasised one aspect, the [illegible] of the patriotic and internationalist principles in Communist activity? Aren't there examples of an opposite order?

The Stumbling Blocks

Furnberg. It is safe to say that there are no differences among the fraternal parties over the fundamental connection between

tional interests and international duty. But the truth, as we know, is always concrete. Those who slide to nationalism always stumble over the concrete. Take the history of the Second International. it collapsed with the outbreak of the imperialist war. Yet it is not only major upheavals—say territorial claims—that are stumbling blocks for the unstable.

Doig. Every time a concrete problem arises, a clear line must be drawn between concern for national interests, genuine patriotism, and nationalism. But it is not easy to draw. Sometimes, precisely in connection with concrete events, one has to go against the mood of the masses infected with nationalism.

The slide to nationalism may begin through over-emphasis of specific conditions, the specific national road, and scorn for the experience of others. Our opponents would like nothing better than for various types of so-called national Marxism—"national models of socialism" or "national communisms",—to undermine the international unity of Communists.

Ever since October 1917 there has been a solid factor to test the fidelity of internationalists: their attitude to the Soviet Union. Speaking at the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Comrade William Kashtan, our Party's General Secretary, said that anti-sovietism has always been the common factor drawing together all enemies of peace and socialism. Support for the policy of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community is now a most important feature of internationalism in practice.

Fernberg. And of genuine patriotism too! Today the bourgeoisie resorts to anti-Sovietism in a three-pronged attack against the objectives of national detachments of the working class, against their international struggles, and against the Soviet Union and the socialist world system. That is why opposition to anti-Sovietism is more than an international duty; it is first and foremost the patriotic duty of Communists to their own people.

We cannot remain indifferent to attacks against the Soviet Union, from whatever quarter and in whatever form, for instance the attacks by the leaders of the Communist Party of China. Their's is unadulterated anti-Sovietism, which must be rebuffed. It is more difficult when we have a lack of discrimination on the part of our comrades, underestimation of the consequences of some move or statement. What should be done in such cases? Here I necessarily bring up the broader issue of the principles of relations between parties. These principles include non-interference in the affairs of

other nations, in the ... of other parties. But nowadays, as we all know, any action by any Communist party, any move ... taking departure from basic principles, causes repercussions ... parties leading, at the very least, to a debate. Is that ... or not? Should ... parties respond to such actions, to ... or not? We stand by the principle of non-interference, ... should not preclude offering advice, assessments, or even criticism.

Doig. That is a very important point. I think we sometimes ... a one-sided view of democracy in the framework of international ... the Communist movement ... ism ... attempts to impose ... overestimation of one's own experience ... which really contradicts the ... other ... that is, in our view, ... national character ... democracy ... emphasising the ... so far out of their own party ... independence of the ... province ... and the Soviet Communist Party which is essential ... that they forget about their natural interdependence in the international Communist movement, about their ties with it. That is ... as it harms not only the party concerned but others ... movement as a whole.

The objective basis for the unity of the international ... movement and the united action of ... forces is expanding. Hence the ... demand for ... observance of the principle of ... internationalism.

Furnberg. ... the conclusion ... the problem ... second ... also from ... what different ...

Winning Over the Masses

Furnberg. It would have been simple if all we had to do ... the line of nationalism. But nationalism exists in the ... And as a Communist party increasingly becomes a spokesman ... national interests, nationalism can, if we are not careful, penetrate the party and, through it, the international Communist movement. And another aspect of the same problem: it is not easy for us to have a correct understanding of patriotism, its distinction from nationalism, and to correctly link it with internationalism. How to drive this home to people, how to make them accept ... understanding of patriotism and proletarian internationalism? Without that our knowledge of the truth is not of much value.

The problem of drawing closer to the people in that sense is ...

nt in different countries, which is perhaps why we do not always erstand each other. Compare the situation in Austria with that in France. In France the Communist Party enjoys great popular tige as a patriotic force. It enhanced that prestige in the Second d War, when Communists headed the anti-fascist struggle, y of them giving their lives for the freedom and independence rance. That is why, when today French Communists say that pendence is threatened by FRG and US monopolies, they are ed.

our country the situation is different. We had no broad anti-st resistance. Many Austrians remained duped by fascist until tically the end of the war. In their eyes Communists were trai- while most Austrian men were fighting the Russians, British Americans, Communists advocated victory for the Soviet Union, ain and the United States. After the allied victory the Commun- together with the Soviet Union, called for consistent denazifi-on and the punishment of war criminals; these were not univer-y popular slogans at the time, which again was used by our oppo ts to accuse Communists of betraying the interests of the nation. ll this has, naturally, left deep marks in the consciousness of ple, and at times we have underrated its effects. We argued that mmunists had waged an extremely difficult struggle both in many and in Austria. Communists suffered great losses, but that ggle, I must say, was in large measure isolated from the people. situation in France was quite different and the Party there was ely linked with the people. .

Incidentally, the bourgeoisie reckons with all this, which makes r tasks more difficult. It has drawn conclusions from the political uggles, it has learned to manoeuvre, for example, to present its ticipation in the rivalries of monopoly groups as defence of ional interests, etc. I would even say that, regrettably, the bour-isie has learned some of its lessons better than us. The critics of mmunism even make use of our achievements. For example, the umph of socialist revolution in a number of countries and the mation of the socialist world system was one of the greatest gains the international working class. In the socialist countries patrio- is a sense of devotion not just to one's country but to the ialist state, it is an expression of the unity of the people, the rty and the government. In our country the Communists are in position. They come out against bourgeois governments. But our urgeois and Social-Democratic critics (and even revisionists) echanically transfer the norms of life in socialist countries to pitalist conditions, comparing socialist patriotism and the cohesion

of the working people of the socialist countries around their governments with the Communists' opposition to bourgeois governments.

How can such influences be countered, how can the masses be won over to the Communist ideology? It is a difficult question.

Doig. Not hopeless, though?

Furnberg. Certainly not, but neither do I know any easy answer The situation confronts the Party with specific tasks of finding an approach to the masses, and we are seeking it.

Doig. I think that you to some extent answered the question of how to bring home to the masses our notions of patriotism and internationalism when you spoke of your Party's struggle for Austrian neutrality. The main thing, as I see it, is to correctly determine the main directions of the struggle, in keeping with national interests and the interests of the international working-class movement, to clearly formulate the slogans and define objectives, and [illegible] unite and educate the masses in a concrete struggle for concrete an[illegible] meaningful objectives.

Furnberg. That is correct I should also like to dwell on the connection between Communist patriotism and internationalism a[illegible] the tasks of the struggle for advanced democracy, on the democr[illegible] nature of our patriotism and our internationalism Today this [illegible] very important question

We do not advocate the kind of elitist patriotism: the patrio[illegible] of the "leading forces of the nation", that the bourgeoisie does [illegible] advocate democratic patriotism [illegible] patriotism of the people [illegible] say that the struggle for patrio[illegible] is impossible with the democratic participation [illegible] When the working c[illegible] becomes the vanguard [illegible] the nation [illegible] state power [illegible] present not only its own class interests but the interests [illegible] nation [illegible] whole

Doig Isn't th[illegible] danger [illegible] viewpoint [illegible]

Furnberg. Th[illegible] by fraterna[illegible] [illegible] Programme [illegible] national a[illegible] working class [illegible] alliances to [illegible] reactionary forces [illegible] These are positive [illegible] lopments, though [illegible] may vary [illegible] say that patr[illegible] doesn't mean th[illegible] majority especia[illegible] the experience of [illegible] something Marxist[illegible]

ists have never advocated. They fight to bring their ideas home to the majority, to win the majority over to their side.

But I think you are right on how to approach the problem. If we were to formulate the first, second, third, etc. patriotic and internationalist tasks, priority, I think, should be given to the struggle to preserve peace, shore up detente and assure peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Closely linked with this is a second task, the struggle against international monopoly capital. It is right to say that the two nearly coincide, but there are also important differences.

In the struggle for peace we have a very wide front of allies; the petty-bourgeois masses, even part of the bourgeoisie, are prepared to join us in the fight. It is relatively easy to bring to the masses an understanding of the internationalist task of fighting for peace, which is at the same time a national patriotic task. The second task is likewise both national and international, but bringing it to the understanding of the masses is much more difficult.

Let me cite this example. Semerit is an Austrian subsidiary of Michelin. Now with the crisis it has decided to relocate in Ireland, where production costs are lower. Other international monopolies are moving their plants from West Germany to Austria and Italy. This makes for contradictions between the interests of the workers of the countries concerned.

Doig. We are having much the same experience in Canada. Westinghouse and General Electric are closing down their sophisticated plants in Canada and moving to Mexico, Hong Kong, Latin America and Africa. Thousands of Canadian workers are left without jobs. In this situation, some become vulnerable to nationalist propaganda.

Furnberg. The maxim coined by the revolutionaries of 1848—a blow at your enemy is also a blow at mine—can be rephrased: by fighting your monopoly capital you are fighting mine too. The Communist parties and trade unions have rich experience in organising solidarity actions in their own countries. When production is relocated to another country, it is only logical to organise action against this in both of the countries concerned.

Doig. We have had concrete examples of this kind of solidarity.

Furnberg. Yes, in 1973 joint action by the workers of the multinational AKZO plants in West Germany, Holland, Belgium and Austria compelled abandonment of plans to cut back production in West Germany and Holland. Now they are fighting to save 6,500 jobs. Of course, organising a demonstration or strike in solidarity

with workers of another country is not a simple matter—you can lose your jib. Bue experience has shown that this is both necessary and possible.

Doig. We have learned this from our experience: if you want to succeed you have to reckon with certain losses. You pay very dearly for underestimating the link between international and national successes. I think it is especially important to bring the youth into solidarity movements. In fact, young people are coming to take a more active part in our actions against the multinationals, for genuine independence for Canada, for peace and detente. These are things young people understand and appreciate, and through participation in such actions we help them understand our ideas of internationalism.

Furnberg. Unfortunately, in Austria the bourgeoisie have managed to inculcate nationalism in one part of the youth and apolitical cosmopolitan consumerism in another part. We should not be misled by the actions of some student groups. The fact is that most students are concerned with their own problems and are indifferent to politics. But among the young workers, especially, you will find not only an interest in politics, but a desire to share in the political struggle. The solidarity movement with Vietnam, and, more recently, with Portugal and Spain, confirms this. But I still think that success in the internationalist education of the youth will be achieved only if we convincingly answer questions that are troubling the youth. Why is fascism still alive? Why is the relative prosperity of the working people of Western Europe, the US and Canada still paid for with the blood and sweat of the peoples of the former colonies, and why, lastly, has the international working-class movement failed to put an end to nationalism? This is still a weak aspect of our work.

True, there is the fairly widespread opinion that the better you work the better chance you have of winning over the youth. This is not altogether so. There is often disenchantment: we work hard but the expected results do not come. This can lead to pessimism. Of course, the better we work today the easier will the struggle be tomorrow. But it would be wrong to think that the youth can be won over only by better organisation work and intensified propaganda. We have to make better use of major social developments. This can accelerate politicalisation of the youth.

Doig. In Canada the bourgeoisie have been relatively successful in neutralising the youth. Young people are showing less interest in political parties. But let us not forget that politics are not con-

to parties. The rise and growth of mass democratic anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist movements in Canada is something new, and for the youth they represent a political school, with the result that today many young Canadians are looking for a way out—they see no future in capitalism. And here our activity, our ability to help them find the correct path, can be a very significant factor. I understand you, Comrade Furnberg, when you speak of the conditions needed for mass politicalisation of the youth. And I think that you do not have in mind a wait-and-see attitude.

Furnberg. Certainly not. But I wanted to emphasise that we must reckon with realities.

Doig. We take pride in the fact that more and more Canadians, workers and unemployed, are adapting the patriotic positions of the Communists and are beginning to share in solidarity actions. Not so long ago, according to an opinion poll, one Canadian in three (and this included workers) was unconcerned about civil rights for the Eskimos and Canadian Indians. Today the struggle of these oppressed and exploited ethnic groups is becoming part of the struggle of our organised working class.

Of course, we have to do more than we have done to date. Our dialogue did not cover all the problems. In conclusion, I would like to stress this: the problems confronting the Communist parties in the various countries, their patriotic tasks, cannot be solved in isolation from the international revolutionary movement. If a Marxist-Leninist puts the national factor above the common principles of the Communist movement, he is thereby departing from the position of his class and taking up the class positions of the enemy.

Furnberg. Naturally, we have not dealt with all the aspects of the problem. We have formulated many questions but have not answered them, and that, I think, is no more than natural. Much requires collective thinking, generalisation of the experience of different countries. The complex tasks before us require more frequent meetings, more extensive exchange of experience to work out common aims and policies, without, however, in any way departing from the agreed international line, for any such departure recoils on the success of other contingents of the Communist movement, in some cases compelling them to suspend solution of their own problems in order to cover the breach in our common front. It would be gratifying to know that we have to some extent drawn attention to these questions.

The Struggle Against Zionism is a Class Struggle

Meir Vilner

The [illegible] detente and peaceful coexistence betw[illegible] [illegible] peoples. Detente does not run counter to the struggle for nationa[l] [illegible] democracy, social progress and socialism. Indeed, it creates [illegible] struggle.

[illegible] class struggle is the ideological struggle, [illegible] climate of detente. The fight agains[t] [illegible] ideas. In Israel, it is the duty of ever[y] [illegible] interests of the working man and the [illegible] to guarantee the security and [illegible] by Zionist policy.

[illegible] by the fact that internati[onal] [illegible] in their own way for the [illegible] They have announced that [illegible] convene a world congress in Br[illegible] persecution of Jews in the Soviet [Union] [illegible] collaborated with the imperial[ists] [illegible] revolutionary working-class m[ovement] [illegible] Zionists have been enem[ies] [illegible] World War II they took an equally [illegible] only one aspect of th[e] [illegible] that Zionism has alwa[ys] [illegible] social liberation in the Mi[ddle East] [illegible] and 17th congresses of [illegible] stressed both aspects.

[illegible] keeping with Marx[ist] [illegible] Israeli people or Jew[s] [illegible]

ties at large and describe the struggle against Zionism as a fight ag- the Israeli people or Jews generally and therefore stigmatise it as -Semitic".

ven Zionist leaders admit that "Jew" and "Zionist" are two different cepts. "There is growing indifference to Zionism among most American s," wrote Michael Shash a in *Yedioth Aharonoth* of *November 6, 1975.* fact, Zionism often becomes a burden for them. The majority of erican Jews are not Zionists in the original sense of the term, which ans that every Jew is in duty bound to immigrate to Zion. They are not nists either culturally, or in terms of meeting financial commitments. ly 20 per cent of America's Jews contribute to United Israel Appeal d."

This being the case as presented by the Zionist leaders themselves, on at grounds do they describe the fight against Zionist ideology and prac- e as a fight against Jews or even against the people of Israel?

There could be no bigger lie. Indeed, a well-orchestrated Zionist- perialist campaign has been organised to equate the terms "Zionist" and ew", "Zionism" and "Israel". Ever since the 30th Session of the UN neral Assembly passed a resolution condemning Zionism as a form of ism and racial discrimination, Zionist and imperialist quarters have magogically called its action an "anti-Semitic" move directed against the ry existence of the State of Israel. Like a thief who cries "Stop thief!", ey misname things to justify the Israeli rulers' policy of occupation and ritorial expansion and the activities of Zionist organisations against the rces of progress, national liberation and socialism.

Those behind the campaign are trying to divert public attention from e General Assembly decisions on the Palestinian problem by raising a e and cry against the resolution condemning Zionism. The decisions call, s everyone knows, for granting the Palestine Liberation Organisation PLO) the right to participate in all peace talks and conferences on the ddle East. In particular, they recommend inviting the PLO to the Geneva ace conference on an equal footing with all the other participants, and ablishing a General Assembly committee to consider ways and means giving concrete expression to the right of the Arab people of Palestine self-determination, including the right to independent statehood. It is ar that a campaign aimed at discrediting the above decisions has noth- in common with the Israeli people's aspirations, in fact, contradicts m, and in no way contributes to peace.

The struggle against Zionism as the reactionary ideology and political ctice of the Jewish bourgeoisie does not contradict the national interests the Israeli people or the Jewish masses in other countries. On the con- ry, it serves these interests most truly, the 17th CPI Congress declared. rxist-Leninists closely link their struggle against Zionism with their

struggle against anti-Semitism. The Zionist movement, by using anti-Semitism to achieve its selfish ends, plays into the hands of racist, and reactionary forces.

This explains why the ideological struggle against Zionism is closely interwoven with the struggle against anti-Semitism. In both, it is imperative to draw a sharp, principled distinction between the concepts "Zionism" and "the Israeli people", "Zionism" and "the Jewish people". The fight against Zionism requires a class approach based on Leninist criteria. This is the only approach that is principled and compatible with sincere concern for the fate of the Israeli people, for the destinies of the Jewish masses, as part of the general concern for the peace and freedom of the peoples, for democracy and socialism. Disregard of these necessary conditions can do much harm. Our ideological and political opponents use every mistake, however slight, for fresh anti-communist or anti-Soviet fabrications so as to disguise the reactionary ideology and practice of Zionism and cover up the Israeli rulers' aggressive and annexationist policies. They show particular zeal in slandering the Soviet Union and its Middle East policy.

We Israeli Communists consider the Soviet Union's Middle East policy a principled, Leninist policy motivated by sincere concern for world peace and security and for the legitimate national rights of all the peoples and states of our region without exception.

Racism, national oppression and every form of discrimination on national grounds are products of capitalism. It is only under socialism that the economic and social class roots of racism and national discrimination are destroyed and the freedom and equality of all peoples are really guaranteed.

The Soviet Union has been, and remains, a friend of all nations and nationalities. In the Middle East it is a true friend of both the Arabs and the Israeli people. It draws a fundamental distinction between the policy of Israel's government and Zionist leadership, on one hand, and the true interests of the Israeli people and the Jewish masses, on the other.

This is why the fight against Zionist ideology and the policy of Israel's rulers merges necessarily with the struggle against anti-Sovietism. It effectively serves the universal cause of peace and socialism, as well as the vital interests of the Israeli people and the Jewish masses throughout the world. Such is the position of Israel's Communists.

The 17th CPI Congress stated in its resolution that "Zionism, far from achieving security for the Israeli people, poses a danger to them". This conclusion was drawn upon an analysis of the Zionist leaders' policy, which makes Israel's future dependent on imperialism and isolates the country from the Arab world, the socialist community and the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America fighting for national and social liberation. The Congress saw the struggle against Zionist ideology and practice as a manifestation of Israeli patriotism, as defence of the genuine national interests

of the Israeli people, and of the Jewish working people everywhere, and as a contribution to the common cause of peace, peoples' independence, democracy and socialism. We Israeli Communists see opposition to Zionism as part of the patriotic and revolutionary class struggle.

Zionist ideology is rooted in bourgeois nationalism and even racialism. It tries to explain anti-Semitism and the persecution of Jews in capitalist countries by the mere presence of Jews among non-Jews. From the Zionist point of view, anti-Semitism is not a class phenomenon typical of feudalism and capitalism, but a "natural", "eternal" phenomenon inherent in other nations and due to the presence of Jews among them. The "solution" suggested by the Zionists does not lie in abolishing the system of exploitation which gives rise to national oppression, discrimination and racism, including anti-Semitism, nor in building a socialist society, but in isolating the Jewish working people from all other working people and in concentrating the Jews in one country—around Mt. Zion.

This is reactionary utopia today, as it was before the emergence of the State of Israel. The great majority of the Jewish working people have no ties with Israel. Its existence has not, and could not have, ended racism or its component, anti-Semitism, in capitalist countries. History shows that the Jewish question—the problem of freeing the Jewish masses from national oppression and eliminating anti-Semitism—can be fully and finally resolved only when the class roots of racism and anti-Semitism are destroyed, that is, when socialism triumphs.

Therefore, Marxists-Leninists do not regard the Zionist movement as a national-liberation movement, but as a reactionary nationalist one, an instrument of the Jewish bourgeoisie, used by imperialism in its struggle against the three revolutionary forces of our time: the socialist world system, the international revolutionary working-class movement, and the anti-imperialist movement for national liberation.

That, too, is how we Israeli Communists see Zionism. Our 16th Party Congress stressed that the Zionist movement does not base its programme in practice on struggle against imperialism but on alliance with it. In capitalist countries it collaborates with the big bourgeoisie against the Communist movement advocating isolation of the Jewish working people from their class brothers and renunciation of the struggle to change the existing social system and achieve socialism. In the Middle East too, the Zionist movement has always been—contrary to the national interests of the Israeli people—a devoted ally of the imperialists who suppressed the Arab peoples' national liberation movement.[1] Today the Zionist leadership of Israel is pursuing a policy of territorial conquest in alliance with imperialism.

[1] This was also the case under Turkish and British rule.

In Israel itself, the Zionist movement operates against the interests of the masses. It sets Jewish workers apart, urges them to distrust their Arab class brothers and foments chauvinism and nationalist arrogance. It also works against the national liberation of the Israeli people from the shackles of foreign capital and dependence on imperialism.

Zionism in the international arena is an instrument used by imperialism in its global plans, which are directed primarily against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. In Asia, Africa and Latin America, it assists imperialist neocolonialist activity.

The Communist Party of Israel maintains that there is no progressive Zionism, nor can there be. Zionist ideology is essentially reactionary, as is the entire practice of the Zionist movement. Our Party sees the class division in Israeli society as a decisive factor and shapes its strategy and tactics accordingly. The Zionists themselves are rent by political differences and social contradictions. In Israel some Zionists and Zionist groups, while identifying themselves with Zionist ideology, take a correct stand on certain socio-political problems. This is why our Party has always considered cooperation with them on specific social and political issues to be both possible and necessary. At the same time, it continues its ideological and political struggle against Zionism. Our Party strives for the working people's unity of action for their immediate interests and seeks a united peace front of all those in Israel who oppose government policy and endorse peace without annexations.

There are people who see a contradiction in our position. They ask how we can cooperate with Zionists if Zionist ideology and political practice are reactionary. It follows, they argue, that either the first or the second part of our conception is wrong. Yes, there is a contradiction, except that it is not in our position but in that of those Zionists or Zionist groups.

Take the trade union struggle in Israel, often very acute. These are strikes and demonstrations, battles with police and opposition to anti-labour orders passed by the labour courts. The workers do all this to protect their wages and living standards, their civil rights and liberties. Unfortunately most working people still fail to see the consequences of the Zionist rulers' policy of aggression and territorial expansion, which leads to enormous military expenditures and a lower standard of living. Most of them do not realise the connection between the country's deteriorating economic and political situation and its bondage to American monopolies, its subservience to US imperialism in its struggle against the movement for national and social liberation in the Arab world and against socialism. As a result, many support the policy of the ruling circles while staunchly resisting its adverse effects.

This is also true of the struggle for peace. All the Zionist parties and organisations supported the wars of aggression launched by Israel in 1956

and 1967, the first in collusion with the French and British imperialists, and the second in collusion with American imperialism. The aggression had definite aims, the primary aim being to overthrow the anti-imperialist and progressive regimes in Egypt and Syria. These wars were intended to put into effect the Zionist policy of conquest and of ending the national existence of the Arab people of Palestine, the main victim of the anti-Arab policy of the Zionist rulers of Israel. This policy is characterised by territorial expansion (whenever the situation makes it possible), discrimination and national oppression towards the Arab population of Israel. and nationalist arrogance encouraged by material support from imperialist powers.

It took many people years to realise that it is impossible to continue occupying Arab territories and ignoring the Arab people of Palestine, alleged to present a special danger to Israel. Against this background, the struggle of our Party for the withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territories occupied in the June 1967 war, and for recognition of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, specifically their right to self-determination and to an independent state alongside the State of Israel is increasingly appreciated by Israeli public opinion This development, brought about by the new balance of forces in the world and the Middle East, especially after the October 1967 war, has created the opportunity to work for a broad peace front based on political realism.

The CPI does everything to unite the peace-loving forces of the country. When united, they will have new and greater opportunities to influence political decision-making and hence to bring about a change of official policy. We have made visible progress in laying the groundwork for a peace front, but the greater part of the work is still before us and we must overcome difficulties in accomplishing it. Not a few leaders and spokesmen of the political circles taking a realistic view of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestine question refuse out of anti-Communist prejudice, to join with our Party in united action They make political cooperation conditional on an ideological agreement between the Communist and Zionists. Of course, this is an unrealistic approach. After all the Communists do not demand of people differing with them on ideological matters that they should adopt Marxism-Leninism as a precondition for unity of action. And if there is agreement that continuation of today's official policy is fraught with grave dangers to Israel, then those who divide the forces of peace and political realism on ideological grounds bear a grave responsibility indeed.

The peace-loving, anti-imperialist and progressive forces of the Middle East and other areas are interested in the unity of the largest possible number of realistically-minded people in Israel who can bring about a change in official policy in favour of peace and cooperation with the countries of our region.

The October 1973 war dealt a blow to the over-confidence of certain seg-

ments of the Israeli population. This also applies to Jewish circles in the USA. Not a few of these people have come to the right conclusion, and others, disheartened by the outcome of the war, are asking. How long can Israel survive? A revealing article was contributed to *Davar* on September 5, 1975 by Uri Gordon, head of the Department for the Rising Generation in the Zionist Movement. He wrote that "many Jews are pessimistic about the future of the State of Israel" and often say they are doubtful it can survive. But instead of drawing the natural conclusion that the Israeli government should change its policy and orientation, Gordon suggests intensifying propaganda among the Jews in the USA.

The 16th CPI Congress pointed out that Zionist policy is detrimental to the Jewish nation developing in Israel and has always imperilled the future of the state, and that the policy of expansion with imperialist help prevents the establishment of a just peace between Israel and the Arab countries and the consolidation of Israel as a state recognised by the peoples of the region. "The problem of the Jews and other inhabitants of Israel," the Congress stated, "is to end dependence on foreign capital and imperialist powers, and to achieve peace with the neighbouring Arab states on the basis of mutual respect for rights, including the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine." This is how our Party sees the way out of the impasse into which the policies of the Zionist leadership of Israel has led the country.

The Communists reject both the exaggerated self-confidence shown in some Israeli quarters, who rely on the country's "military superiority" and American imperialist support, and the other extreme, despair. Many have come to realise that Israel's current policy is completely divorced from reality and the balance of forces in the world and the region, offers the Israeli people no positive future and, in fact, threatens a disaster amounting to national suicide. [illegible] these people often tend to infer that there is no future at all for the State of Israel.

We Communists have warned more than once that the ruling circles' Zionist policy, alleged to represent the interests of the Israeli people, is not only anti-Arab and anti-Communist but also, and to the same extent, anti-Israeli, anti-national. We have always warned that the policy of "by the sword thou shalt live", a policy geared to a military solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict, is bound to end in defeat. At the same time we insist that there is a way out, that contrary to claims the Arab peoples have no intention of "throwing Israel into the sea" and that our Arab neighbours are prepared for a just peace with Israel. Moreover, they are ready to meet Israel halfway, for all of them are willing to recognise Israel within the borders of June 4, 1967 to which Israel will have to withdraw.

The Palestine Liberation Organisation has lately tended to take a similar stand. In September 1975 its Chairman, Yasser Arafat, was interviewed by *Newsweek* (Sept. 15, 1975). "Other Arab leaders," said the interviewer,

"told me that if Israel returns to the 1967 borders and if a Palestine state is established on the West Bank and in Gaza, a true Arab-Israeli reconciliation and stable peace will be achieved. Do you consent to this?" Arafat replied: "This means there will be a peace settlement." This, then, is the truth which no amount of brainwashing through the Israeli and imperialist mass media can conceal.

In other words, while the policy of the ruling Zionist quarters poses the gravest threat to Israel, we Marxists-Leninists show the Israeli people the road to a life in peace and security, to friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation with Arab peoples.

In spite of the Israeli Zionist rulers' adament obstruction of peace efforts and of the all-round backing they get from the US imperialists, we Communists of Israel are certain that with the present balance of world forces it is possible to impose a realistic policy on imperialism and its stooges in the Zionist leadership of Israel, compel them to withdraw from all the territories occupied in 1967 and to recognise, even against their will, the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, their right to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent state alongside the State of Israel.

Our 17th Party Congress stated: "The continuing changes in the correlation of forces in the world and in our region, to the detriment of the Washington rulers and their stooges, the intensification of the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab peoples and growing opposition within Israel to war and annexation will eventually compel American imperialism and the Israeli rulers to renounce their aggressive adventurism in the Middle East."

The first signs of this are already visible. To be sure, US imperialism and the Israeli government, having secured the concert of the rightist leaders of some Arab countries, still hold up this process. They mislead people and may touch off a new war in the Middle East. But they cannot turn back the general course of history, which, in spite of all its zigzags, leads to the victory of peace, national independence and social progress in our region too.

Reaction's "Left Hand"

Alvaro Mosquera

Groups following the "Chinese model" and extolling the practice and concepts of Maoism, that caricature of Marxism, have been trying to take hold in Colombia. The tragedy of these Colombian Maoists is that they are committed to an ideology which, far from having a universal appeal, has no relation whatever to Colombian reality and only serves to disorient revolutionary political practice. Yet they have social roots within the country, among the petty-bourgeois strata receptive to Maoist demagogy. But, essentially, they are doomed to remain artificial, foreign-inspired organisations.

To understand the conditions that helped Maoism penetrate Colombia, one must bear in mind the following. The Chinese leaders' break with the communist movement coincided with the radicalisation of definite groups in Colombia influenced by the Cuban revolution. Some of these later embraced Maoism. Its "super-revolutionary" slogans attract the politically immature who see revolution as something simple and one-dimensional.

Characteristic of the motley collection of Maoist groups is shaky ideological and political positions, utter confusion in matters of strategy and tactics, endless squabbling, splitting up into new factions, and excommunicating dissidents. The very existence of these quarreling pro-Maoist groups and grouplets is eloquent evidence of the crisis of Maoism in Colombia. Nevertheless, despite all the squabbling, they have in common vicious anti-Sovietism, systematic attacks on the Communist Party of Colombia, repeated attempts to undermine the class trade unions and the unitarian democratic political organisations. All this, though justified by a welter of ultra-left phraseology, objectively puts them in the camp of reaction.

The first of these Maoist groups called itself the "Marxist-Leninist Communist Party". It was formed in the early 60s as a faction within the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. It failed to seriously under

mine the organisational unity of the Colombian Communists, who are ideologically and politically mature, have gone through the harsh school of clandestinity and know how to employ different forms of class struggle.

From the very outset the "party" followed a rigid simplistic pattern. Like most Colombian Maoists, it clung to the Bakuninist dogma of non-participation in elections under any circumstances. This, plus advocacy of armed struggle in rural and urban areas, was the sum total of its tactics. However, it tried to win support among the middle strata and the peasants and to do that advanced slogans in defence of economic demands.

Claiming to support united proletarian action, it remained adamantly sectarian, its "unity" being confined to alliances of Maoist and other leftist groups. The Colombian Maoists blame the "two super powers" for the split in the trade union movement and denounce the Communists and their political allies as a "reserve of imperialism". At the same time, however, they try to infiltrate Communist-influenced organisations.

This Maoist organisation has brought together anti-Party elements around an unprincipled programme of struggle against the Communist Party. As was only to be expected, two groups soon broke away the "Left Extremists" and a rightist group which borrowed much from the Extremists. There are also two new factions, the "Marxist-Leninist League" and the "Marxist-Leninist CP—Proletarian Line".

The League's programme is based on the ideology of agrarianism. It absolutises our backward agriculture and denies that capitalism is the dominant system in Colombia. Its anarchistic nature finds expression in its equating revolution with peasant war. But it has also proclaimed in favour of organising the masses to fight for their immediate and political demands and has put out slogans for the student movement. The "Proletarian Line" group seems to be following in the footsteps of the reformist National People's Alliance, is opposed to the unity policy of the Colombian Trade Union Confederation.

The Maoist Pueblo (People), Siete (Seven) and Jornada Camilista (The Camilo Path) organisations address themselves to the peasantry. Like all Maoists, they maintain that there is no proletarian party in Colombia but, unlike some other groups, they do not make organisation of such a party their chief aim. They are affiliated to the National United Front which rejects participation in elections. Anti-Soviet and anti-Communist, they attack peaceful coexistence and advocate revolutionary violence, maintaining that all opportunities for legal action have been tried and have failed, though they themselves operate legally.

Some members of the reformist National People's Alliance have come under Maoist influence and, very much like Edgar Poe's black raven, keep repeating the Peking refrain about "superpower hegemony". They attack

the socialist countries, and advocate a "Colombian model" of socialism in contrast to the scientific socialism of our Party.

Besides these, there are other Maoist groups with still more confused political and organisational programmes. Their verbal extremism goes hand in hand with rank reformism. Reflecting the duality and vacillation of the petty-bourgeoisie, they seek to make up for their inability to conduct mass revolutionary work by an incessant flow of "ultra revolutionary" phraseology and inconsequential demands. These opportunists direct the disenchantment of the "impatient revolutionaries" into the channel of partisan struggle which is the be all and end all of Colombian Maoism.

The so-called "Independent Revolutionary Workers' Movement" (MOIR) merits closer examination. Its origins go back to the now defunct "Worker, Student and Peasant Movement", an organisation of students from democratically-minded sections of the petty bourgeoisie who adopted a more radical attitude under the influence of the sharpening crisis in Colombia and of the Cuban revolution, the methods of which they tried to duplicate in Colombia.

Subsequently, this organisation came under the influence of renegades from the Communist Party and degenerated into a group with extremist and adventuristic aims based on its "theory of partisan centres". It called for a peasant partisan war, which it contrasted to all forms of legal mass struggle. It rejected the leading role of the working class in favour of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia and talked long and loudly about the organisation of a genuine "Marxist-Leninist Party"—even denying the existence of the Communist Party in Colombia. Its tactics were to "unite under its leadership all armed people, all partisan movements whatever their political complexion".[1] That policy led to a series of defeats. Its founder, the student Antonio Larrota, was killed by government encouraged bogus partisans.

Following endless quarrels within the "Worker, Student and Peasant Movement", a group broke away to form the "Independent Revolutionary Workers' Movement". At first it concentrated on anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. Experience has shown that the Maoists' chief enemy is not imperialism and the oligarchy, but the proletarian party and the international Communist movement.

The Maoists were responsible for destroying, bringing under the influence of company stooges, or paralysing many class trade union organisations. The divisive activities of MOIR are detrimental to the interests of other sections of the population which it has penetrated, for example the students.

The Communist tactic of combining various forms of struggle is still another target of attack by MOIR. The Communists strive to use election cam-

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[1] Gilberto Vieira, *Organicemos la revolucion Colombiana*: Informe Politico al IX Congreso del PCC, p. 87, Bogota, 1961.

paigns as one means of mobilising the people, and this is fully in line with Leninist traditions. But MOIR asserts that taking part in elections means rejecting revolutionary violence and accepting the "revisionist illusion" of peaceful paths created by "right-wing opportunist leaders who have renounced socialism."[2]

However, in 1972 MOIR abruptly changed its policy and decided to put up candidates together with the reformists. It offered this somewhat unexpected explanation: "If we did not understand this problem and argued that non-participation in elections was the correct general line, it was only because of our ignorance of Marxism".[3]

Having made that decision, MOIR shifted to the very opposite extreme. Elections, it said, were vitally essential "to create the conditions for the demolition of obsolete institutions (e.g., Parliament—A.M.) and their replacement by truly democratic representative institutions in which all state power would be concentrated in the hands of the workers, peasants and the people at large".[4] And so, the leftists took up rightist positions—even some MOIR supporters could not stomach that.

MOIR contends that Colombia is in the midst of a "cultural revolution", meaning the bourgeois-democratic reforms for which the students have fought all along. Transplanting "Mao's ideas" to Colombian soil, MOIR extols that revolutionary spirit of the national bourgeoisie, equating it with the proletariat and arguing that capitalist development is the chief aim of the revolution's initial stage, when the peasanry "is the main force".[5]

Despite ideological differences with our Party, MOIR's rejection of election boycotts enabled us to cooperate with it and other democratic trends within the framework of a broad front. Furthermore, in this period MOIR ceased, at least temporarily, its public slander of the Communist Party, and even cooperated with it on common tasks at trade union and political level. In 1973 it joined the National Opposition Alliance (NOA), of which the Communist Party was the biggest affiliate and which fought the 1974 elections on an anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy platform, polling nearly 200,000 votes and electing 7 members of parliament.

But following the March 1975 Congress of the Trade Union Confederation (TUC), MOIR was back at its old hegemonic tricks. On the basis of a subjectivist assessment of the relation of forces, it attacked the militant TUC leadership. In fact, it tried to sabotage the Congress, ordering its few supporters to walk out, and vied with the government and bourgeois press

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[2] F. Mosquera, MOIR, en libro *Colombia. Tres Vias a la Revolucion*, p. 143. Bogota, 1973.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 122.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 114.

in attacking the TUC and its national forum, accusing it of engineering a coup with the help of... international communism. Now MOIR is trying to induce unions under its influence to withdraw from the TUC. Its campaign against the Communist Party has won plaudits from the oligarchic press. The big dailies, *Tiempo, Expectador, Siglo,* have opened their columns to MOIR propaganda.

One of MOIR's biggest crimes against the TUC and unity of the working class and the people was the way it got the National Teachers' Federation to withdraw from the TUC: it joined forces with the ultra-lefts and other Maoist and Trotskyist groups, not shunning assistance from such ultra-right quarters as Opus Dei and the pro-fascist Tradition, Family and Property organisation. But its subversive campaign is meeting with mounting resistance from trade union branches, even from some of its leaders. One of them, Octavio Valverde, resigned from MOIR, denouncing its subversion as "the most heinous crime" against the working class and "the greatest service to reaction".

The MOIR's anti-unity campaign is directed also against the National Opposition Alliance, now in a state of crisis largely due to MOIR's sectarianism. There have been attempts to blame the Communists for the shaky state of the alliance, even maintaining that the Communists support the government—and this at a time when four members of the Communist Party have been executed.

MOIR is causing damage also to the student movement where its sectarianism and anti-Communism play into the hands of the ruling classes. Indicative of this respect is the statement by Misael Pastrana, rightist and ex-President, in connection with the events in the National University: "Our national centre of culture has become the scene of polemics which have international implications, polemics between the humane Marxism advocated by Maoism and Soviet expansionist communism."[6]

That Pastrana joins the Maoists in slandering the socialist countries, that he justifies the Maoist ideology, does not come as a surprise. Apparently he did his homework in China and returning from that country he spoke with sympathy of the "incredible achievements" of Maoism and of the views of the "supreme leader".[7]

The big bourgeoisie appreciates the services rendered by the Colombian and Peking Maoists. The reactionary weekly, *La Republica*, often carried editorials larded with Maoist attacks on the socialist community and praise of Peking's splitting activities which, the paper says, are based on "subtle intelligence and immortal propositions".[8] It welcomes close ties between

[6] *Cuadernos politicos*, No. 5, p. 12, Bogota, 1975.
[7] *El Siglo*, Feb. 8, 1975.
[8] *La Republica*, March 6, 1975.

Mao and Pinochet, who are united by their "resolute anti-Sovietism".[9] Another ex-president, Lleras Camargo, editor-in-chief of the North American magazine *Vision*, refers to Mao Tse-tung as the "hero of a continuous revolution", praising him for rejecting the Marxist proposition on the historic mission of the proletariat and breaking with the USSR.[10]

In the final analysis, Colombian supporters of the Peking leadership serve Peking's plans. The bourgeoisie is fully aware of the social and political role of Maoism, its bellicose anti-Soviet and anti-Marxist nature, its splitting activities. Maoism and its supporters are reaction's "Left hand".

The Communist Party of Colombia cannot remain neutral towards Maoism and its policies. And it has never been neutral, even in the period of joint action with MOIR, whose ideology is the opposite of ours. Our Communist Party regards ideological neutrality towards Maoism as a concession to nationalistic narrow-mindedness and to opportunism on matters of principle. Objectively, such neutrality helps the Peking leadership shore up its hegemonic positions, adds fuel to the anti-Communist campaign, weakens the struggle for national and social liberation, prevents unity of the Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and does grave damage to the interests of the Chinese people.

And, of course, the Maoists are not neutral, though they would very much like to see others remain neutral. In an open letter to our Communist Party, MOIR says that our differences stem from the antagonistic contradiction between the Communist and the Maoist theories. MOIR's invitation to us to accept ideas consonant with the "era of Mao Tse-tung", is an ideological challenge. That is why, in keeping with our Communist convictions, we must come out against the ideology of Maoism and in defence of Marxism-Leninism and our Party's class positions.

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[9] *La República*, Oct. 5, 1975.
[10] *El Tiempo*, Feb. 9, 1975.

Thirty Years in Parliament

Reminiscences

Dominique Urbany,

Dominique Urbany was born on March 29, 1903, into a miner's family in the town of Rumelange. He is a school-teacher by profession. A foundation member of the Young Communist League of Luxembourg and delegate to the Socialist congress at Differdange, he was among the group that voted for joining the Communist International and then left the congress to set up the Communist Party of Luxembourg on January 2, 1921.

Dominique Urbany became General Secretary of the CPL in 1933, and Chairman in 1965. For three decades since October 1945 he was a Member of Parliament, heading the Communist faction. These reminiscences about his years in Parliament were written at the request of *World Marxist Review.*

When I pass by the walls of the old building where Parliament sits and recall the time spent within its walls I often ask myself whether the best use was made of it. There was never any doubt that entering Parliament was necessary. The Communist movement had long ago defined its position concerning participation in bourgeois parliaments, the conditions of that participation, and the relationship between that form of struggle and the organised mass movement,[1] and it has accumulated a considerable body of experience. Moreover, we Communist MPs constantly had the interests of the working class in mind and did all we could to promote them. So why do I stop to reflect on the question?

First of all, probably, because it is hard to say: "Here are the real, tangible results of those efforts". But also, it is here that one becomes aware of the line between simple attendance of Parliament—with the dan-

[1] I recently read with interest E. Tuominen's article on the subject in the November 1975 issue of *WMR.*

ger of its becoming an end in itself or of participating in reformist actions —and real use of that bourgeois institution in the best interests of the working class and its struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society, for socialism. How can the two forms of participation be clearly separated? Are there guidelines that can be used to chart the right course, not merely in theory but in day-to-day practice? Today, when we of the older generation are being replaced in the Chamber of Deputies, as Luxembourg's Parliament is called, by younger Communists, I consider an answer to the question to be of the utmost importance; that is why we seek, together, to analyse the road traversed and the experience accumulated.

Communists entered Parliament on the crest of the popular movement brought to life by the defeat of fascism. Once, in 1934, when we received 7.3 per cent of the poll in the southern industrial district, entitling us to one seat, we were prevented from occupying it by the clerical-liberal majority, which voided the Communist ballot on the grounds that the Communist programme was "incompatible with the Constitution". In 1945 such a thing was no longer possible. The masses knew only too well how great a contribution to the victory had been made by the Soviet people led by their Communist Party; they also knew that in Luxembourg only the Communist Party carried on an organised struggle during the nazi occupation.

On its return from exile the government on March 12, 1945 set up a Consultative Chamber as a provisional parliament and appointed its members. Unable to ignore the public mood, it assigned three seats to the Communists. In the first postwar elections to the Chamber of Deputies, in October 1945, the CPL won 20.7 per cent of the ballot and four seats in the Southern election district, and 8.3 per cent and one seat in the central district. Thus, five Communists joined the new legally elected Parliament.

Returning in my thoughts to those days, I clearly remember our pride and confidence in our achievement: Now that we've made it, we'd get things rolling!

We had the support of thousands, many of whom believed we'd soon come to power and help them. I remember our comrades, who also believed in immediate success. They seemed to have forgotten that there were American tanks in Luxembourg. Some insisted on immediate radical action. But many of those who had exaggerated our possibilities later deserted us. We thus had to start with combating left extremist attitudes, though that was not so difficult, because the overwhelming majority of the Party were workers capable of soberly assessing the situation, without the groundless enthusiasm that is followed by disappointment and despair.

But I repeat that we were all full of hope and elan. We defined our main objectives, because we knew that we had to have a clear idea of the reasons for entering Parliament and keep from dissolving in its bourgeois atmosphere, from integrating, as they say today, in the machinery of capi-

talist state power; we had to use parliament for our own purposes. This approach was facilitated by our knowledge of Lenin's works dealing with questions of parliamentary struggle, notably *"Left"-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder,* as well as by experience we had acquired in the Comintern.

A few words about Luxembourg specifics are in order for a better grasp of our work in Parliament. The parliamentary regime is a result of the revolutionary movement of 1848, and that imprint is still there. To be sure, the rights of the Chamber of Deputies, and of the deputies themselves, were watered down little by little, but the institution has become a tradition firmly rooted in the mass consciousness. We are a small nation,[2] and Parliament is closer to the masses than in other capitalist countries. The Chamber debates small and miniscule administrative problems, and most deputies are not professional politicians. Abridged but fairly detailed accounts of parliamentary proceedings and decisions are circulated free to all constituents. I think this is a very democratic rule which, as far as I know, exists in no other capitalist country. True, the accounts reach their addressees two or three weeks after the sitting, which puts them out of date, but they nevertheless offer a clear idea of the goings-on in Parliament, of who advocates what, of the stand taken by one party or another on various issues. This is especially important for those who do not read daily newspapers. Those who don't get our paper can read a Communist deputy's contribution to the parliamentary debate in the proceedings. Thus Parliament is a genuine public forum. That is why I can say that even if it took no decisions at all, it would have been worth participating in.

Of course, Luxembourg's Chamber of Deputies is a bourgeois parliament, a well-greased mechanism which the ruling class uses most skillfully. The bourgeois parties try to use it to gloss over class contradictions and create the illusion that they are acting in the interests of the "whole nation". Our task is to dispel that illusion and *bring the class struggle into Parliament.* The contradictions between the working class and the bourgeoisie are reflected in practically all enacted laws, even the so-called good ones. We saw our prime duty in constantly accentuating that so as to promote the class consciousness of the workers. Mobilisation of the workers and the masses at large against big capital has always been one of the purposes of our parliamentary activity.

Obviously, the Party cannot win over the masses or advance towards our ultimate goal without upholding current working-class interests and struggling for better working and living conditions. At the very first session we put forward proposals which aroused a heated debate when put to the vote.

[2] Luxembourg covers an area of 2,586 square kilometres, with a population of 348,000 (1973). —*Ed.*

We saw our task in taking advantage of every debate to assess proposed legislation from the standpoint of the interests of the working class, to demonstrate how a bill or proposal corresponds to those interests and how it contradicts them, and to perseveringly pursue our class line. This applied fully to international problems debated in Parliament. We invariably defended the positions of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socalist community, regarding this as our internationalist class duty.

I must say that our hopes associated with Parliament did not lead to a reassessment of participation in it as a form of struggle. From the outset we linked our parliamentary activity with mass work. If necessary, we don't wait for official delivery of accounts of the proceedings and carried speeches by Communist MPs in our paper, which we distributed at factories and from door to door. We keep in close contact with the workers. Two Communist MPs are steelworkers, one of them is chairman and the other secretary of a factory worker committee. Deputy I. Grandgenet was general secretary of our trade union. Thus parliamentary activities were carried on alongside trade union activities, participation in meetings, demonstrations and even strikes.

I recall, for example, the time when minimum-wage legislation was being debated in 1945. We carried our case to the factories, and workers sent delegates to lobby the Chamber, although its rules of procedure prohibit it. As a result we were able to uphold our demands.

Ties with the workers, with the mass movement helped us preserve our influence, especially at large factories, even in the most difficult times. And these were not long in coming.

In February 1947, the unity of the government, which was a coalition of four parties, including ours, was disrupted by reactionaries. The cold war and Communist-baiting had begun. The united reactionary forces managed temporarily to push us back. In the 1951 elections our Party lost its seat from the central district (the capital). In 1954 it lost another seat from the southern district, leaving only three Communists in Parliament. The right-wing Socialist leaders were already speaking of a Communist rout. The Christian Social Party (the ruling party at the time) took a more sober view, however. Its newspaper *Luxemburger Wort* wrote that the Communists "still wield influence" and that the "three Communist musketeers will make enough noise for a dozen". Well, we did our best to justify those predictions.

An especially acute struggle developed over three international issues: in 1948, when the question of revoking the nation's neutrality was debated; in 1949, when the Chamber of Deputies debated Luxembourg's membership in NATO; and in 1952, when the European army debate was held. We had our share of defeats as well as victories. Communists played a deci-

sive part in the campaign which ultimately led to the ending of conscription. Time and again they won struggles for concrete social improvements. They did much to discredit the cold warriors and opponents of detente. Despite all difficulties, the Communists' principled stand strengthened their positions among the masses.

The Party's successes were especially impressive in the elections held in December 1968, just a few months after the August events in Czechoslovakia. Although the Party was being vilified by the reactionaries for its attitude towards those events, it was able to strengthen is positions decisively. In the southern district, for example, its share of the ballot rose to 22 per cent, and it won six seats (out of a total of 56).

What makes up the activities of a Communist MP? Not a sitting passes without Communists taking the floor to speak, demand clarifications or submit a bill or proposal reflecting the needs of the working people. Our work in Parliament differs in many ways from the work of deputies from other parties, notably in our sustained activity. Some bourgeois MPs speak in Parliament once a year just so that their constituents should not forget them. Some come to register their presence and then leave. Only a few members of a Parliamentary group remain in session, which is actually all they need. But we cannot, have no right, to do such things. Our duty is not just to attend Parliament—that would be a waste of time—but to attack, to expose the bourgeoisie and conciliators for all to see, to take over the initiative, to present our views, bolstered with well-founded arguments, to have the workers and peasants listen to us. Not simply to "make a brilliant speech" and win the praise of our opponent, but to convince the masses of the correctness of our stand, to be understandable and understood... I hold that a Communist MP must seriously master all the methods of parliamentary struggle. It is a domain of political art. and it is important for us not to concede victory to our opponents, but to defeat them.

We had to become specialists in many different fields because, unlike the big parties, we could not afford paid expert personnel. From the very start we divided our work. Comrade Useldinger specialised in taxes and financial matters. Comrade Grandgenet looked after labour and social problems, and I concentrated on education, foreign policy, public health and certain other matters. We set to work by wading through a maze of materials, making ourselves thoroughly acquainted with the relevant laws, and studying agrarian and international problems. As a school-teacher I could fall back on my experience on matters of education, but not on public health and I soon found myself studying medicine and pharmacy.

Naturally, all this required much time and much mental and physical energy. (Now our MPs are helped by specialists, because many intellectuals have joined the Party; there were none in my day.) We worked late into the night. Our parliamentary speeches were well argumented. Our oppo-

nents could not make light of them nor find "holes" in the presentation of our case.

We were represented on practically all the committees—social, public health, budget, and so on. The committees met behind closed doors to examine details of pending legislation. We could therefore clearly see what line our opponents were likely to take, and prepare our case when the question came up at a full meeting of Parliament.

Parliamentary debates are especially important because they are attended by the public and the press. The rules allow a certain time for debate speeches, but the rules were systematically changed to our disadvantage, along with other rights of the MPs. For instance, at one time an MP could speak after his question had been answered by a Minister. Now he is deprived of that right. These and other curtailments of parliamentary procedure were primarily directed against the Communists. And I might add that the Socialist Speakers were especially zealous in this respect.

The Speaker would constantly interfere, especially during the cold war years. We were often interrupted also by deputies from other parties. They tried to distract us so that we would have less time to put our case. The moment our time was up the Speaker would stop us, but very rarely deputies from other parties. These clashes with the Speaker continue to this day though, of course, the situation has changed. On several occasions I was called to order: if you are called to order a second time you are expected to leave the chamber. So we had to be very careful in choosing our words, without, however, in any way lowering the level of our criticism or polemics.

When I recall those days in Parliament, one day especially comes to mind.

This was in 1956 when, in connection with the Hungarian event, the reactionaries were staging big demonstrations. There was even an attack on our printing office, but we had been warned and gave the attackers a fitting rebuff. Tension ran high in Parliament. When I took the floor, MPs from the bourgeois parties walked out in a body. There were only us three Communists and the Speaker: he had to remain, for if he left Parliament would stand adjourned. I calmly continued my speech knowing that everything I said would be taken down and made public. The bourgeois MPs gathered in the lobby and listened over the public address system. My criticism became more and more sharp. They were nervous, and then one of them came into the chamber followed by three more. Towards the end of my speech they were all back in their seats and listening. They tried to interrupt, used abusive language, but I finished my speech, having said everything I wanted to say.

The atmosphere in the Chamber was always tense and one needed strong nerves, because our opponents often used unscrupulous methods. Our MPs

now sit next to the Christian Social MPs and we often speak from our seats. Some times, it is very important to spice with humour a reply to our opponents. All this counts, because the proceedings in the Chamber are made public. And our constant readiness to give a fitting reply, our quick reaction to every enemy sally, our offence tactics, help to enhance our Party's prestige in the eyes of the people.

The tactics of offence do not, of course, imply that we are inflexible and reject alliances and compromises. For instance, we would shelve our demands on a particular social issue and support the Socialists to put up a united front against the reactionaries. This would be a compromise, but one directed against the reactionaries. Naturally, we did not compromise on matters of principle, nor make concessions on Marxism-Leninism or the socialist countries. But when it was a matter of workaday politics, we reckoned with realities. To put out a demand the masses cannot understand is a useless exercise. We are not guided by the principle of all or nothing.

Both in and out of Parliament we always endeavoured to improve relations with the Socialist Party which, besides ours, is the only left-oriented party in Luxembourg. Such alliances are in line with our united action programme against monopoly capital and reaction, against the big business parties and the big concerns.

Cooperation with the Socialists was possible in several different fields, for instance, on education and public health, but not on economic problems. Most of our differences were over foreign policy: the Socialists are still ardent supporters of NATO. Somewhat later we found we could cooperate with them in the trade unions (Luxembourg now has a single trade union organisation) and also on municipal policy. From time to time we would also cooperate on appointments to government posts.

The left-centrist government of the Democratic and Socialist parties formed in 1974 has followed a new policy towards us. For one thing, we got back the post of Secretary of the Parliamentary Bureau, which we had lost during the cold war, and also a seat in the Benelux Parliament. Anti-Communist and anti-Soviet policy is now being carried out in a more subtle, I would say more "intellectual", way. There are no more frontal attacks.

Naturally, we too make certain concessions to create a basis for cooperation. I would describe cooperation in these words: interacting with a partner of equal strength is one thing, interacting with a partner with stronger mass influence is quite another, and requires precise formulation of policy so as not to lose your political identity and independence.

Parliamentary work requires personal alliances and compromises. That is inevitable, but we always appreciate that this entails certain dangers.

Communist MPs do not get rich, for they donate 90 per cent of their pay to the Party and the remaining 10 per cent is hardly enough to make ends meet. In this respect we have always been very strict: the Party finances

the election campaign and propaganda, consequently, the MP's pay belongs to the Party. No one has ever question that; our comrades fully understand the situation.

But the material aspect is not the only one. For instance, there was a direct attempt to bribe me, though as a rule bribes are offered more discreetly, in a way that you are not able to prove anything. I was then Minister of Health, Social Security and Sports. After the turn to the right I was expelled from the government along with the Socialists. Somewhat later Pierre Dupong, a former Minister of State and a relative of my wife, asked me to his office. He told me there was a move to leave me in the government. Of course, that would have been very important for me and for the Party. But—and it was a big but—I would have to renounce our programme.

This is what I told the Minister of State: You will recall that several years ago you sacked me (in 1934 when I was teaching in a school) only because of my membership in the Communist Party. Then the school inspector came to the house and blandly said: "If you sign a statement renouncing your Communist ideals you can get your job back." I went to my father and asked him to look after my two small children so that my wife could go to work because there was no money. But before that I told my father about the talk with the inspector and asked him whther I should sign the statement (of course, I had turned down the suggestion from the very start). My father replied: "If you sign you shall never again enter this house." And so, I said to the Minister of State, my father is just as strict today, as you well know.

These direct bribery attempts are not as dangerous as the concealed, camouflaged variety, with imperceptible but unrelenting pressure on the MP. In the Luxembourg Parliament, where everyone knows everyone else, often from school days, an arrogant overbearing attitude towards one's opponents is simply impossible. It would not go down well with one's constituents. But you will find a man from the opposite party stopping to pat you on the back or taking you into the bar for a beer and telling you that you are an intelligent person... You can even address Ministers in the informal "Du". In fact, many of us knew each other before the war and are on familiar terms. And in this informal atmosphere bourgeois politicians, some of them astute operators, often try to exploit "weak spots" in some of our men. They incite one against another, saying to our deputy: "You're all right, but your comrade...." They would tell our MPs: "If it were not for Urbany, there would have been unity long ago." In 1947 one of our comrades, imagining himself a great parliamentarian, fell for the bait. He was defeated at the next elections, joined the Trotskyites and later the Maoists. We cannot prevent provocations of this kind, but we can prevent our comrades becoming victims of it. And I can say that, with the one single ex-

ception, we have always succeeded. Attempts to lull the vigilance of our comrades are doomed to failure.

However, the battle against bourgeois influence, against attempts to buy over our men, must never be relaxed. That is why overall decisions on the conduct of our MPs are taken not by the Parliamentary group, but by the Party Executive and Central Committee. In other words, our deputies are under constant control and are always guided by Party directives.

Reflecting on my thirty years in Parliament, I have come to this main conclusion: in parliamentary struggle, in political battles and compromises, in the day-to-day hustle and bustle, one must never forget that he is serving the Truth. What do I mean by that?

Marxism-Leninism, which has proved the inevitability of socialism's triumph, is as much a truth as, say, the laws of Newton or Darwin, which no thinking person is likely to question. And only guided by this truth, examining every phenomenon and assessing every step one takes in the light of this truth, can one give real meaning to his work and correctly draw the line between the parliamentary opportunism and the parliamentary revolutionism I referred to in the beginning of these notes.

Of course, looking back one cannot but reflect also on the mistakes we made. Tactical mistakes are inevitable, and there were many, I think, in these thirty years. But I can remember only two strategic miscalculations.

In 1945, at the beginning of the cold war, we committed sectarian mistakes—we were inflexible at times and isolated ourselves from the workers. We were overconfident and relaxed our educational work in the Party. Many militants had joined it during the war, when the Party had been driven into clandestinity. They were good resistance fighters, but lacked political experience. And so, we somewhat overestimated our forces and did not show the required flexibility in Parliament and in our general activities.

In 1969 we called for unity with the Socialists and made many concessions. We refrained from polemics with the Socialists, did not say what had to be said. Perhaps we had too many illusions about the favourable opportunities ahead. We lost the initiative. Now we are putting things right.

Yes, there were mistakes, but there were no deviations from the fundamental line, no retreat from class positions, no betrayal of internationalism, because we checked every step with Marxism-Leninism and its fundamental ideas. Let me cite these simple examples.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that socialism is power in the hands of the working class. The main question always is: Who is in power?

If we in Luxembourg set out to achieve our aims through parliamentary methods, this could only mean that Parliament would have to be dominated by the working class in power. And if we speak of the "workers", the reference is always to the workers as a class. Introducing a new concept, the "labouring people" can only confuse things. To be sure, the workers must

come to power jointly with other working people, but on condition that the workers are not limping behind the masses, are the leaders, not the led.

When dramatic events unfold in one or another country our Party does not engage in abstract discussions of "democratic freedoms" in that country. What interests us is: Who will be in power?

And now, too, with the reactionaries playing down the results of the Helsinki Conference and attacking the countries of the socialist community from positions of abstract "humanism", we expose the motivations behind this; we show that the purpose of the campaign is to weaken working-class power and the socialist cause.

Not all the hopes we had when we entered Parliament thirty years ago have come true. We have accomplished much, but not all we wanted. We will be happy if our experience is understood and used by those who are taking up the struggle after us, if they learn to serve the Truth better than we did.

Preparations for the European Communist Conference

Meeting in Berlin on November 17-19, 1975, the editorial commission preparing the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties discussed the draft of the Conference Document drawn up by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany under a previous understanding among the fraternal parties. Representatives of all the attending 28 parties spoke at the meeting.

The participants instructed the editorial group, in which representatives of all fraternal parties may take part, to continue its work on the draft taking account of remarks and suggestions made in the discussion. The edited text will be presented at the next sitting of the editorial commission in January 1976, which will also examine the date of the Conference.

A fraternal Communist atmosphere reigned at the meeting.

ON PARTY CONGRESSES

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held a plenary meeting on December 1, 1975, at which General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev made a report on questions of the coming 25th Party Congress.

The plenary meeting adopted a relevant decision, which was published in the press

Reports were also presented by N. K. Baibakov, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and Chairman of State Planning Board ("On the Economic Development Plan of the USSR for 1976"), and V. F. Garbusov, USSR Minister of Finance ("On the State Budget of the USSR for 1976").

A major speech was made at the plenum by Comrade Brezhnev.

The plenum adopted relevant decisions on these questions, which were published in the press.

The plenum adopted the following agenda for the 25th Congress:

1. Report of the Central Committee and the Party's Next Tasks in Home and Foreign Policy. Rapporteur: General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev.

2. Report of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU. Rapporteur: Chairman of the Auditing Commission G. F. Sizov.

3. Main Development Trends of the Soviet Economy in 1976-80. Rapporteur: Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers A. N. Kosygin.

4. Elections to the central organs of the Party.

* * *

The Central Committee of the CP of Czechoslovakia has addressed a circular to Party committees and branches, to all Communists, in connection with the preparations for the 15th Congress, to be held in April 1976. The preparations, the circular notes, have begun in favourable home and international conditions. The socialist system in the country is considerably stronger. Its international prestige has gone up. The 15th Congress will produce a programme for the further all-round development of socialism. The circular stresses the economic challenges, requiring closer interaction between Czechoslovakia and the economies of other CMEA member-countries. The objectives of ideological work, as listed in the circular, are: cultivation of socialist patriotism and internationalism, of pride for the socialist country, for belonging to the socialist community, and deepening the friendship and brotherhood with the Soviet people.

The Party is ideologically and organisationally united. enriched with new experience, and has close ties with the people as it prepares for the 15th Congress under the hallmark of intensive political activities, the Central Committee emphasised.

* * *

The draft of the new CP of Denmark programme was published recently. It is subjected to approval by the Party's next, 25th. Congress scheduled in September 1976.

The draft describes the present epoch as one of transition from capitalism to socialism, and examines the causes of the crisis of the capitalist system. It sets out the tasks of Communists in the struggle against big capital and for the working people's interests. It defines the ultimate aim of the Danish Communists: building socialism in their country.

In foreign policy, the Party sets the cardinal aim of Denmark's withdrawal from the Common Market and NATO, and consolidation of security and cooperation in Europe.

* * *

A plenary meeting of the French Communist Party's Central Committee issued the draft of a provisional document of the coming 22nd Congress for

discussion by the members. France, the draft says, is in a deep crisis, which has spread to all areas of society. The Communists are promoting the demands of working people and the nation in face of the anti-social policy of employers and the government.

The FCP stresses the necessity of working for a new and just society. We Communists, the document says, hold that such a society must be socialist. The Communists' concrete economic, political and social demands are listed.

Implementation of the Common Left Government Programme, elaborated and adopted on the initiative of the FCP, the document says, would be an important phase in the democratic advance to socialism and the country's radical transformation. Already, the vast majority of the nation could be united on the basis of this programme, assuring election of a democratic alliance government. The FCP expressed its faith that this would pave the way to further economic and political democratisation and passage to a more profound, socialist, reconstruction of society.

* * *

IMPORTANT ROADSIGN FOR SOCIAL SCIENTISTS

The Political Bureau of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has approved the central plan of Marxist-Leninist social science studies for 1976-80, drawn up with the cooperation of a large number of GDR scholars. The plan consists of two main sections—the first setting out the purposes and principles of the studies, and the second examining the topics and main trends of research. The concrete targets of the plan include production of textbooks and basic scientific measures.

The SUPG, the plan says, regards Marxist-Leninist social science "as the Party's theoretical and politico-ideological instrument." It draws attention to the growing needs that stem from the practical objectives of building a developed socialist society, expanding socialist integration and strengthening the socialist community, the present development of the Communist and working-class movement and the class contention between socialism and imperialism.

Accordingly, the plan sets the following main trend of study: common features and needs of building a developed socialist society; development of the world revolutionary process and sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism; the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and the struggle against bourgeois and reformist theories and concepts of society.

Affirming the unity of the three components of Marxism-Leninism, the plan provides for comprehensive studies in all areas of social science. The central place is given over to the basic questions of Marxist-Leninist philo-

sophy, notably the dialectics of historical processes. Prominence is also given to political economy and scientific communism. Projects are envisaged for theoretical probes in sociology, social policy and demography, government and law, pedagogics, psychology, culture and art, questions of international development, and foreign policy.

Defining the main objectives, the plan urges creative use of the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and reliance in research on relevant Party decisions, the theoretical achievements and practical experience of the CPSU and other fraternal parties, and the results of the theoretical activity of the international Communist and working-class movement.

The plan contains a special section on guidance, planning and control. It specifies which of the social science institutes of the GDR are to handle which basic trends of research. Also, it establishes the responsibility of specific institutes and academic councils for the fulfilment of concrete assignments.

In Brief

ARGENTINA

The exhibition, "Communists' Role in Argentine Culture", held in Buenos Aires on the 25th anniversary of the Marxist journal, *Cuadernos de Cultura*, was visited by nearly 30,000. Fascist groups planted a bomb at the exhibition, but failed in their aim of having it closed. The exhibition was followed by a mass meeting.

FRG

A plenary meeting of the German Communist Party leadership has decided that the Party will participate in the 1976 Bundestag elections. The GCP will have candidates in all constituencies. It will conduct an active and militant election campaign to build up influence, notably among the workers and working youth.

HUNGARY

An extended plenum of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party discussed the political and organisational preparations for the exchange of Party cards in 1976. The purpose of the exchange, the press release of the plenum said, is to strengthen further the unity of the HSWP, redouble the activity of Party branches and every Party member, and extend the ties between the Party and the masses.

ITALY

The ICP held a conference in Bari to discuss the problems of the South of Italy. It was attended by scholars, trade unionists and leaders of the Party. They discussed vital aspects of the mass struggle in the southern regions to

overcome economic, political and social backwardness. Attention was drawn to Palmiro Togliatti's theoretical works on the problems of the South. The causes and nature of the acute crisis gripping the South of Italy, participants noted, give a new dimension to Togliatti's observations, which should be used in drawing up a programme for the development of these backward areas.

[illegible]

NEW PARTY PROGRAMME

Hamid Safari
Member of Executive Bureau, People's Party of Iran

Could you say a few words about the new programme of the People's Party of Iran, adopted at its recent Central Committee Plenum?

The new programme analyses the changes in the country. It examines the main problems facing Iranian society and shows the outlook for the future. Delving into the major aspects of the country's present political and economic situation, it shows that only the socialist orientation can ensure rapid economic progress and eliminate backwardness. This will not yet be socialism, but will create the foundation for passage to socialism.

The country, the programme says, is still in the stage of national-democratic revolution. The main targets today: liberation from the preponderance of imperialist capital, popular government, democratic rights and freedoms, and other radical democratic reforms. The essential condition for the revolution, the People's Party holds, is overthrow of the autocracy, elimination of the power of big capitalists and landowners, and transfer of power to the workers, peasants and working people generally. The socio-economic content of the revolution is to deliver the country from the monopoly grip on national resources, to consolidate economic and political independence, remove survivals of the pre-capitalist system, and launch democratisation of all areas of society. The chief means to this end is a united front of all national-democratic forces, with the worker-peasant alliance as the backbone. Crucial for such broad national-democratic unity is unity of the working class and unity of our Party ranks. The new programme [illegible] that the People's Party will work to unite all democratic forces, [illegible] united action, and that, considering the complexity of this aim, it will [illegible] with initiative and purpose.

The programme calls attention to the fact that people and [illegible] opposed to the regime are divided among themselves. Some hold [illegible] some even reactionary, views about society. This is why the Party [illegible] between the aims of its own struggle and those of the [illegible] forces.

[illegible] that the workers' fight against the existing regime follows progressive lines in the name of an independent and democratic society.

The new programme also spells out the Party's attitude towards various erroneous methods and deviations in our movement. People who set unrealistic slogans out of tune with the existing conditions, who confuse the strategic and tactical stages of the struggle, and "play" at insurrection, are distorting the essence of Marxism-Leninism and objectively—irrespective of their aims—contradicting the revolutionary course.

The PPI rejects the Maoists, who are misleading a section of the youth with their pseudo-revolutionary rhetoric and thus hinder use of its knowledge and energy for the organised popular struggle. Exposing the positions of these ultra-left elements, the programme stresses the relevance of the Party's ideological effort to preserve the purity of the Marxist-Leninist teaching in face of "left" and right incursions, and the importance of exposing pseudo-revolutionary theories and deviationist views.

The new programme condemns the divisive and subversive activity of the Mao Tse-tung group in the world revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement. Abandonment of unity and of joint action against imperialism, the programme says, is damaging to the struggle and runs counter to the vital interests of progressive humanity.

In sum, the new programme reflects the Party's concrete orientation in political, economic and social matters, and the perspectives and aims of the struggle, helping thereby to spread the Marxist outlook in the masses, to raise their political consciousness and vigilance, and to unite various sections of the people under progressive political slogans.

Comment

Bourgeois and Working-Class Views on the Crisis of Capitalism

John Purton

The events of 1974-75 have forced the bourgeois spokesmen to admit the correctness of statements in Marxist-Leninist journals, foreshadowing what is now widely admitted to be the deepest capitalist "recession" since the 1930s [1] Bourgeois spokesmen do not of course give us any credit for having been right.

It is instructive to consider how bourgeois spokesmen viewed the course of capitalism at the beginning of the decade. This was at a time when the most profound world capitalist monetary crisis had already broken up the dollar centred monetary system, linked to gold and representing US monopoly capitalist hegemony, at a time when the US was experiencing the most protracted recession for a long time. There were those who were willing to admit that all was not quite well with the glorious "free enterprise" system. Paul Samuelson, doyen of orthodox US bourgeois economists and author of the most widely read bourgeois textbook on economics, admitted: "There are some things we don't yet know: for instance, how to control inflation without creating unemployment..." (taken from Arrigo Levi, "Journey among the Economists", English edition, 1973). On the other hand, Samuelson was optimistic about American capitalism: "Looking at the central problem of macro-economics, that of the control of the economic

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[1] The reader will, I hope, not judge me too immodest if I quote myself, back in June 1973, during the capitalist boom. I wrote in the British Marxist publication, *Labour Monthly*, "Thus Britsih monopoly capitalism faces not only [illegible], but also world recession following on the present boom, and a [illegible] general crisis of world monopoly capitalism." In an article in *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, November 1974, I wrote that developments in the capitalist world [illegible] a protracted crisis of considerable dimensions".

cycle and of growth, I would say that, as economists, we are in a good state of health" (op. cit).

Then there was Heller, regarded as the "father" of the long American boom of the 1960s. He claimed to have instructed two presidents, Kennedy and Johnson, in the "new economics" of Keynes and his successors, in how to maintain full employment and fast, stable economic growth, by the financial interventions of the state. He spoke of those who threaten US capitalism with a famine after the "eight fat years of Kennedy and Johnson". He concluded: "There's no reason for that fear" (op. cit).

Among the leading economists there were strong critics of Keynesian intervention. The most well-known at the time was Milton Friedman. But he was so confident in the future of capitalism as to recommend that the system should be left to run on its own, with a minimum of state intervention; the key was to fix a steady and moderate rate of increase in the supply of bank credit to match the growth in real national product.

Then there were the econometricians who specialised in drawing up mathematical "models", by which to predict the course of the economy and to indicate what steering methods should be adopted by the government to keep the economy on a stable course. One of the largest of such models was kept by the well-known Brookings Institute. Such econometricians were confident of increasing success.

What of economists and econometricians in 1975? Are they, from their various standpoints, just as confident in the future of capitalism as before? To what do they attribute the admittedly deepest capitalist crisis since the 1930s? What policy remedies do they prescribe for ailing capitalism? We will try to answer these questions in brief, followed by a brief reference to Marxist-Leninist analysis of the crisis of capitalism, with some assessment of the likely course of capitalism and what it signifies for the struggle of the working class and its allies in the anti-monopoly camp.

The attitudes of bourgeois economists and writers on economic questions in general during 1974 and 1975, have varied from expressions of extreme panic to expressions of extreme confidence; they have also tended to vacillate according to the latest economic news.

On December 8, 1974, the well-known and time-honoured bourgeois weekly, the British *Economist*, posed the question: "Who will survive the slump?". After mentioning the greatest capitalist boom in history, which developed unevenly for 25 years, in which world capitalist industrial production grew 3.5 times, the *Economist* pointed out that the recession was hitting all major capitalist countries, though to a varying extent. They expressed doubt about the OECD prediction of a slight recovery in mid-1975.

About the leading US capitalist economy, to which every bourgeoisie is looking for proof that capitalism's crisis can be cured, the *Economist* opined on February 15, 1975, that the American recession would be long and

deep. And on March 29, 1975, with reference to the Congressional tax cuts, the widening federal budget deficit and the increasing money supply, the *Economist* opined that "this could fuel inflation by 1976-77 and turn this text-book self-correcting recession into a giddier than ever swings between bust-boom-bust".

The recession which had only hit the USA in the second half of 1974 and developed very rapidly thereafter, was still with the USA in July 1975. In an article entitled "Can Capitalism Survive?" (July 14) *Time* magazine carried the judgement: "There is a growing fear that capitalism has no way to cure inflation except deep recession and that any concerted attempt to lift our economy rapidly out of recession would only fan inflation." The major US economic indicator showed signs of a small upturn for four months running in mid-1975. This tendency was noted by *Time* in the September 22 issue, when the recession was beginning to be referred to in the past tense. However, fears about the future were not stilled. What would happen after the recovery that now seemed assured? Of this *Time* said: "(The) big worry is that a combination of resurging inflation, tight money, climbing interest rates and inadequate government stimulus to the economy will choke off the recovery..."

The October news put in question the acclaimed recovery. The main economic indicator flattened out. New York City faced the imminent possibility of financial default. The present state of financial instability in the USA, the logical outcome of the truly enormous credit expansion of the boom years, was highlighted by the US journal *Business Week*, in its number of September 22. Like *Time*, they expressed fear of the inflationary crisis that might follow any reflationary recovery.

So, the gloom of the early months of 1975 in the USA was followed by a premature return of confidence during the summer, only to be followed by more gloom in the autumn.

After looking briefly at the changing mood of American bourgeois commentators on the capitalist crisis, we have, now, to attempt to answer the second of the quesions we posed above: to what causes does bourgeois opinion attribute the crisis?

Bourgeois attempts to explain the crisis of capitalism often consist of a mere mixture of pragmatic observations. Thus, a well-known British economist, Sir Alec Cairncross, writes in a special publication of the right-wing Institute of Economic Affairs, called *Crisis 75*, "The world is faced with two distinct crises. The first is an employment crisis brought on by a fear of inflation and reluctance to pursue expansionary policies [illegible] and prices are rising fast... The second is a crisis of [illegible], associated mainly, but by no means entirely with the problem of financing imports from the oil-producing countries..." The first part of this statement is an obvious comment about the immediate surface of [illegible] tells

an analysis of the underlying causes. The second is equally obvious. Most bourgeois commentators treat the rise in oil prices as a pure accident or a mere case of selfish political motivation; they refuse to see it as an outcome of capitalist contradiction.

Three strands of explanation appear most frequently in various combinations. There is the monetarist explanation, whose principal representative is the American professor Milton Freedman; this explains the crisis as a failure to ensure a controlled expansion in credit. Secondly there is the simplistic view of the present leader of the Conservative Party in Britain, Mrs. Thatcher, with which she has recently been making big play whilst on visit to the USA, the view that all will be well if the interventions of state-monopoly capitalism are abandoned in favour of a return to a mythical "free market economy". This is a reflection of neo-classical economics. Then there is the more Keynesian approach, explaining the movement of the economy in aggregates. This usually takes the form of suggesting that the basic cause of the crisis is excess pressure of aggregate demand on aggregate supply, generated by too large wage increases and too great an expansion in government social expenditures. A case of this is the statement in the British *Sunday Times* of January 26, 1975, that "Britain is living beyond its means". Typical of this view is the book by a former American advisor to the governor of the World Bank, J. S. Friedman, entitled "Inflation, a World Disaster". In this the author explains that the populations of capitalist countries have become too addicted to consumerism, trying to insist on an American pattern of consumption, regardless of the resources.

Another form of explanation is provided by an article in the September 22, 1975, issue of *Business Week*, on the US economy, entitled the "Capital Crisis". "Over the past 10 years, government spending, including transfer payments, has been increasing at an astonishing 9 per cent annual rate, more than double the 4 per cent rate for the private economy. That growth of government spending lies at the heart of the capital market strains that have appeared in the past year."

This article in *Business Week* forms a useful starting point for considering the third question posed above about bourgeois comment on the capitalist crisis, ie to the bourgeois proposals for its solution. It should be said that the writers of the popular style article in *Business Week* base themselves on the views of the Brooking Institute, a major grouping of economic advisers, and on those of the Secretary of the US Treasury, Simon. The main [illegible] of the article is that the growth of the US economy requires an [illegible] flood of investment capital. From 1955-64 the total demand for [illegible] billion; from 1965-74 it was $1.6 trillion; in the next ten years it is forecast to expand to $4.5 trillion.

Although the bourgeoisie cannot be expected to understand it, this represents the underlying tendency in capitalism to over-accumulation, by comparison

with the real possibilities of expanding the production of goods and surplus value; a tendency analysed by Marx, in Volume III of *Capital*. As a solution to this problem the writers propose to boost saving by severe cuts in private and state expenditure. This is a classic bourgeois recipe reminiscent of Gladstonian[2] liberal finance in the mid-19th century. Its theoretical backing springs from the neo-classical model of the capitalist economy working through "market" forces towards equilibrium. This is one extreme of the range of views making up the mixture of bourgeois theory and policy. It points in the direction of throwing the crisis on to the backs of the workers. As it also presents a vision of returning to "free enterprise" capitalism it is backward-looking utopianism as well as being viciously anti-working-class. In fact, such reactionary "utopianism" can only serve as a cover for an attempt at an actual strengthening of the dictatorship of state-monopoly capitalism over the working class.

The opposite end of the spectrum is formed by the neo-Keynesian economists of the British National Institute of Economic and Social Research and the British Treasury, who favour a strengthening of state intervention in the form of an incomes policy which dictates wage reductions to the workers. Their view clearly overlaps with that of the right-wing of the Labour Party and its government, who only seem to oppose the "free enterprise" views of the Conservative leader, by proposing an increase in state intervention, while in fact seeking to strengthen monopoly capitalism.

There are other well-known bourgeois economists, like the rather individualistic Galbraith of the USA, who favour a general increase in state intervention and planning to save capitalism. What is significant is that both the apparently separate wings of the bourgeois and right-wing reformist groups openly or tacitly assume the use of the state power to enforce a solution of the crisis at the expense of the workers and in the interests of securing a further lease of life for state-monopoly capitalism.

Passing on now to a brief assessment of official policy measures, we are struck by the impotence of capitalist governments, on the horns of the dilemma provided by the opposite demands to deflate and to reflate. The main difference is between those capitalist economies which seem strong enough to bear some reflation, like the USA, West Germany, Japan and France and those, like Britain, which are suffering most from inflation. But even the stronger states are struck by partial paralysis. While the US Treasury maintains a policy of limiting expenditure and credit supply and the government seeks to balance the huge deficit some time in the near future, the demand for a more vigorous reflation is raised by a committee of the House of Representatives.

[2] W. E. Gladstone—four times Liberal prime minister; as chancellor an advocate of free trade and minimal state expenditure.

Despite this hesitation, which is one of the factors preventing the usual fairly swift upturn of the managed state-monopoly capitalist economy, it is clear that official quarters are complacently confident about the viability of and supremacy of US capitalism and the possibility of continuing to manage it, though possibly with some additional weapons in the armoury of state-monopoly capitalism.

West Germany, one of the leaders of the quarter of a century of fast economic growth and accumulation in the camp of world monopoly capitalism, has taken a few very cautious and limited steps in the direction of reflating selected areas of the economy, like that of domestic construction. The call to prevent a re-acceleration of inflation, regarded as a protentially serious despite West Germany's relatively low inflation rate of 5-6 per cent per annum as at present, led to serious West German opposition to budget expenditure at the level of the Common Market, recently.

Japan has also floated several modest reflationary packages without really noticeable impact as yet; France has recently announced what might appear to be a relatively large reflationary package.

Britain, with the highest inflation rate of the larger capitalist powers, has seen her government frankly announce that there can be no reflation until the present rate of inflation is brought down at least to the level of her most important competitors; and, further, that Britain is waiting for the world capitalist economy to be restored by the reflationary action of the most powerful capitalist country, the USA, and other previous growth leaders, whose economies are said to be in better state.

In sum, state-monopoly capitalism, in face of the worsening conditions attending the accumulation of capital, in face of the all-round sharpening of the contradictions of imperialism, is unable to suppress these contradictions and dampen the consequent conflicts by a Keynesian policy of state stimulation of fast economic growth. Keynesianism, which seeks to manipulate the capitalist economy through interfering in the sphere of exchange and distribution, in the main, without changing the fundamental relations of production, was doomed to ultimate failure. Ceaseless stimulation of monopoly capitalism only leads to endemic inflation. Just at present, with a giant pool of Euro-money of at least 250,000 million dollars lying ready to fuel a new bout of inflationary over-accumulation, the capitalist states are rightly afraid to embark on reflation. The pool of Euro-money, filled up by the returning oil-money, is already about 2.5 times what it was in 1972.

But, if the Keynesian method of economic management is struck from the basis of [illegible]y capitalism, what is left? A more centralised [illegible] of state-monopoly capitalism? In order to lead up to an estimation of the [illegible] open to capitalism and to the working-class and anti-monopoly forces, it is necessary to refer back in outline to the analysis made

of the world crisis of capitalism in the November 1974 issue of *Problems of Peace and Socialism* in the article "Capitalism's Aggravating Crisis: Dangers and Possibilities", to make a few comments in extension and elaboration of its theme.

In our earlier article, an explanation of the postwar period of fast growth and accumulation of capital was given, stressing such factors as the relative plenty of cheap labour, of cheap and rapidly advancing technology; as the rapid increase in concentration and centralisation of capital; as the provision of one world centre for money, on which was based an enormous build-up of bank credit; such as the build-up of state support and expenditure on behalf of the profits of monopoly capital; such as the apparently unending supply of cheap fuels and raw materials from the underdeveloped countries; all permitting a partial suppression of the downward phase of the economic cycle and an exaggeration of the upward thrust.

As the conditions making for easy profits for monopoly capitalism began to pass away, as the state fostered monopoly drive for accumulation turned fast into endemic inflation, so the conditions for a long-term crisis of over-accumulation were prepared; so the world contradictions of the system of imperialism, exacerbated by increasing unevenness of development, became increasingly sharpened. A new and far more unstable epoch opened up for capitalism, one of extreme turbulence, imperiously demanding a solution along the road to socialism, in the areas of capitalism's greatest weakness and the greatest relative consciousness and strength of the working-class and the anti-monopoly alliance.

At this point it is useful to allude to the theory of over-accumulation developed by Marx; to consider, not only that this contradiction in capitalism leads basically to development through a cycle of economic crises, but that there have been longer periods in the history of capitalism during which the overcoming of this tendency to over-accumulation has been fairly easy, and other periods in which it has been more difficult. Each critical period tends to produce its own new solution to the problem of over-accumulation. Now a new potentially long period of instability, of chronic over-accumulation, has set in. We can expect, in this period, that all the contradictions of monopoly capitalism, analysed by Lenin, will be carried to an extreme point.

In the light of the Marxist theory of crises it would be correct to say that by some means, such as a giant depression, the huge over-[illegible] of the recent past has to be wiped out by a proportionally large [illegible] in order for the rate of profit to be restored.

The necessary wiping out of past capital investments and the reduction of wages costs, both necessary to raise the rate of profit [illegible] monopoly capitalism, could be achieved for capitalism by a lengthy [illegible] comparative stagnation, with very uneven development, a [illegible] unemployment, combined with persistent inflation. The [illegible]

would lead to the artificial stimulation of a quick recovery, followed by a rapid acceleration of inflation and a more catastrophic crisis.

In general we can expect a longish period in which the difficulties of capitalist accumulation will prove to be much more severe than in the past 25 years of relatively fast economic growth. Cyclical crises will be more difficult to overcome. The tendency to stagnation will be greater, i.e., a tendency to "stagflation", or mass unemployment combined with inflation. It will no longer be possible to meet the sharpening contradictions of the imperialist system by fast accumulation sustained by the former kind of economic management of state-monopoly capitalism. We have entered an epoch which can have revolutionary consequences even in the heart of the capitalist world system.

The actual course of events will be determined, not only by the objective contradictions in the capitalist system, but also by the divergent tendencies: of the ruling bourgeoisie towards a more dictatorial form of state-monopoly capitalism, on the one hand, and, on the other, the struggle of the working class and its allies for democratic reforms, and the opening up of the road to socialism. The struggle ahead calls for enhanced international solidarity and cooperation. Its absolute prerequisite is peaceful coexistence. In the epoch of capitalism unfolding before us there are indeed great dangers, but truly great opportunities.

The fight to consolidate and extend international detente entered a new stage following last summer's historic Helsinki meeting. Materialisation of detente coupled with the spread and practical exercise of peaceful coexistence principles by states with different social systems have become the immediate objectives, and a variety of political and public organisations are working for them. The journal asked representatives of some of these organisations to comment on the further course of detente, the obstacles still to be overcome to make it irreversible. Here are some of the answers.

Good Fields For Cooperation

Prof. *Bedrich Svesika*

Mutually advantageous economic, scientific and technical cooperation is an important stabiliser of peaceful relations among states with different social systems. It makes for a more effective international division of labour and better coordination of efforts and material resources. The present situation offers excellent opportunities for economic growth in the interest of the peoples.

The principles of the Final Act signed in Helsinki open extensive fields for cooperation in science, technology and the arts.

The search for solutions to scientific, technical and cultural problems in the interests of society suggests that peoples and states should join their efforts effectively on an international plane. The ground has been broken for this, and considerable headway has already been made.

But all too many urgent problems still await solution, among them environment protection, fresh water supplies, and a large set of cultural conservation questions. The most urgent of these is to save Venice. Should Italy prove incapable of assuring its survival, other states are prepared to help. This and many similar problems cannot be solved unless tackled jointly in a world of detente.

There is ample evidence that science and technology are stunted by the narrow frameworks of egoistic nationalism, that intellectual achievements are then liable to serve the forces of war, hatred and oppression. Yet the ethics of science prescribe that the fruit of the scientist's labour should serve all peoples in the battle against poverty, hunger and exploitation, and for a better and more just society. It is unthinkable for me, and a medical man, that medicine should be used against human beings. Yet we know that some coun-

tries are developing biological weapons. And this at a time when concerted efforts by all countries could resolve such burning problems as cancer, cardiovascular and other diseases.

How effective our struggle against the enemies of peace will be depends on how well we know these enemies, their weaponry and methods. They have huge resources and modern means of ideological indoctrination. Their central aim is to build up anti-communism. But the effort centred on pseudo-revolutionary demagogy is just as intensive. They want it to win minds, principally of the youth, the generation that grew up and in peaceful world and is ignorant of the horrors of war. Banking on the radicalism of young people who by virtue of insufficient experience are easy prey to extremism, the enemies of peace and social progress goad them into reckless ventures.

It is up to us teachers to work against political ignorance, misinformation and the delusions among the youth. Progressives should act hand in hand with those who educate the youth—the schoolteachers and the older, more experienced generation in the factories. Educators form a large unit in every country, and in many ways the future of the rising generation depends on how well they do their job. Their prime duty is to raise the young in a spirit of mutual respect, a thirst for knowledge of nature, man and human society, and repugnance to war and violence.

Here is a passage from the Czechoslovak Constitution: "We want to live in peace and friendship with all the peoples of the world, and to contribute to peaceful coexistence and good relations among states with different social systems." The peoples of Czechoslovakia, who have suffered from the revages of many European wars, have a vital stake in detente and international cooperation.

The facts show that socialism and peace go together. Socialism's prestige is high not only because of the socialist countries' multiplying achievements and successes, but also because it was the first in history to postulate that war can be banished from society, and because it is consistently working to make this come true.

Asia Needs Collective Security

Jay Parkana

I[illegible] detente meets the vital interests of humanity. In Asia the process has not gone as far as it has in Europe. But signs of detente have also appeared on the Asian political scene.

The Indochina situation has changed. The peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have inflicted defeat on the imperialist forces of war and aggression. The proposal made by Mme Bandaranaike, the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, for an Indian Ocean peace zone is winning more followers. If the interested states settled that problem, Asian security would make a good advance.

There are signs of detente in the way certain countries that had never formerly questioned Washington's bidding have adopted more independent policies in the national interest and for Asian solidarity and cooperation.

The Asian peoples are aware of the benefits Europe won in Helsinki. The leaders of 33 European countries, the United States and Canada have at last agreed on the territorial integrity of European states and inviolability of their frontiers. Europe, where so many wars had started in the past, is now showing all the peoples the road to peace. And in this connection one must pay the highest tribute to the Soviet Union and the socialist countries for having taken the initiative to assemble the European Conference and making the decisive contribution to its success.

We are witnessing the longest period of peace in Europe's history. One cannot say the same of Asia, where there have been theatres of serious and long wars after fascism was defeated in the Second World War. But we are sure that if Europe could settle complicated international problems by negotiation and collective action, Asia can do the same. Naturally it will take time to convene a security and cooperation conference in Asia. There is no consensus on this score as yet. Some governments and countries are hostile to the idea of Asian collective security. But I am sure that the need for such a system will finally sink in. Sooner or later, such a conference will come about.

Domestic reaction plays first fiddle among the foes of peace and detente in Asia. This is natural, for reaction thrives on the absence of peace and detente. Governments and leaders elected by the people fall prey to reaction. They are replaced by reactionary anti-people's regimes put in power with the help of imperialist agents, notably the CIA. Like the peoples of Africa and Latin America, those of Asia should be alerted to the fact that their enemy is imperialism, which comes under new guises and new forms to interfere in the affairs of the newly-independent countries acting by proxy to buttress the capitalist system.

There is, therefore, a direct link between struggle against imperialism and home reaction and the struggle for peace and detente.

There is a good chance to extend the trend towards detente in Asia, but this will take vigilance on the part of all democratic forces in face of the intrigues of imperialism and home reaction.

We must consolidate the principles of peaceful coexistence on the Asian continent. The European Conference would never have taken place if states with different social systems and ideologies had not recognised these principles. Nor will some of the remaining highly complicated international problems be settled if these principles do not spread and take deeper root. Take disarmament. It concerns more than just the countries belonging to different politico-military blocs. Arms spending is also rising in the non-aligned countries, though many of them are economically weak. This means that the UN Disarmament Conference should not be put off. It could produce positive results, facilitating new and important progress towards the materialisation of detente.

The Most Important Concern of the Trade Union Movement

Patrick Clancy

The turn from cold war to detente, the successes of the peaceful coexistence policy, and the birth of what is now known as the Helsinki spirit, has been acclaimed by the peace-loving forces as their common great victory. The working class is particularly enthusiastic about this victory, since it helps provide more favourable conditions for its struggle for social and economic progress.

The trade union movement in Australia has firmly declared that our country's foreign policy should be based upon the principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The historic declaration at Helsinki has been welcomed by the trade union movement as providing a firm basis for the further consolidation of peace. In declaring support for the Helsinki Conference Australian unions have declared their intention to do everything possible to consolidate political detente and work to obtain detente in the military sphere by strongly campaigning for a policy of general and complete disarmament. At the Australian Council of Trade Unions Congress, which represents over two million workers, the [illegible] delegates declared that the most important concern of

the trade union movement is the achievement of a stable and equitable world peace. Without such peace, he added, all our other programmes and policies are in jeopardy.

This present attitude of Australian unions is the result of many years of campaigning in support of world peace. When Australia was involved in the Vietnam war, the peace movement, in which the trade unions played an active and leading part, organised mass demonstration in Melbourne and other cities. Workers took strike action and, under the slogan "Stop Work to Stop the War", the concept of militant workers' action against the war was carried into the trade union movement.

This campaign against the Vietnam war and for world peace was an important factor in the defeat of the anti-working-class government, which had held office in Australia for 23 years. On the other hand, it provided a powerful impulse to the policy of peaceful coexistence and detente now carried out by the Labour government.[1] The trade unions have supported the extension of contacts with the socialist world and, following the exchange of many delegations between Australian unions and trade unions of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, for the first time an Australian Prime Minister made an official visit to Moscow last year. Since then other leading ministers of the government have made visits to socialist countries and held high-level talks thus extending the areas of contact between various sectors of the Australian population and their counterparts in the socialist world.

At present leaders of a large number of important and decisive unions have declared their support for the Stockholm Appeal, 1975, and are campaigning in support of the Stockholm disarmament proposals. These trade union leaders represent such decisive sections of industry as the metal industry, the building industry and the transport. Trade union meetings, seminars and conferences are being held to discuss the issues of the disarmament campaign. At the annual Trade Union Congress last year a decision was made, resolving to ban the export of uranium for any purpose other than medical and to the call upon the government to refuse to export uranium to any country that did not sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

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[1] Last November there was a political crisis, in which the Governor-General took the unprecedented step of dismissing the Prime Minister, Labour leader Gough Whitlam, forming a care-taken government of two conservative parties—the Liberal and Country. Elections to Parliament have been set for December 13.—Ed.

Solidarity action in support of the Chilean democrats has included a decision to refuse to allow the shipment of any goods to the Chilean junta. Meetings and demonstrations have been held, calling for the release of all political prisoners and the restoration of democracy in Chile. A petition demanding the release of Luis Corvalan and all political prisoners was signed by the leadership of the Australian Council of Trade Unions and 150 other leading trade union representatives. This was sent by cable to the United Nations and by a mass deputation to the Chilean consul in Sydney.

Other actions of international solidarity by the Australian working people include protests against the fascist Franco's repression and political executions, meetings in support of the rights of the Cypriot people, demonstrations of solidariy with the people of East Timor and, last but not least, repeated statements by the trade unions declaring their complete solidarity with the Portuguese people.

Forms of action taken by Australian unions in the cause of peace are many and varied. They include job meetings, stoppages on occasions, seminars and discussions, circulation of declarations and petitions, marches and demonstrations on significant anniversaries, such as the 30th anniversary of the victory over fascism. In organising all these actions the trade union movement in Australia is keenly aware of the enormous benefit of detente and of the value it presents to the struggle for the rights and interests of the working people. The existence of detente enables the issues confronting the working class to be clarified and the campaigns for social and economic progress to be developed.

Australian trade unions will be vigilant with regard to the enemies of peace. They will do all that is possible to maintain and carry forward the detente so that it becomes irreversible and is exended to military detente.

Asserting Real Independence

The Rev. *John Morgan*

The major role assigned to Canada for many years was to assist in the building and strengthening of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's military structure. The result has been to build up in Canada a generation of people in government and the military who

still give first importance to that role. Detente therefore is a great problem for them: how can they continue to justify the ever greater expenditures necessary for continued participation if the reason for such participation is disappearing, if even the Prime Minister, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, has publicly recognised that European countries in NATO are already massively armed and need no "help" in that way from Canada.

The worsening economic situation makes a choice between equipping NATO and the welfare of Canada's people, since the country cannot afford both. Thus, the objective economic conditions coupled with increasing successes for detente require release for Canada from the burden of huge military expenditures.

The progress of international detente is also a major contribution to the Canadian struggle for independence from United States domination in economics and foreign policy.

United States investors now control between seven and eight thousand enterprises in Canada. Overall United States investment exceeds $28 billion! Most of this has come since the Second World War, when Canadian governments welcomed United States investment despite the warnings of critics that such "integration" could ultimately penalise most Canadians. Briefly stated, the Canadian sovereignty problem is as follows: not only are the commanding heights of the economy controlled by multinational corporations, largely although not entirely based in the United States, but in many other less obvious areas penetration is extending year by year. As a concomitant to this integration, Canadian foreign policy has mainly followed Unied States foreign policy.

The Canadian sovereignty movement has many opponents among leaders in our two major political parties (Liberal and Progressive Conservative), in the Federal bureaucracy, and in Canadian industrial and commercial circles where profits from integration have been achieved. But as detente prevails in the years ahead, support will continue to grow for a viable policy of Canadian survival: economic, social, political, and cultural.

In the words of the title of a new book by Walter Gordon, former minister of finance and proponent of Canadian independence, "storm signals" are flying. Unfortunately, Mr. Gordon and the group of monopolists he represents offer only a programme of "buying the American out", and substituting Canadian monopoly capitalists as owners of the largest corporations.

Canadian social democrats, whose practical programme apart from rhetoric is social reform, nevertheless have a traditional acceptance

of the principle of nationalisation of basic industries; however, they are cautious in advancing it during electoral campaigning.

The Communist Party of Canada publishes and promotes the most clearly articulated proposals for democratic, anti-monopoly action in dealing with the multinationals. The connection between detente and genuine Canadian independence is always clearly made.

Canadians need detente, in short, in order to put all their effort into curbing monopoly and the multinational corporations, for the future of their people and their vast land.

Peace, Our Ally in the Fight Against Imperialism

Ornel Urriola

Progress in peaceful coexistence is having a marked influence on developments in Latin America. It is creating an international atmosphere of intolerance towards imperialist tyranny against Latin American nations and promoting solidarity with their struggle by the world's democratic forces.

The conditions are thus being created for strengthening the anti-imperialist and social liberation forces in Latin America. Political forms of struggle are becoming much more effective. Failure of the blockade against Cuba; the US defeat in the Security Council over Panama's sovereignty and the fact that it has been compelled to negotiate with Panama; the profound crisis of the OAS; the founding of the Latin American Economic System (LAES), which opens broad vistas for economic cooperation with countries in all continents, including the CMEA countries—these signs of a changing situation would have been uttterly inconceivable during the cold war.

There can be no doubt that conditions today are much more favourable for the struggle of the Latin American youth, which accounts for 70 per cent of the continent's 320 million population. For our young people the fight against imperialism, for full national independence is the only way to win the right to education and work, wipe out poverty and unemployment. And they are coming to see more clearly than ever that success in this struggle is closely linked with positive changes in the international situation.

All this has helped the youth solidarity movement with Cuba. In fact, action by youth and student organisations contributed in no small measure to strengthening Cuba's position as a bastion of socialism in Latin America. The campaign in support of the socialist countries' peace policy has a permanent place in all student activities. There have been demands by student organisations for closer relations with the USSR and other socialist countries.

The students' role in the liberation struggle now that the cold war policy has collapsed and international tension lessened, was discussed at a forum of universities of Central America and the Caribbean in the capital of Honduras last May. Delegates pointed to the more favourable conditions for cooperation between Latin American universities and for exchange and cooperation agreements with universities in socialist countries.

Detente is making its first steps in Latin America. It has many enemies, foremost among them imperialism. It is obliged to alter its tactics: instead of outright violence and coercion (the US intervention against Cuba in 1961 and the Dominican Republic in 1965) it is using camouflaged techniques and differentiated methods. In Chile, it relies on the reactionary forces. It helped the fascist regime come to power and is giving it every support. In other countries, the tactic is to "loosen up" progressive regimes. Economic pressure goes hand in hand with CIA subversion and terror and the engineering of coups d'etat.

Objectively, the ultra reactionaries are being helped by the ultra-lefts, whose arguments all but coincide with those of the pro-imperialist oligarchic circles. Last autumn, for instance, the Panamanian ultra-lefts tried to provoke a clash between the students and the army. Exploiting youthful enthusiasm and radicalism, they wanted to impose on the students the provocative slogan "all or nothing in the negotiations with the US". The ultra-lefts deny that detente strenghens Latin America's anti-imperialist forces. Many leftist groups are financed by Peking and are guided by the slanderous allegation that the purpose of detente is to divide the world between the two "superpowers".

More vigorous struggle against the ultra-left will strengthen unity of all the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic forces and will help to overcome the anti-Communist dogmas they want to indoctrinate in the masses. For detente opens people's eyes, enables Latin Americans to see the achievements of socialism and the vast potentialities for national and social liberation inherent in the new system.

Identical Aims

Joseph Dube

For the people of Africa languishing under the yoke of racialism and foreign oppression, the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggle means more than winning national liberation. It leads them onto the road of social progress, which is inseparable from peace and socialism. These aims—peace, progress and socialism—are being pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries through their detente policy. That is why we reject the contention that the aims of detente are incompatible with those of the national-liberation movement. The history of the past few years has convincingly shown that relaxation of international strain creates additional opportunities for political and socio-economic transformations and for development of the revolutionary process, of which the national-liberation movement is a component part.

With the changed world balance of strength the Afro-Asian peoples are scoring remarkable victories in their liberation struggle. The inspiring example of the heroic Vietnamese people in compelling US imperialism to retreat, the successes of the patriotic forces of Laos and Cambodia, the revolutionary changes in Mozambique and other former Portuguese colonies, adoption of the socialist orientation by a number of African countries—these are all additional sources of faith in the victory of the peoples of Southern Africa in their difficult struggle for liberation.

Experience has shown that fresh victories by the revolutionary forces in any part of the world precipitate stepped up aggression by imperialism and internal reaction in other areas. Following its defeat in Indochina and the former Portuguese colonies, imperialism is now trying to aggravate the situation in the Middle East and Cyprus, and shore up the fascist and racist regimes in Latin America and Southern Africa.

We have been waging an armed struggle against the Rhodesian racist regime since 1969. The blows we have dealt it, and the deterioration of the colonialist positions in this region following Mozambique's independence, have compelled the Smith regime to release the liberation leaders and negotiate with the ANC. These concessions, however, have not created any illusions about the real aims of racist Rhodesia, which has the support of the Vorester regime in South Africa. A just settlement must take into account the interests of the Zimbabwe people. Should this require that the colonial regime

feel the full impact of our armed struggle, we shall see to it that it does.

The embattled people are the decisive factor in winning national liberation. Every revolutionary knows that. That is why we reject all the imperialist propaganda figments about the national-liberation movement being a "tool of world communism". But we frankly say that the successes of the Southern African national-liberation movement are in many ways due to the support and assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The principles adopted in Helsinki last July and August finalising the positive changes in Europe are of immense importance. And the peoples would benefit if they were extended to Asia, Africa and Latin America, where imperialism is trying to retain important strategic positions and hold on to its numerous military bases. Hence, the problem of security is no less relevant to the zone of developing countries than it is to Europe.

After the successful completion of the Helsinki Conference, the forces of progress and peace on every continent must work for implementation of its decisions and the extension and deepening of detente. It required nearly 30 years after World War II for Europe to reach agreement on the inadmissibility of war. One hopes that it will take less time on their continents. In the battle for this aim, the peoples rely on the socialist states, the guarantors of peace and social progress. In the course of this struggle the socialist ideas acquire greater attraction for people in the newly-independent states and for those who still have to fight for national liberation.

A Comment on Who Published the Helsinki Conference Final Act and Who Did Not

Freedom of Information or Freedom of Omission

The six months that have passed since the leaders of 33 European countries, the United States and Canada assembled in Helsinki's Finlandia Palace to sign the Final Act of the European Security and Cooperation Conference have further emphasised the historic significance of that event. They have also provided ample opportunity to distinguish between the genuine supporters and opponents of those decisions. Indicative in this respect is the handling of the text of the Hensinki declaration.

The bourgeois press has been quite vocal in its commentaries, yet one cannot help feeling that many publications would like to reduce the contents of the Final Act to only a few of its provisions.[1] They are especially vociferous concerning cooperation in humanitarian fields, while accusing the socialist countries of an absence of true and free information. Yet it is not at all hard to see who is really concealing the truth about Helsinki and seeks to tendentiously interpret the nature and objectives of the decisions taken there.

The best idea of the document and ability to judge it on its merits can be gained primarily from knowledge of its text. All participants in the conference affixed their signatures to the following words: "The text of this Final Act will be published in each participating

[1] Characteristically, a perusal of such a well-informed paper as the *International Herald Tribune* shows that, in October 1975, out of 34 items commenting on the Helsinki Conference, 28 were devoted to questions of freedom of information, human contacts, etc., and only 6 to disarmament problems.

state, which will disseminate it and make it known as widely as possible."

On August 2, 1975, the day after the conference ended, the Final Act was printed in full, with minor deletions, or recapitulated in detail, by the biggest papers of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and the Soviet Union.

In the Soviet Union, for example, the Communist Party's Pravda and government Izvestia (combined circulation around 20 million) published the document in full; newspapers in the constituent republics carried abridged texts. Moreover, the Final Act was translated into practically all languages of the peoples of the Soviet Union. In Czechoslovakia, leading papers Rude Pravo, in Czech, and Pravda, in Slovak (combined circulation 1.3 million) also printed the Final Act in full, as did Neues Deutschland (circulation one million) in the GDR, and Scinteia in Rumania (circulation ... million).

The list could be continued. It could also be added that booklets (100,000 in the Soviet Union alone), television and radio broadcasts devoted to the subject provided citizens of the socialist community the broadest opportunities to get to know the contents of the Helsinki document. By fully supporting their governments' efforts to meet commitments collectively undertaken by the conference participants, the socialist press again displayed a profound realisation of its duty and lofty sense of responsibility to millions of its readers.

This cannot be said of the major press organs in capitalist countries. In Great Britain, for example, the Final Act was printed neither in The Times (circulation 400,000), nor in The Guardian (more than 340,000), the Observer (800,000), the popular Daily Express (3.4 million), nor Daily Mirror (more than 4.2 million). In fact as the London Financial Times wrote not a single major paper in Great Britain, or the United States too, for that matter, carried the Final Act either in full or abridged."[2]

Nor was the document included in their "free and independent flow of information" by the major bourgeois papers of France and Italy[3]: Le Monde (circulation 500,000-550,000), Le Figaro (more than 500,000), L'Aurore (more than 400,000), Corriere della Sera (600,000), Il Messaggero (224,500). In the FRG, only the Social Democratic weekly Vorwarts carried the Final Act in a special supplement cir-

[2] All that appeared in Great Britain was a booklet circulated in 1,500 copies, and in the United States, 7,000 copies.

[3] Official government publications carried the Final Act in France and Italy in circulations of 6,000 and 10,000-12,000, respectively.

culated in 100,000 copies, and that after a grant from the SDP leadership provided, evidently, in an attempt to save the country's public face.[4] To this can be added that the circulation of the **Vorwarts** supplement was much smaller than that of such Springer publications as **Bild-Zeitung** (five million) or **Die Welt** (more than 200,000).

Significantly, the French, Italian or West German reader was able to gain the most detailed and comprehensive idea of the Final Act from the Communist **L'Humanite, L'Unita** and **Unsere Zeit.**

Those are the facts. They offer vivid illustration of who, and how, is working for the promotion of the Helsinki document, who ignores and who helps carry out the commitment undertaken by the conference participants. These facts are added evidence of the type of free information the bourgeois "news industry" practices. By failing to publicise the full text of the Helsinki Conference's final document and taking an active part in the anti-communist clamour, the so-called liberal, independent bourgeois press helps, whether it so desires or not, to create an atmosphere from which only right-wing, reactionary forces can benefit.

M.P.

[4] The Final Act was also published on August 15 by the official bulletin of the FRG Press and Information Department.

The Right to Health

Professor *Jaroslav Prokopec*,
Minister of Public Health of the Czech Socialist Republic,
Answers a Letter From
Hugo Fazio, representative of the Communist Party of Chile on the journal

My dear Comrade Minister,

UN and WHO statistics which I recently had a chance to study speak of Czechoslovakia's vast progress in health protection. I have been living in your country for several months now, enjoying the many social benefits won by your working people, and have seen for myself the high standard of your health services providing free medical aid to all—from the most exacting operations to free medicines. My family, especially my children, has had occasion to benefit from the advantages of this system. This is why I am a fervent propagandist of socialist medical services, and regard it as the prototype for my own country.

However, people who disagree with me politically, and occasionally those who hold the same views as I, ask me questions I cannot answer because the experience I have gained since I arrived in Czechoslovakia is inadequate. I am writing to you, therefore, hoping that you will help me, as well as many others through our journal, to answer those questions. It is well, for instance, that in your country the precinct doctor looks after the health of the people of his district. However, some argue that under his system people cannot choose their own doctors. They maintain that this is important, because there is no guarantee that the precinct doctor is a highly competent doctor. The situation, they add, is aggravated by the fact

that the class approach to the admission of students to universities, an approach alleged to set greater store by the applicants' working-class or peasant origin and political convictions than by their gifts and general eligibility, does not help bring into the medical profession people dedicated to the medical profession.

My interlocutors also raise other questions, which I am passing on to you because I think it is important to answer them. Free medicines are a fine thing, I am told, but do chemist's shops in Czechoslovakia have all those modern medicines one can obtain at a chemist's in a capitalist country? And do some of the very old Prague hospitals meet modern standards? Again, does not a patient's health suffer from having often to wait very long before he is received by a specialist? In short, they wonder whether free medical aid and its accessibility is up to standard.

Some of my doctors friends say that for all the progress made in the social sphere, Czechoslovak medicine is lagging behind in a number of fields requiring the use of technical facilities and equipment widely used in many capitalist countries. They also consider that the rigid hierarchical system in medicine limits the opportunities of young doctors. Some ask me how the Czechoslovak system reconciles centralised planning, rigid appropriations for curative insituations or various compulsory regulations with the doctor's duty to treat his patients according to their needs, or the principle of selecting leading personnel according to political attitude with the need of competent management of the health services. To many these things seem incompatible.

In my country as in many others, there are advocates of socialist medicine. There are also fanatical supporters of the systems existing in the United States, Britain or Federal Germany, and some of them are politically progressive doctors or members of other professions. I feel, therefore, that a frank discussion of those aspects of medical care in the CSSR that invite questions, of the trends and prospects of its evolution, would be very helpful to those who regard socialism as their future and are fighting for it.

Yours faithfully,
Hugo Fazio

Dear Comrade Fazio,

Thank you for your frank letter I also wish to thank **World Marxist Review** for offering to publish my reply. I agree that a discussion of the organisation of medical aid in Czechoslovakia will be

helpful to all who want an objective picture of socialist health services.

It is hard for me to describe all the measures adopted by the Communist Party and socialist state to protect public health. After the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army in 1945 we virtually began from scratch, having nothing but a sad legacy of difficult medical problems that had piled up during the nazi occupation. Public health deteriorated greatly under the nazis. The death rate went up by almost one-third. One of the main causes was the reappearance of infectious diseases and tuberculosis. Many medical institutions were destroyed, the number of hospital beds, already inadequate, dwindled still more and medical equipment was lacking. Czech higher schools had stayed closed for almost six years. And as several hundred doctors had died in fascist prison camps there were fewer doctors than before the war. In some regions the ratio was one doctor to every 10,000 inhabitants. There was no medical policy and no system of medical service.

In those trying conditions, the new state of people's democracy on the Communists' initiative, set the formidable task of providing free medical aid meeting current standards to all citizens. That revolutionary principle of health service was laid down in the Constitution, which states that "everyone shall have the right to health protection. All citizens shall be entitled to medical treatment and financial maintenance in old age, as well as in case of disability and lack of a livelihood. Women shall have the right to special maintenance in pregnancy and maternity, and children and the youth to guaranteed physical and spiritual development". By applying and carrying forward this principle as we built socialism we set up entirely new health services.

In present-day Czechoslovakia there is virtually no distinction between town and countryside as to medical aid or prevention. We have raised the average standard of medical aid to a level at which surgeons of district hospitals are as competent as those working in central hospitals (except for cases requiring sophisticated equipment and narrow specialisation).

The main component of our public health system is the medical precinct, in which aid is provided by the precinct therapeutist, precinct pediatrist, precinct gynecologist, precinct dentist, trained nurses of the corresponding specialities and sick-nurses whose duty is to care for the aged and for chronic cases. Besides, we have medical units in factories, various organisations and higher educational institutions.

No precinct doctor who diagnoses and treats a patient is left to his own devises. He is helped by branch and specialised institutions whose unifying centre is the hospital-outpatient clinic complex. This complex has doctors of all the main specialities as well as the requisite equipment and laboratories and can both diagnose patients competently and provide outpatient treatment.[1]

For us democratic medical service means more than free and accessible treatment. It also means bringing the population into the management and advancement of the health services. Our medical institutions are under the jurisdiction of local government bodies known as district and regional national committees. The Ministries of Public Health of the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republics direct all work involving medical treatment and prevention, set standards for it and spell them out in methodological instructions and recommendations.

You quote in your letter opponents who criticise the system of precinct doctors, alleged to make it impossible for people to choose their own doctors. We hold that the modern medical structure limits the choice of doctors. I believe you will agree that a doctor's popularity in this country or anywhere else is far from being invariably due to his professional competence. It depends rather on his ability to communicate with his patients. I admit that we are always satisfied with our doctors in this respect. We try to improve their knowledge of psychology. We make exacting demands of doctors as individuals and stress the importance of both professional training and public services. You will admit, however, that the standard of medical aid depends primarily on the specialist's professional knowledge and skill, and not merely on his popularity. Nevertheless, any citizen who is dissatisfied with his precinct doctor or with the specialist treating him in the district outpatient clinic can ask for another doctor. This choice is impossible only in particularly serious cases. It is not limited administratively, but by the patient's condi-

[1] There are 254 hospital-outpatient clinic complexes of three types, with roughtly 130,000 hospital beds. Complexes of the first type are intended for a population of up to 50,000 and have, in addition to an outpatient clinic, at least four main hospital departments—therapeutical, surgical, pediatric, gynecology and obstetrics. Complexes of the second type serve from 150,000 to 200,000 people and have 12 specialised hospital departments and an outpatient clinic with a greater number of specialists. Complexes of the third type, which serve a million people or more, include a regional hospital which has all the main departments and highly specialised ones—cancer, occupational diseases, tissue treatment and others. This network is supplemented by 140 specialised curative and 122 health resort establishments, 73 infants' and children's homes and 134 district and regional hygiene and epidemiology stations. We have one doctor for every 375 citizens.

tion and the need of aid from a definite, highly qualified specialist. In setting up our health services, we strove to ensure that every person received competent aid in case of need. And we have achieved this.

And now allow me to ask a question in my turn (it may be handy in an argument). Is it more humane to grant a dilettante patient the right to choose a medical specialist according to his own notions of the nature of his illness and the treatment to be applied, or to provide conditions in which the very system of health care guarantees patients competent and comprehensive aid and free treatment even if it is costly?[2] I must note that in our country a patient is paid sick benefits almost equalling his average earnings throughout the period of his illness and convalescence. Strictly speaking, the question does not arise in Czechoslovakia. Medical statistics, too, indicate that only an occasional patient exercises his right to choose his precinct doctor or the doctor he wants to treat him at an outpatient clinic.

You write that your opponents question our approach towards university enrolment. Certainly, we strive to avoid any repetition of the state of affairs that prevailed in the bourgeois republic, when there was only a tiny fraction of medicial students from worker or farmer families. But this does not mean a simplified, vulgarised approach that fails to take into account the level of knowledge, inclinations and abilities of prospective students. School marks and performance at entrance examinations are basic requirements, while talent and vocation are additionally tested throughout the study course.[3] In the course of five or six years of studies[4], which demand a degree of self-sacrifice, casual students usually drop out.

The question of a doctor's training is closely connected with that of the opportunities and prospects opened to new doctors, which you

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[2] Such frequent operations as appendectomy, herniorrhappy, or childbirth cost from 2,500 to 5,000 crowns (average monthly wages in Czechoslovakia in 1973 were 2,360 crowns). More difficult operations, such as on the stomach, gall bladder or kidneys, cost 5,000 to 14,000 crowns. Operations on the heart involving the use of *heart-and-lung machines, may cost as much as 30,000 to 40,000 crowns.*

[3] The following figures illustrate the social composition of the student body at Charles University's five medical departments. In the 1972/1973 academic year, first-year students included 30.19 per cent from worker families; the following year there were 30.31 per cent, and in 1974/1975, 34.85 per cent. The respective percentages for students from farmer families were 2.37, 2.76, and 2.92 (the comparatively low figures reflect the decreasing numbers of farmers characteristic of all economically developed countries).

[4] Education is, of course, free. Every graduate is guaranteed a job in his or her field; the number of doctors is growing, and we want it to continue to increase.

mention in your letter. Yes, initially graduates of our medical schools are to a certain extent restricted: they cannot work independtly in a medical precinct, polyclinic or hospital. They must first complete an obligatory three-year probationary course, after which they are certified for a specialist's diploma, first level. Only the professor of such a diploma is entitled to independent practice. Moreover, a therapeutist, for example, employed as a precinct physician, must also qualify as a surgeon, and vice versa. Thus, **certain restrictions in opportunities** for independent work are inseparable from **guaranteed opportunities** to acquire the necessary knowledge and experience. This may go against the grain of some young doctors, but it is in the best interests of their patients.

A young holder of a first-level diploma aspiring to a senior position will also encounter "restrictions" and be required to expand his general theoretical and practical knowledge, or to specialise more deeply (which takes several years), pass qualification examinations, and obtain a second-level diploma. That is the basis on which the "hierarchy" you sometimes hear of develops. But you will agree, I think, that senior positions in medical establishments must be held by experts in their own fields with extensive knowledge of related spheres of medicine.

Let me add that all doctors are obliged every three years to attend various refresher courses (they are free, with students retaining their full salary). The socialist state has thus assumed responsibility for the professional skills of doctors and created conditions enabling them to keep abreast of new developments throughout their careers.[5]

Now, concerning the state of hospitals in Prague. It is true that many, but certainly not most are housed in old buildings. That is because we have only recently been able to devote more attention to Prague. When we began setting up our public health system we had one of two options: either we could spend a substantial proportion of the funds at our disposal to build new hospitals in the capital, or we could modernise Prague's hospitals and build medical establishments in the provinces that had lacked them before. We chose the second option, for otherwise the principle of universally

[5] The efficacy of this system is illustrated by the following fact: in 1972, we launched a drive against ischemic heart ailments and myocardial infarction. The educational system made it possible, within two years, to familiarise more than 8,000 precinct and factory doctors, therapeutists, resort physicians and others in the Czech Socialist Republic with the newest methods of preventing, diagnosing, treating, and convalescence caring for, of the main cardio-vascular diseases.

accessible health services would have remained no more than a declaration of good intentions.

Your friends also correctly note that some medical establishments are inadequately equipped. Doubtlessly, a physician's knowledge and qualifications must be supplemented by up-to-date diagnostic and treatment accessories and hospital equipment. Although much has been done in this field, we are far from satisfied and are doing all we can to improve the situation. In 1975, regional and district appropriations for medical equipment were almost 50 per cent higher than in 1970.

By increasing the number of hospitals and doctors[8], improving technical equipment, facilities, premises and transport, and perfecting organisation, we are raising the quality of medical service. Waiting time in reception rooms is also decreasing. You might like to know that it is not so great as some of your opponents assert. During an inspection conducted in 1975, we established that more than half of first-time patients calling on polyclinic specialists are received at once. Some 20 per cent of specialist physicians have appointment lists, but waiting time is never more than two weeks. I say this not to justify existing shortcomings. We have our achievements, but we also have problems, we are aware of them and we don't pretend that everything is absolutely fine and perfect.

Your next question is about the availability of modern drugs in our pharmacies. Here are some figures. Czechoslovakia's pharmaceutical industry produces 920 medical preparations (many of them are intended not only for home consumption, but are exported to socialist and capitalist countries). In addition, we import more than 420 types of drugs from socialist and capitalist countries for general use, and another 700 types specially prescribed for individuals by their physicians.

We are aware that many more types of drugs are produced world-wide, but quantity in this sphere is not necessarily an indication of greater advance. it may also be a consequence of competition between pharmaceutical firms.[7] Our experience indicates that the range of medicines at our disposal meets both the real requirements and the legal obligation of our medical services to assure all citizens adequate free treatment. We also guarantee that the patient gets

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[8] In 1948 Czechoslovakia had 89.2 hospital beds per 10,000 of population; in 1975 there were more than 122. In 1966 there were 17.3 doctors per 10,000; in 1975 there were 26.66.

[7] In Sweden, according to press reports, a doctor has some 1,600 medicines at his disposal, and in France he has 11,000, but does that mean that the Swedish health service is worse than the French?

only high-quality medicines: the Ministry of Public Health permits the use of a drug only after the most thorough tests. Our citizens know that a physician can, and is in duty bound, to prescribe whatever medicine is needed, regardless of how much it costs, and that the state, in turn, will obtain and pay for it, even though it be for specific treatment on an individual basis.[8] Besides we prohibit trade in drugs that may be harmful if used incorrectly, a danger we wish to spare our citizens.

And one more problem: the strict budgets of medical establishments and a doctor's obligation to be guided solely by the patient's needs. Today all medical establishments, all over the world, have their budgets. But in our country additional funds are always available if they are really necessary. There is not one case on record in the history of the socialist health services of a doctor or medical establishment turning back a patient because the budget had run out.

How do we combine the Party principle of selecting senior personnel with competent management. Far from precluding the most stringent demands on the professional skills of senior medical staff, the Party approach, as I have mentioned before, presumes them. I can add that all we have done in the past thirty years would have been impossible without competent leadership and the devotion and personal concern of thousands of workers.

In conclusion you refer to the supporters of various health systems, the socialist as well as those existing in the United States, Great Britain and FRG. Let us examine them. In the United States we see non-comprehensive, individually orientated medicine based on private practice, in which the profit motive is, if not a raison d'etre, at least an essential element. In such conditions neither extensive charity nor state interference can solve the problems of universal public health. The Social Democratic model practiced, notably, in Great Britain, Sweden and Austria is better, but it too is not all-embracing and far from perfect. On the one hand, it relies on hospital insurance that divides citizens according to social status. On the other, it is forced, like any business enterprise, to reckon with return on investment, which inevitably produces a "health business".

The system of state health service practiced in Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries is not commercially motivated. Its "efficiency index" is the health of each person and the population as a whole. The socialist system is the only one in the world capable

[8] Czechoslovakia spent 70 crowns per person on medicines in 1966, 152 in 1973, and 177.2 in 1975.

not only of proclaiming, but assuring in practice the health protection of all its citizens. In socialist conditions health is no longer the private concern of the individual; it is of prime significance for the cultural, economic and social development of the society as a whole; concern for the maintenance and improvement of the health of each citizen and the whole people is a prerequisite for every person to live his one and only life well, to develop his abilities, and realise his creative potential.

Under socialism the right to state-guaranteed health protection has become, along with the right to work, old age security, free education and professional training, a prime social value. We have put into effect the principles of medical humanism which had been an unattainable ideal to many generations.

I thank you once again, Comrade Fazio, for your sincere, frank letter, and I assure you that I am always prepared to answer any questions and do what I can to help you and other comrades in their great and noble struggle.

Sincerely,

Jaroslav Prokopec

Difficult Birth of a Republic

The progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces of all continents warmly welcomed the birth, on November 11, 1975, of the People's Republic of Angola, bringing to an end nearly 500 years of Portuguese colonial rule. Proclaimed by the Chairman of the MPLA, Agostinho Neto, the Republic's first President, it was recognised by about 30 states before the end of Novmeber. Among these are members of the socialist community, many revolutionary-democratic governments, and Nigeria, Africa's biggest country.

But the achievements of the Angolan people's national-liberation struggle are imperilled by external and internal reaction. From its very first days the Republic found itself in a difficult position, compelled to wage an armed struggle against foreign interventionist forces and their accomplices. Ranged against the Republic in an "unholy aliance" is a "curious trio", in the words of the *International Herald Tribune* (Nov. 24), the USA, the South African racists and the Maoist leadership of China acting through Mobutu in Zaire, the Angolan puppets led by Holden Roberto of the so-called National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), and Jonas Savimbi of the so-called National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (UNITA).

In the war against the Angolan people led by the MPLA the fascist regime of Salazar and Caetano was supported by its NATO allies. This aggressive bloc helped fascist Portugal in an attempt to maintain the domination of the imperialist monopolies over Angola's colossal natural wealth. At the same time, the imperialists encouraged divisive, pseudo-patriotic tribalist organisations such as FNLA and UNITA, whose chief assignment was to drive a knife into the back of the genuine revolutionary forces united in the MPLA.

These imperialist plans failed. The collapse of the fascist regime in Portugal, accelerated by the liberation struggle in the African colonies, predetermined the decolonialisation of Angola. Independent Angola has come into being under the leadership of the MPLA which has proclaimed a programme of deep-going political, social and economic changes that accord with the aspirations of the people.

It is against these changes that the enemies of the young Republic hav launched their intervention. US imperialism fears that the new progressiv states, Angola led by the MPLA, and Mozambique led by FRELIMO, wil exert a powerful influence on the revolutionary process throughout the con- tinent, change the alignment of forces in Central and Southern Africa and deal a shattering blow to South Africa and Rhodesia, those imperialist bas- tions of reaction and racism. The racist rulers of these countries are in a panic: with the militant popular resistance movement rising in their own countires, they want Angola to be ruled by a pro-imperialist, neocolonialist regime.

Of course, the imperialists, racists, Maoists and their African accomplices would very much like to present the events in Angoa as fraternal strife, as a civil war. But the progressive forces of Africa and the world know that the fight in Angola is between the people and their enemies, that what we have is a counter-offensive by imperialism, racialism and reaction aimed at the progressive states of Africa, at destroying the bastions of African free- dom, splitting the Organisation of African Unity. And the Angolan people, led by the MPLA, are in the front line of the battle to repel this counter- offensive.

No, there is no civil war in Angola, there is a struggle between the people and the outright foreign intervention in which all the roles have been pre- cisely assigned. The CIA provides the money, weapons and "instructors" and helps to recruit mercenaries for the FNLA and UNITA. South Africa, besides providing mercenaries, has sent army units to Angola, and has openly assumed leadership of the armde intervention. That has been officially ad- mitted by Foreign Minister Muller. He pleaded the "need to defend the frontiers" (apparently of illegally occupied Namibia) "against communism."

Pekings role is especially unseemly. By supporting the Roberto and Sa- vimbi thugs, providing financial and military assistance when it was to their advantage (and announcing the end of this assistance when things took a turn for the worse), the Maoist leadership, under cover of its "superpower" demagogy, viciously slanders the MPLA, the People's Republic of Angola and the countries supporting it, primarily the Soviet Union. The Peking leaders have thus entered into a factual alliance not only with the CIA, but also with the South African racists.

The events in Angola demand effective solidarity of all the progressive forces of the world. The Angolan people must be assured all the conditions needed to consummate the libpration of their country, safeguard its territorial integrity and advance in peace and independence on the road of social pro- gress.

Essop Pahad
South African Publicist

Amath Dansoko
Member of Political Bureau, African Party of Independence of Senegal

Chile : The Underground Movement

Jaime Gazmuri

After nearly two years of underground work in Chile, Comrade Gazmuri a Popular Unity leader, has temporarily left the country by decision o fhis Party. In this interview with *WMR* he discusses the position in Chile.

Q. In some capitalist countries the press maintains that there are no signs of active resistance to the dictatorship in Chile. What is your view?

A. That assertion is, at best, based on inadequate knowledge of what is happening in Chile. The press in these countries has devoted much more attention to the junta terror than to the Chilean people's struggle, so that in certain international circles there is probably a one-sided impression of Chilean reality.

Yet the fact is that from the very outset the junta was up against heroic armed resistance by the people of Santiago, Valparaiso, Concepcion and other major centres. Most of the resistance came from the working people, but they were fighting against immens odds, and the resistance was suppressed in a few days. Thousands were killed or jailed, and repressive measures were taken against trade union, peasant, youth and other mass organisations.

The forms of struggle had to be changed, adapted to the new situation of endless repression and decline of the mass movement. The defeat of the Popular Unity at first generated a feeling of despondency, frustration in a section of the population.

A new stage began with the organisational restructuring of our parties, and a year after the coup the democratic anti-fascist movement was spreading and is now steadily gaining strength.

What forms does it take? First, propaganda and agitation. The mian Popular Unity parties now have a mass underground press, with leaflets and

newspapers appearing regularly, reaching the factories, working-class districts, universities and secondary schools throughout the country. I feel that this propaganda and agitation is of exceptional importance in raising the political consciousness of the masses and organising them for struggle.

Our parties attach much importance also to developing and strengthening independent mass oranisations, particularly the trade unions. There are many bans and restrictions on economic demands—the military junta permits only cultural and sports activities. The mines, rural areas, schools are honeycombed with police stooges who report the slightest manifestation of dissatisfaction with the regime.

Since the second half of 1974 there has been much more activity by the trade unions and national union federations. Notwithstanding the terror and the multitude of restrictions, the workers are beginning to act more openly. On May Day, for instance, there were more than 500 demonstrations and other actions. The mass struggle is developing around two demands: an end to the dictatorship's economic policy, and trade union freedoms. In mid-1975 the trade unions discussed the labour code drawn up by the fascist junta. It was unanimously rejected by all the unions, even those under Demochristian leadership, and the junta had to shelve it.

Opposition to the dictatorship comes not only from the working people. Anti-fascist actions are multiplying also in universities and secondary schools, where there is effective propaganda among the youth. Intellectuals, members of the liberal professions, are joining the struggle too, and there is more opposition from small businessmen, lorry owners and other sections of the middle class resentful of the regime's economic policy. The campaign for human rights, the release of political prisoners, solidarity with the families of patriots languishing in the dreadful junta prisons, and aid to the unemployed is assuming wide scope.

Most of our people detest the military junta. Even many of those who actively opposed the Popular Unity government and objectively contributed to the victory of fascism now see things in a different light: "That's not what we wanted," they say. No government in the whole of our history has so quickly and so definitely lost its social support. The depth of the revolutionary process under the Allende government is now matched by the scope of the counter-revolutionary process started by the fascist coup. And it is no mere accident that the junta cannot find in our history a single symbol or personality that might be held up in justification of its policies. The dictatorship is deeply and flagrantly anti-national.

Having reorganised its forces, the Popular Unity is now again at the head of the resistance movement. The masses, and primarily the working class, show a high degree of political consciousness. The severe defeat of September 1973 has not undermined its revolutionary spirit and revolutionary po-

tential. In fact, it is the only class that has the energy and resolve needed to lead the anti-fascist struggle.

Reorganisation of the Popular Unity parties is positive proof of their firm ties with the masses, their ability to conduct the struggle in the most onerous conditions. The terrible ordeals that have fallen to the Popular Unity have not engendered centrifugal tendencies or provoked a split. On the contrary, they have made our bloc still more monolithic.

However, the process of forging unity of all the democratic forces has still to be carried to completion. The organisation of an anti-fascist front has been discussed in this journal in an interview with Popular leaders abroad.[1] I would only emphasise that such a front can be organised if broad sections of the population join the anti-fascist struggle. That is our principal aim. Further, we must present an alternative to the dictatorship. Accordingly, while expanding the mass anti-fascist movement, we must at the same time work for political unity of all the anti-dictatorial forces. And here the problem is that though they now show more vigorous opposition to the military junta, very many democratic-minded Chileans, influnced by the Demochristians, do not want an alliance with the working class. I think that the programme adopted at the Berlin Conference of our parties last July will attract the attention of all the democratic forces, of all anti-fasists, and will stimulate broad discussion wih a view to working out a final programme of struggle. It must envisage a new democracy in Chile, a new state, set guidelines for social, economic and foreign policy, the aim being to rescue the country from the deep crisis into which the junta has plunged it.

Q. *In your book, "Learn From the Past to Build the Future"[2] you say that the subject most discussed in Chile today is the activity of the Allende government. How is it assessed?*

A. The three years of the Popular Unity government are an important landmark in 20th century Chilean history. They have left an indelible imprint on the masses, and this notwithstanding all the attempts of fascist propaganda to discredit the Allende government and thereby justify the coup d'etat. Those three years were a period of deep-going socio-economic transformations with a clear anti-imperialist and democratic orientation. The personality of the late President has for the masses become a symbol of the victories of the popular movement. People speak of Salvador Allende with great warmth and keep his photographs.

We must carefully analyse the work of the popular government in the interests of the working class and the whole people. Without this there can be no moving ahead. We hold that the gains and achievements of the

[1] See *PPS*, October 1975.
[2] Reviewed in *PPS*, December 1975.

Allende government are the gains of our entire people and any united anti-fascist programme must provide for their return to the people. Nationalisation of copper, a public sector in the economy, expropriation of monopoly assets, agrarian reform and other changes must be undertaken following the overthrow of the dictatorship.

But we must also bear in mind the mistakes of the Popular Unity. The chief of these, I think, was underestimation of the factor of strength in the revolutionary process. The revolution cannot be successful if it does not dispose of greater strength than the overthrown classes. We overestimated bourgeois democracy and the professional duty of the armed forces and underestimated the importance for the popular movement of a favourable relation of military strength.

With a few rare exceptions, we did not purposefully study the position in the armed forces, their class composition and ideological indoctrination. It is probably true to say that, on the question of the state and its armed forces, we were swayed by bourgeois propaganda.

We should draw a lesson from this. The anti-fascist struggle cannot be successful if we do not possess an adequate military force. The monopoly bourgeoisie and imperialism will never give up power voluntarily and will always use the army to defend their class interests.

We made another mistake—we paid too little attention to the problem of alliances and did not show the necessary firmness and flexibility towards various sections of the population. In 1970-73, the popular movement and the working class lost many of their allies among the intellectuals, the liberal professions, small proprietors, the middle bourgeoisie. The working class found itself in relative isolation. The coup was possible not only because the alignment of military forces was to the disadvantage of the Popular Unity, but also because the relation of forces in society as a whole was to our disadvantage too.

We underestimated the decisive importance of ideological work as part of the political struggle, the need to strengthen our influence among the masses, raise their level of consciousness, explain the working-class programme to those strata which we could win over to our side, expose anti-communist campaigns and disseminate the idaes of Marxism-Leninism. We voluntarily abandoned the ideological battlefield to the enemy on the excuse that the reactionaries possessed incomparably greater material facilities in this field.

These and other problems require wide discussion. They are important not only for the popular movement but also for all forces ranged against fascism. A profound analysis of our achievements and mistakes will help to bring broad democratic circles into the anti-fascist front.

Q. You have referred to force as a decisive factor of revolution. Are you working inside the army?

A. There is a widely-held view that the putschists had the support of the vast majority of servicemen. That is very relative. Actually wide circles of officers and men were opposed to the coup. But they had no leadership and, besides, they were the first target of repression. In many units, before they were taken out of the barracks at dawn on September 11, the putschists took a number of "prophylactical" measures. We know, for instance, of the wholesale execution of carabinieri. The same happened in many army and air force units. What I want to say is that on the day of the coup there were many supporters of the constitutional goernment among servicemen.

Positive changes are now taking place in the army. There is mounting discontent with the way the junta is running the country and with its dictatorial policies and methods. Many servicemen realise that the Pinochet government is politically isolated, has plunged the country into a state of economic chaos, and that the junta is condemned by world public opinion.

The realisation that they are serving a government which has no future has engendered a lack of confidence among army men. The talk in officer families is that the present government will not last long and that change is inevitable. Servicemen are also influenced by the universal condemnation of the army for having assumed gendarmerie functions. All this presents opportunities for ideologically influencing members of the armed forces, especially junior officers and privates. Of course, this is extremely difficult, and not only because of the terrible risks involved, but also because of the prevailing anti-Communist ideology in the armed forces. But there is growing discontent and this makes it possible to conduct more political propaganda and ideological work. The distinctive feature of this work is that we do not regard everyone in uniform an enemy—our enemy is only the fascist clique that has usurped power. There is room in the anti-fascist struggle for all honest, democratically-minded army men, for everyone dissatisfied with the regime.

Q. In the collective interview mentioned above, the Popular Unity party leaders spoke of bringing the Christian Democratic Party into the anti-fascist front now being built. What is the attitude of the Christian masses towards the military junta?

A. The Christian masses differ widely in class composition and sonsequently, in political views and ideological attitudes. But on the whole they reject the dictatorship, its ruinous economic policy and fascist ideology. Fascism is abhorrent to Christians. They reject the junta's policy on education and culture. This tells on the attitude of Catholic leaders who have come out against the repressions and all the man-hating policies and acivi-

ties of the junta. I can say that only three or four out of the thirty Catholic bishops support the dictatorship. The Church founded a cooperation-for-peace committee which has campaigned in defence of political prisoners and assistance to their families.

This leads me to believe that our alliance with the Christian masses, based on common political and programmatic aims, will be a long-lasting one. The participation of the Christian masses in the anti-fascist struggle, and after the overthrow of fascism in the building of socialism can prove a major factor. Christian thought, which rejects the fascist ideology, is, I think, acquiring a progressive character in Chile and this makes possible a fruitful dialogue between Christians and Marxists.

Q. What has been the response in Chile to international solidarity with its people's struggle?

A. A very wide response. Solidarity with the Chilean people was expressed in the very first days of the coup, especially by the socialist countries which displayed fraternal sympathy with our people's struggle and suffering. I find it hard to convey the feeling of gratitude that moved our democrats and patriots when, on the day after the coup, they heard over the radio a message full of confidence in their future victory. They knew that the Chilean people were not alone. That came from Moscow radio. The solidarity messages helped us overcome defeatist moods.

Solidarity with the fighting Chilean people has come from wide circles of the world public—from political organisations, governments, the Church, intellectuals, the working class. This is of immense importance for Chileans. It is evident that the junta is isolated, is incompatible with the march of history. International solidarity also helps cultivate in our people a feeling of internationalism: they see that all the forces standing for progress, peace and socialism are interested in the success of their anti-fascist struggle.

In more direct terms, the broad campaign of solidarity with comrades Luis Corvalan, Clodomiro Almeyda, leaders of the Radical Party and other political prisoners has saved the lives of many patriots and has forced the dictatorship to release a number of comrades who played a prominent part in the popular movement. I do not for a moment doubt that were it not for this solidarity campaign many leaders of the left parties would have been murdered by the junta.

Q. How do the Chilean people learn of the international solidarity campaign?

A. Chiefly from radio Moscow, Berlin and Havana. These broadcasts are so effective and so widely popular that even the fascist press finds itself compelled to enter into polemics with them. And not infrequently the press comes out with an attack on the solidarity campaign and thereby unwitting

ly becomes itself a source of information about what is happening in the outside world. Last but not least, there is our expanding underground press. Every issue of the newspapers put out by the Popular Unity parties carries detailed reports of the international solidarity campaign, of the numerous initiatives by the democratic forces and their demands to put an end to the fascist tyranny in Chile.

Q. Could you tell us something—within the framework of the possible—of your personal experience in underground work?

A. All of us working underground have had to tackle new problems. Of course, there was repression against popular movement militants in the past too, but the present terror is toally unprecedented. But experience has shown that all difficulties are surmountable, that not only can one hide from the repressions because of our contacts with the masses, but also begin political work. The Popular Unity parties from the very outset decided to keep their leadership in Chile. That was a correct decision. Today our parties are active and taking initiatives on various issues, I could give you many details of how we work with the masses, the working class, but as you have remarked, that would go "beyond the framework of the possible". Our parties remain the vanguard of the people, the leaders of its struggle. Their mutual trust has never been closer. That is the earnest of our future successes.

Fascist Escalation Continuing in Uruguay

The news from Uruguay is alarming. The Bordaberry dictatorship, established through a coup on June 27, 1973, has started a new wave of brutal repression. Hundreds of patriots were rounded up during a vast terrorist operation of the Army Intelligence Service and the First Division under General Cristi. Their whereabouts are unknown. This information comes from the wives and relatives of the arrested, who have applied to the International Red Cross, the UN Human Rights Commission and various embassies for help, according to the Argentine newspaper *Razon*.

In this situation, the past masters of torture (a common occurrence under the dictatorship) feel no restraint whatever. This naturally arouses much anxiety for the health and very lives of the detainees. The repression extends to the most diverse political trends and population groups, labour leaders, academics, students, cultural personalities, journalists, former MPs. Communists are a special target. Since October 1974, when Jaime Perez, Secretary of the CC CPU, was arrested, the regime has also seized Jose Luis Massera, Vladimir Turiansky and Alberto Altesor, men prominent in the Party and the working-class movement, and numerous rank-and-file Communists. Nothing is known about their whereabouts.

In a statement released on November 11, 1975, the Communist Party described the reactionary offensive as a "new, still more dangerous step towards all-out fascism" and warned against still more sinister plans by the regime. It uses the techniques of psychological warfare devised by US imperialism and spends millions of pesos stolen from the people on anti-Communist campaigns and slanderous attacks, in particular against Rodney Arismendi.

The CPU and the opposition, the statement notes, suffer great losses in the fight against the fascist dictatorship, for the restoration of the people's freedoms. The current wave of repression is the regime's reaction to the demand of large segments of the population for an end to torture and terror.

Protests have come from the church, which has circulated the text of a pastoral letter condemning the dictatorship's use of force.

Stepping up repression is all that Bordaberry and the oligarchy behind him, those primarily responsible for the present social and economic troubles of the republic, can do. The terror campaign is in line with the directives which General Vadora, commander-in-chief of the Uruguayan armed forces, tried to impose on the 11th conference of American armies (October 1975) with support from Chile and Brazil and direct pressure from the Pentagon. The attempt to extend Pinochet's "experience" to the whole continent, turn armies into pretorian guards and use them against detente, in a "life-and-death struggle against Marxism-Leninism", as General Vadora put it, failed ignominiously—it was defeated by the army leaders of other countries. After this miscarriage repression was intensified in Chile, Brazil and Uruguay. The threat of a coup in Argentina, where terrorist activities are on the rise[1] as elsewhere, increased more than ever. Reaction tries through terror to prevent joint action by the growing patriotic and anti-fascist forces of Latin America. In Uruguay it would like to leave the opposition leaderless so as to block unity against the dictatorship, keep Bordaberry in power and perpetuate his regime.

Reports from Uruguay speak of the pressing need for greater international solidarity with the country's patriots. The importance of solidarity was stressed by L. I. Brezhnev and Rodney Arismendi at their meeting on November 6, 1975. Once again, the General Secretary of the CPSU assured the First Secretary of the CPU of the unqualified solidarity of Lenin's great Party with the courageous people, working class and Communist Party of Uruguay. Uruguay's Communists deeply appreciate the position of the CPSU, which gives them fresh energy and stimulates the widespread international campaign to end terror and torture in Uruguay, win legal guarantees for political prisoners, impose respect for human rights and bring about the restoration of freedom in the country.

The lives of some of the nation's finest sons are in jeopardy. Whether they will be saved depends largely on the scale of international solidarity.

Sergio Sierra
CPU representative on *WMR*

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[1] Fascist gangs, especially the AAA (Anti-Communist Alliance of Argentina), are on the rampage in the country. They kidnap and kill politicians and other public figures, above all labour leaders and Communists. While this issue of the journal was in preparation it became known that a group of armed men had looted and burnt the home of Jorge Andres Kohen, Communist leader of student youth, the son of Alberto Kohen, CPA representative on the journal, alternate member of the CC CPA. The Security Service searched the premises of the lawyer's office which Alberto Kohen headed before his arrival in Prague.—*Ed.*

"She Was Hated And Feared . . ."

On Angela Davis's "Autobiography" and the Polemics Around It

It is now more than five years since Angela Davis was arrested on October 13, 1970, on charges carrying penalties of a mandatory death sentence in the gas chamber or life imprisonment, and more than three-and-half years since her acquittal of those charges on June 4, 1972. Yet her name remains a household word in many countries of the world, and time has not diminished the people's interest in her life and work.

For one thing, she is still in "the public eye". As a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USA and as an officer of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, she is continuing *the work she was doing when arrested. This is the work of defending the victims of racist and political repression— a never-ending, ever-growing task in the conditions of state-monopoly capitalist rule in the USA. She is engaged continuously in speaking, lecturing, writing and organising in all regions of the country.*

Moreover, her Autobiography* has attracted wide attention in the United States and throughout the world. It is a straightforward account of her prison and trial experience, of the events and circumstances that shaped her childhood and youth, her interests and intellectual development, her discovery of socialism and decision to join the Communist Party.

However, certain book critics of the capitalist media have challenged both her account of the determining factors of her life and her political assessment of their importance. In a review of the reception given the autobiography by US capitalist media reviewers, Louise Patterson, herself a veteran in the struggle against racist and political repression, summarises the content of the reviews she accumulated on her desk "from East to West, North to South, and all points in between. She writes (*Political Affairs*,

* Random House, New York, 1974; London, Hutchinson, 1975, 400 pp.

May 1975): "...certain threads run through most of them. Anti-Communism, racism and male chauvinism are present, of course, a disbelief that the autobiography reveals the real Angela Davis because it does not deal with what they deem her 'private life'..." She has omitted, they lament, certain intimate personal details on which they set so high a store, and without which they feel the account of her life is incomplete. This kind of comment, of course, speaks more about the present-day genre of criticism in capitalist countries than about the autobiography's content.

Louise Patterson quotes from several reviews, however, which give limited positive judgments of the autobiography. Of the latter group of critics, Elinor Lenger in *The New York Times Book Review* of Oct. 27, 1974, seems to have read the autobiography with an above-the-average understanding of its content. She finds credible the account by Angela Davis of her discovery of socialism in her history classes in New York, and the impact on her spirit and intellectual development of the *Communist Manifesto*, an experience she describes as opening up before her eyes "a whole new world". "Like an expert surgeon, this document cut away cataracts from my eyes," Angela Davis writes. "What had seemed a personal hatred of me, an inexplicable refusal of Southern whites to confront their own emotions, and a stubborn willingness of Blacks to acquiesce became the inevitable consequences of a ruthless system which kept alive and well by encouraging spite, competition, and oppression by one group of another. Profit was the word: the cold and constant motive for the behaviour, the contempt and the despair I had seen."

It is to the credit of *The New York Times Book Review* critic that she singled out for quotation this excerpt from the autobiography. For in this statement Angela Davis describes not only the liberating and inspirational influence of Marxism on herself; she also makes clear its potential for enabling others to clear a path through the debris of racist and retrograde ideas which are a prominent feature of the chronic cultural underconsumption of the US masses, and are many times more virulent in the enforced isolation and cultural deprivation of the Black ghettos.

Yet the critic falters in her understanding when she says the autobiography's concern with the prison movement "is sometimes the voice of Every Prisoner, a little familiar." As a deeply compassionate, talented person of exceptional courage, Angela Davis would naturally express sympathy with "Every Prisoner" of whatever skin-colour in her indictment of the conditions in US jails and prisons. But her work on behalf of prisoners and her sharpest condemnation of the US penal system are directed against its special and discriminatory treatment of prisoners of African, Puerto Rican, Mexican, Native American Indian and Asian descent. For in this sphere of US society the social inequality and the racist and national oppression in-

during her arrest and trial, problems which still call for discussion and action. Her autobiography is additional evidence of the power of the masses to counter the repressive policies of even the most powerful capitalist state. It brings again into focus the importance of the struggle against racism. It should give fresh inspiration and determination to the mass movements now working to save the lives and liberties of imprisoned patriots in the torture-chambers of South Africa, Brazil, Chile, Spain and Paraguay.

John Pittman

The Poverty of "Marxology"

What is behind the stepped-up efforts of bourgeois ideologists since the early 1960s to falsify the views of Marx and Engels? What are their methods and objectives? Answering these questions, the authors of *The Poverty of "Marxology"*[1] offer detailed analyses of contemporary issues and an attacking critique of bourgeois views on the subject aired in a number of books that have appeared in the FRG.

The interest of bourgeois ideologues in the works of Marx and Engels, the authors point out, is not accidental. It must be seen as a reaction to the growing achievements of the socialist community and the world communist movement, as well as to the ever more acute contradictions within the capitalist system. By "re-interpreting" Marx, emasculating his doctrine of its genuinely scientific, revolutionary, proletarian essence, and directing these emasculated ideas against existing socialism and the world communist movement, latter-day "Marxologists" hope, if not to quench the mounting interest in genuine Marxism, then at least to misdirect it. Lenin's words, "The dialectics of history are such that the theoretical victory of Marxism compelled its enemies to *disguise themselves* as Marxists" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 584), are valid today, as the authors demonstrate convincingly.

The book reveals the methods "Marxologists" employ in their attacks against Marxism. To begin with, they seek to foist upon their readers "interpretations" of the works of the founders of scientific communism in place of the real thing. It is indicative that every year around one hundred "interpretations" of Marxism appear in the FRG, as against a maximum of six actual works of Marx or Engels (p. 16).

Characteristic of the "interpreters" of Marx and Engels is their distortion of the fundamental propositions of Marxism, their juggling and manipula-

[1] R. Emmermann, K. Geyer, E. Julier. *Das Elend der "Marxologie". Eine Auseinandersetzung mit Marx-Engels-Verfälschungen.* Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1975, 279 pp.

tion with quotations taken out of context. The "Marxologists" question the objective laws of social development and the inevitability of the replacement of exploiter capitalism by socialism; they strive to distort or declare obsolete the doctrine of the historical mission of the proletariat and its party, challenging the need for such a party in general, and in the period of building socialism in particular. Finally, they would represent the unity of Marxist theory and the labour movement as of secondary importance and allege that the views of Marx and Engels allow for the existence of a variety of "Marxisms".

"Marxologists", the book notes, are especially persevering in their efforts to refute the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution and set Lenin's positions against those of Marx. The authors reveal the utter inschon... of such attempts. To any serious scholar it is as absurd to counterpose Lenin and Marx as it would be for a physicist to claim that Newton's views represented the be-all and end-all of physics, whereas the theory of relativity was seen as a deviation (p. 236). "The views of Marx, Engels and Lenin fully coincide on all key issues," the authors write. "It is to Lenin's great and undying credit that he creatively developed Marx's teaching to apply it to the new conditions of the epoch of imperialism, the epoch of proletarian revolutions" (p. 235).

Exposing the efforts of the defenders of bourgeois ideology the authors of the book offer a comparative analysis of the positions of out-and-out apologists of imperialism and social-reformist critics of Marx. In the main, they note, their positions coincide, in so far as they are all opposed to Marxism-Leninism and existing socialism. Alongside this conclusion the authors dwell in detail on the real role of those who seek to represent themselves as spokesmen for the working class, who attempt to prove that the concepts of so-called "democratic socialism" are most in keeping with the Marxist heritage.

In sum, the book convincingly demonstrates that in their efforts to distort that heritage, bourgeois ideologues falsify primarily those positions of Marxism-Leninism that bear most directly on the present stage of development of the world communist movement, on the further strengthening of its unity and cohesion.

Gunter Wim[illegible]

The Hard Road to Independence

The proclamation of the People's Republic of Angola marked the end of the oldest colonial empire in Africa. The patriotic forces of the former Portuguese colonies won independence in a hard and heroic struggle. In hailing their victory it is useful to look back and analyse the events that made it possible and draw lessons for the future. The USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Africa has taken a timely initiative in putting out a collection of materials on the liberation struggle in the Portuguese colonies.[1] It contains articles and speeches by liberation leaders Amilcar Cabral, Samora Machel and Agostinho Neto, an article by Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, and contributions by Soviet authors. Also included are important political statements, the PAIGC programme, the Constitution of Guinea-Bissau, the MPLA programme, the Constitution and Programme of FRELIMO. And, lastly, there is a detailed chronology from the founding of the Portuguese empire to its demise.

Though compiled before April 1974, the book traces the developments that led to the liberation of the Portuguese colonies. It covers different aspects of the process—the roots of Portuguese colonialism, the methods of colonial rule, the rise and development of the united patriotic, anti-imperialist national-liberation front, the evolution of its strategy and tactics, including armed struggle. The reader can follow the process by which small, isolated and virtually unarmed FRELIMO groups developed into a powerful people's army which in the liberated areas reorganised the economy, provided food, medical aid and education for the people.

Special attention is devoted to the Portuguese Communist Party's struggle for the independence of the colonies. Alvaro Cunhal says in his opening

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[1] *The Liberation Struggle in the Portuguese African Colonies (1961-73)*. Moscow, 1975, 304 pp.

article that Portugal's fascist government tried hard to poison the people's thinking by racist propaganda, alleging that "loss of the colonies" would mean recession in Portugal and lower living standards. The Portuguese Communists were able to prove that "both from the political and economic standpoint the end of Portuguese colonialism is fully in the interests of the Portuguese people" (p. 6). Beginning with its First Congress in November 1923, the Portuguese Communist Party consistently followed a policy of combating Portuguese colonialism. Its clear internationalist line and mass activity yielded tangible results in the form of a broad democratic movement against the colonial war.

The national-liberation leaders always made a point of emphasising that they did not distinguish their enemies by the colour of their skin. FRELIMO Chairman Samora Machel writes: "Ours is a people's war fought in the interests of the people, and we know that there can be no antagonism between the interests of the Mozambique and any other people, including the Portuguese" (p. 49). And Machel draws attention to the importance for the liberation movement of the Portuguese people's (and especially working-class) struggle and the activities of the Portuguese Communist Party (p. 65). He emphasises also the support of the socialist community which, he writes, was the "decisive objective external factor in the victory of the popular democratic revolution in Mozambique" (p. 66).

But—and this point is strongly made by all contributors—political independence does not by itself solve all social and economic problems. Analysis of past experience will help overcome the difficulties that face the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

N. Ku[illegible]

New Books

Luciano Barca, Franco Botta, Alberto Zevi, *I communisti e l'economia italiana* 1944-1974. Antologia di scritti e documenti (The Communists and the Italian Economy 1944-1974. Articles and Documents). Bari, De donato, 1975. 445 pp.

La politica economica italiana (1945-1974). Orientamenti e proposte dei comunisti. A cura della Sezione centrale scuole di partito del PCI (The Economic Policy of Italy 1945-1974. Its Lines and the Communists' Proposals). Rome, 1975. 298 pp.

Both books deal with Italy's postwar economic development and the causes of the crisis affecting its industry and farming. They present the Communists' views and proposals, as well as relevant documents adopted by the Communist Party.

Bela Biszkü, *A párt és az állam a nép szolgálatában* (The Party and the State in the People's Service). Második. bővített kiadas Budapest, Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1975. 345 pp.

Articles and speeches (1957-1975) by Bela Biszku member of the Political Bureau and Secretary, CC HSWP, providing a panorama of the efforts of Party and state towards strengthening the foundations of socialism and building a developed socialist society.

Einführung in den sozialistischen Realismus (An Introduction to Socialist Realism). Berlin, Dietz Varlag, 1975. 440 pp.

An investigation by scholars of the GDR dealing with culture and the arts in a society building developed socialism, and with current problems of the theory and practice of socialist realism.

George Matthews, *Britain's Crisis—Cause and Cure*. London, Published by the Communist Party, 1975. 32 pp.

This pamphlet, by a leading member of the Communist Party of Great Britain, reveals that government plans to combat inflation make for a lower

standard of living and growing unemployment. The author sets out the measures proposed by the Communists to end the crisis. He stresses that a socialist future is the sole remedy for the British economy's chronic maladies.

Ludwig Müller, Fritz Rische, *Krise, Inflation, Arbeitslosigkeit.* Probleme und Alternativen (Crisis, Inflation, Unemployment. Problems and Alternatives). Frankfurt am Main, Verlag Marxistische Blätter, 1975. 133 pp.

Today's crisis in West Germany is more serious than the 1966-67 crisis. It pervades all production spheres and is a heavy burden on the people. The authors explain the reasons for chronic inflation and its concomitant, unemployment, and outline solutions.

Pagmyn Nergüi, *Nam, törlin niigem-ediin zasgiin bodlogo, uls ardyn azh akhuin udirdlaga* (The Socio-Economic Policy of the Party and the State, and Economic Management). Ulan Bator, Ulsyn Khevlel Tiin, 1975. 131 pp.

A book on the theory and practice of socialist construction in Mongolia and on the methodology of shaping the social and economic policies of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.

Roman Rudzinski, *Idea moralny a proces dziejowy w marksizmie i neokantyzmie* (The Moral Ideal and the Process of History in Marxism and Neo-Kantianism), Warsaw. Ksia°zka i Wiedza, 1975. 292 pp.

The author discloses the philosophical indefensibility of attempts to revise Marxism and brings out the connection between revisionism and neo-Kantianism.

Sotsializm i natsii (Socialism and Nations). Moscow, Mysl, 1975. 494 pp.

This collection of articles by party functionaries, public figures and scholars of various countries is concerned with the role of the socialist system in the development and rapprochement of nations and in the promotion of their internationalist cooperation at this stage. It reveals the importance of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of nations and relations between them.

Revolutia socialista si revolutia stiintifica-tehnica. Lucrarile sesiunii stiintifice din 31 *ianuarie* 1975 (The Socialist Revolution and the Scientific and Technological Revolution. Report on the Scientific Session Held on January 31, 1975). Bucharest, Editura Politica, 1975. 342 pp.

The authors of these contributions to the scientific session held by the Rumanian Academy of Social and Political Sciences to discuss problems of the scientific and technological revolution under socialism deal with economic management and its efficiency, the political leadership of society, the natural environment and other problems.

Sport et developement humain (Sports and Man's Development), Paris, Editions Sociales, 197. 320 pp.

In the summer of 1975 a group of French Communist MPs introduced

a bill to promote physical training and sports. The collection under review shows the attitude of scientists to the problems raised in the bill. Physicians, biologists, philosophers and teachers of France and other countries examine the situation in the sphere of physical training under capitalism and discuss the role of physical education in the harmonious development of the individual in socialist society.

Ekonomicka hlediska nove etapy rozvoje zemedelstvi (Economic Aspects of the New Development Stage of Agriculture). Prague, Svoboda, 1975. 271 pp.

Czechoslovak agriculture was reorganised on socialist lines in less than the lifetime of one generation. This was made possible, as the monograph under review reveals, by the alliance between the working class and the bulk of the peasantry. The republic's socialist farming has now entered a new stage characterised by the increasing role of intensive development factors.

Ali Yata, *Pour le triomphe de la revolution nationale democratique et l'ouverture de la vois vers le socialisme.* (For the Triumph of the National Democratic Revolution and for Paving the Way for Socialism). Casablanca, Al-Maarif, 1975. 164 pp.

The General Secretary of Morocco's Progress and Socialism Party shows that to achieve the objectives of the national democratic revolution and complete the country's national liberation, it is necessary to bring about a strong anti-imperialist alliance and cooperate closely with socialist countries. The changes that have occurred in the world arena in favour of peace, socialism and the Communist, working-class and national-liberation movements, the author notes, provide favourable conditions in which to fight for democracy and social progress in Morocco.

Press Festival

Last October on the wooden slopes of Mount Carmel on the outskirts of Haifa, the CP of Israel held Party Press Day, a festival gradually becoming a tradition for the Communists, the readers of the Hebrew-language *Zu Haderech* (This Way) and Arabic *Al-Ittihad* (Alliance), organs of the CP of Israel Central Committee. This year *Zu Haderech* is ten years old, and the Yiddish paper *Daar Weg* (The Way) is also marking its tenth anniversary. It was to these two anniversaries that Press Day was mainly dedicated. Its slogans: "For a Just and Durable Peace", "No to Lowering the Working People's Standard of Living", "Stop Confiscations of Arab Land", and "Stop Oppression in Occupied Territories".

The speakers at the festival were: Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the CP of Israel, Emile Habibi, Member of the CP of Israel Political Bureau and Editor-in-Chief of *Al-Ittihad*, and Jehuda Ongar, Central Committee member and Editor-in-Chief of *Zu Haderech*. At the festival thousands of Arabs and Jews demonstrated their solidarity with the Communists' struggle against the aggressive and pro-imperialist policy of Israel's rulers, for the liberation of all occupied Arab territories, for equal rights for the Arab population of Israel, and for the interests of the working people.

Zahi Karkabi

A SCHOOL OF SOLIDARITY

That is the name of the international six months' refresher courses for press and radio workers from developing countries operated under the auspices of the International Institute of Journalism with headquarters in Berlin, capital of the GDR. Twenty journalists from eleven Asian and African countries graduated the courses recently. All in all, more than 300 people have benefited from them so far.

O.B.

INFORMATION BULLETIN

The Communist Party of Argentina has begun publication of the *Boletin de informaciones de Asia y Africa,* covering the revolutionary process in Asian and African countries, the activities of their Communist and Workers' parties, their struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism, and for national liberation and social progress. The first issue contains a survey of the situation in Angola and Mozambique, an account of the 10th Congress of the CP of India, and a report on the Congolese Party of Labour, and other articles.

V. Brau

READERS' LETTERS

The *Daily World,* the CP USA paper, has a monthly column entitled "State of the Nation". It is made up of readers' letters from different parts of the country. "These letters to the *Daily World's* State of the Nation pages," the editors write, "tell the truth about local conditions more effectively than Gallup polls which we cannot afford. We urge you to keep sending in reports about conditions in your shops, offices and community. The *DW* is interested at this time in reports about the growing economic crisis—unemployment, rising prices—and about the fight back against the crisis."

K. Nikolson

A NEWSPAPER ABOUT ITSELF

Land og Volk, the Danish Communist paper, wants its readers to know more about the life and activity of the Party. In a recent issue it ran an account about the editorial staff of *Land og Volk*.

The Communist paper naturally gets no support from big business, and cannot rely on any revenue from advertising. It subsists on funds collected for it by the working people. The story shows how these finances are used.

B. S.

GETTING MORE READERS

In October the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica launched a campaign to win new readers for its organ, the newspaper *Libertad*. Interviews with Party activists and the paper's vendors illustrate progress from issue to issue.

"We've built up an effective distribution system," said Francisco Martinez, *Libertad* distributor in Tres Rios "We have also managed to sell sub-

scriptions." Another distributor, Rodrigo Lopez of Concepcion, said: "The attitude to the Party paper in our town has changed. Formerly, the most we could sell was twenty-five copies. Now we are selling more than two hundred." Claudio Benavides, a Party activist in Orotina, described distribution in that railway town: "We try to sell more papers to passengers of passing trains. This helps to get the paper to remote places we cannot reach ourselves.

L. Argenti

Man and the Economy

Socio-Economic Development Trends in the GDR and FRG

With detente, emphasis in the competition between the two systems is shifting to the economic, social, educational and culural spheres. *Which of the two social systems shows a higher and more stable rate of economic growth? Which of them provides more favourable conditions for the satisfaction of material and cultural requirements and for the all-round development of the individual?*

To give readers a better idea of the issues involved, we are starting a series comparing existing socialism with capitalism. It opens with a documentary survey of facts and figures covering the past five years.[1]

Both countries are among the ten most industrialised states of the world. However, the FRG is almost two and a half times as large in area as the GDR and has a population three and a half times as large. This means that comparison is only possible in relative figures. It should also be borne in mind that in a number of cases the statistical agencies of the GDR and FRG use dissimilar methods of estimating social and economic growth.

The conditions in which the FRG set out to develop its economy were more favourable than in the case of the GDR. After the war West Germany inherited 70 per cent of German industry and almost all its main raw material and power resources. Besides, the war destroyed only 20 per cent of West German industry against 40 per cent of what is now the GDR, the area where the fiercest battles were fought. Nevertheless, ever since the two states came into being, the economy of the GDR has on the whole been growing faster than West Germany's. In 1970, industrial production in the GDR was 440 per cent greater than in 1950 whereas the FRG showed a 320 per cent increase.

1 Based on national statistics of the GDR and FRG, facts and figures published in the press of the two countries, and data made available by the GDR Panorama press agency and the Institute of International Politics and Economics (GDR).

GDR

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME OF THE GDR

The Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (1971) *defined the main lines of the social and economic development of the GDR in the 1971-75 period as follows:*

"The main task is... to assure a further rise in the people's living and cultural standards by developing socialist production at a higher rate, raising its efficiency, fostering scientific and technological progress and increasing labour productivity" ("Guidelines of the Eighth Congress of the SUPG for the Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the GDR for 1971-75").

The key targets were specified as follows:

	1975 in percentages of 1970	Average annual increase (per cent)
National income	127	4.9
Industrial production	134	6.0
Labour Productivity in industry	135	6.2
Investments	129*	5.3
Real incomes	122	4.1

* Average percentage for 1971-75 compared with 1966-70.

"The plan guidelines for 1971-75," said Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the CC SUPG, at the Eighth Congress, "may be described as a programme for economic stability and steady progress. Our goal is a stable and exceptionally high growth rate, stability in production, supply and consumer prices."

FRG

ELECTION PROMISES IN THE FRG

They speak of stable social and economic development in the FRG too, where real economic and political power is wielded by big capital. The 1969 election programme of the Social Democrats, whom the bourgeoisie today entrusts with managing its affairs, said:

"We will continue to ensure full employment for wage workers and a stable economic existence for the self-employed. No one will have cause to fear for his job. Real incomes will continue to grow...

"Reasonable growth is guaranteed by the Social Democrats.

"We will effectively use the instruments of stabilisation and growth we have created.

"Price stability will be safeguarded against internal and external hazards by every available means...

"Sound finances are the foundation of a sound state. We will continue to maintain them...

"Every family is entitled to a flat meeting its needs. This should not depend on its income..."

GDR

A HIGHER RATE THAN IN DEVELOPED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

Though the final results of the five-year plan are not yet in, the 15th Plenum of the CC SUPG (October 1975) and the 16th Plenum (November 1975) expressed confidence that the plan would be fulfilled and, indeed, exceeded in major output items, as evidenced by the following table:

Economic Growth of the GDR, 1971-75
% change on previous year

	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975*
National income	4.5	5.4	5.5	6.3	5.5
Industrial production	5.5	6.3	6.8	7.4	6.8
Labour Productivity in industry	4.5	5.0	5.8	6.3	6.7
Investments	4.0	3.0	8.5	4.0	4.0

* First half year compared with first half of 1974.

In 1971-74 the national income increased by an average of 5.5 per cent a year. In 1975, it is expected to exceed 140,000m. GDR marks (against 108,000m. in 1970). Industrial commodity production went up from 163,300m. marks in 1970 to 223,000m. marks in 1974. The annual increase averaged 6.5 per cent.

In the ten months of 1975, the economic plan for the year was fulfilled by 83.6 per cent.

The GDR is developing its industry by *intensifying production*. Greater output is achieved almost entirely by raising labour productivity. New

techniques and more efficient organisation lead to higher productivity and make work easier. Industrial accidents have decreased by 15 per cent since 1971.

Many industries of the GDR export over half, and some of them from 80 to 90 per cent, of their output. *Economic relations with CMEA countries,* which account for 70 per cent of the republic's foreign trade, is an important factor of stable economic growth. The Soviet Union is the biggest trade partner of the GDR. Trade between the two countries in 1971-75 was worth almost 20,000m. rubles, or over 100,000m. marks. It will grow by another 40 per cent under the next five-year plan.

The 15th Plenum of the Central Committee noted that the GDR had a higher industrial growth rate than developed capitalist countries. "It will be recalled," said Erich Honecker, "that stable and high growth indices were the decisive economic principle advanced by the Eighth Party Congress... Economic stability in our republic accords with this principle..."

FRG

FROM CRISIS TO CRISIS

In May 1975 *Time* magazine wrote that "the West Germans have evolved a society that clearly works better than those of most of their European neighbours". It meant Britain, "with an economy undermined", Italy, which was "balancing on the brink of anarchy", and France, "rent by sharp... political contradictions." Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of Federal Germany is of the same opinion. "In comparison with other countries," he said in September 1975, "ours holds an exceptional position in many respects—prices, employment, incomes."

But how successfully is capitalist society in the FRG functioning?

Economic Growth of the FRG, 1971-75
% change on previous year

	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Gross national product	2.7	2.9	5.3	0.4	—1.0[1]
Industrial production	2.0	3.8	6.8	—1.4	—8.5[2]
Labour productivity in industry[3]	6.6	7.7	8.0	5.1[4]	—
Investments	4.5	1.9	1.1	—7.9	—5.8[1]

[1] Estimate.

[2] July and August compared with corresponding period of previous year.

[3] Per man-hour.

[4] January-October compared with corresponding period of previous year.

It follows that the West German economy in 1971-72 developed at a very sluggish rate. The 1973 boom was succeeded by a slump. By late 1974, only 78.5 per cent of industrial capacities were used, with the result that output was down by 100,000m. marks.

No major capitalist country depends on foreign trade as heavily as the FRG. In 1974 a number of industries maintained their average output level by exporting more. Foreign orders for machinery accounted for 44 per cent (70 per cent for machine tools).

However, as the world capitalist crisis advanced the flow of orders to the FRG decreased. In 1975 it was 20 per cent below the previous year.

The monopolies use the crisis situation in the economy to impose "discipline" on the workers by making them work harder. Where there is mass unemployment, fear of losing one's job is an important "stimulus" for productivity. In many plants, wrote *Die Neue Gesellschaft*, a Social Democratic periodical, in June 1975, this accounted for the ten percent rise in labour productivity. The number of workers on sick leave dropped sharply, "Many workers who, medically speaking, are ill," the periodical added, "...go to the factory nonetheless to hold on to their jobs." In the FRG industrial accidents per thousand workers are two and a half times the GDR figure.

GDR

FOR THE GOOD OF THE PEOPLE

The SUPG and the socialist state apply the principle of unity of economic and social policy. They do not regard rapid economic growth as an end in itself but as a prerequisite of meeting the working people's growing material and cultural needs more and more fully.

There has never been, nor can there ever be, unemployment in the GDR with its planned socialist economy. The *right to work* is laid down in the Constitution, which says: "Every citizen of the German Democratic Republic shall have the right to work. He is entitled to a job and to choosing it freely, in accordance with social requirements and his qualifications. He is entitled to remuneration according to the quantity and quality of his work. Men and women, adults and adolescents are entitled to equal pay for equal work."

The standard of living in the GDR has, on the whole, been steadily rising. In the past five years, cash incomes have been going up by an annual average of five per cent.

Net Money Incomes in the GDR
% change on previous year

1971	1972	1973	1974	1975*
3.7	5.6	5.6	4.8	4.3

* First half year compared with first half of 1974.

Growing money incomes also imply an improved standard of life, since *prices remain stable.*

Goods and Services: Retail Price Index

1960	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
100	99.9	100.2	99.9	99.5	99.2

The state allocates substantial annual subsidies to keep prices for food staples and basic consumer durables, as well as service fees and public transport fares, at a low level. In 1971-75 these allocations exceed 50,000m. marks. The state adds 26.9 marks to every 100 marks spent by the population on food products, and 1.37 mark to every mark spent on transport.

Inasmuch as prices are stable, the *purchasing power* of the mark remains virtually unchanged.

Retail Prices for Goods and Services in the GDR
(GDR marks)

	1971	1974
Ryebread per kg	0.52	0.52
Roaster beef per kg	9.80	9.80
Pork per kg	8.00	8.00
Hunter's sausage per kg	6.80	6.80
Milk (2.5 per cent fat content) per litre	0.72	0.72
Butter per kg	10.00	10.00
Cabbage per kg	0.42	0.35
Potatoes per 5 kg	0.85	0.85
Brown coal briquettes per 50 kg	3.51	3.51
Gas per cu.m.	0.16	0.16
Electricity per kwh	0.08	0.08
Tramway, bus, underground, urban railway fare per person	0.20	0.20

Purchasing Power Index of the GDR Mark

1960	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
100	100.1	99.8	100.1	100.5	100.8

Compared with 1950, the purchasing power of the mark has doubled.

Consumer demand is growing in step with growing incomes. *Commodity supplies* have increased by 25.1 per cent since the beginning of the five-year plan period and retail trade shows a 23.6 per cent increase.

Retail Trade
% change on previous year

1971	1972	1973	1974	1975*
3.9	6.0	5.9	5.9	4.2

* First half year compared with first half of 1974.

Under the last five-year plan, the republic carried out its most far-reaching socio-political programme. *Housing construction* was a key target.

Flats Built or Modernised
(thousands)

1971	1972	1973	1974	1975 (January-October)
86.8	117.0	125.8	138.3	113

It follows that 580,900 flats were built or modernised by the end of October 1975, or more than envisaged by the five-year plan, at a cost of 21,000m. marks, including 19,300m. marks from state funds. This enabled 1.7 million people to improve their housing conditions during 1971-74 and the first eight months of 1975.

A citizen of the GDR pays from 0.8 to 1.25 marks a month per square metre of floor space, whereas maintenance costs average three marks. The rest is paid by the state. An average wage- or salary-earner's family spends four per cent of its income on rent.

In October 1973 the CC SUPG approved a housing programme for 1976-90. The programme is aimed at building or modernising 2.8-3 million flats, which will require 200,000m. marks. By 1990 every family will have a modern flat and the housing problem will thus be solved.

The GDR has an *integrated social security system*. The amount of contributions to social insurance funds was fixed in 1947 and has not changed. A

working person contributes 10 per cent of his earnings to the fund but not more than 60 marks per month. The enterprise employing him contributes as much. Social security extends to non-working family members. Benefits include free medical care, treatment in health homes, free medicines, a cash allowance in case of illness, and pensions. In recent years spending on social security has exceeded the amount of contributions by roughly one third, with the state making up the difference.

State expenditure on education, culture, public health and social security is growing. In 1974 it amounted to 35,000m. marks (against 25,600m. in 1970), or 511 marks per month for a family of four. The total amount spent in five years out of public funds exceeded 160,000m. marks.

Steadily rising living standards, the absence of unemployment and inflation, and improvement of the health services, public education and social maintenance give the working people of the GDR a growing sense of security and graphically demonstrate the advantages of socialism.

The Ninth Congress of the SUPG, to be held in May 1976, will adopt guidelines for a new five-year plan. The main objective is the same as ever —raising the people's living and cultural standards.

FRG

UNEMPLOYMENT AND INFLATION: CONCOMITANTS OF CAPITALISM

In 1969 there were "only" 179,000 jobless in the FRG and the figure dropped to 149,000 in 1970. But since then unemployment has been growing and topped one million in 1975.

Average Number of Unemployed
(thousands)

1971	1972	1973	1974	1975 (January)	1975 (August)
185	246	273	602	1,154	1,031

However, these official data do not give the full picture. Specifically, they ignore:

— 300,000 foreign workers who have had to leave the FRG;

— women who, on losing their jobs, are denied unemployment relief on the assumption that other members of their families can provide for them.

— workers who have a plot of land and continue to live off it after losing their jobs in industry;

— wage- and salary-earners pensioned ahead of time;
— school-leavers seeking employment for the first time.

Partial unemployment in West Germany has likewise assumed unprecedented proportions.

Average Annual Number of Part-time Workers
(thousands)

1971	1972	1973	1974	1975 (September)
86	76	44	292	638

Prices go on rising.

Cost of Living
% change on previous year

1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975*
3.8	5.3	5.5	6.9	7.0	6.5

* Estimate.

Retail Prices of Some Goods and Services in the FRG[1]
(FRG marks)

	1971	1974
Bread per kg	1.42	1.90
Roaster beef per kg	10.19	13.23
Pork per kg	8.13	9.90
Hunter's sausage per kg	8.42	10.62
Milk per litre	0.80	0.98
Butter per kg	7.84	10.00[2]
Cabbage per kg	0.69	0.92
Potatoes per 5 kg	2.04	2.34
Brown coal briquettes per 50 kg	7.49	9.95
Gas per 25 cu.m.	10.29	11.47
Electricity per 75 kwh	13.70	17.33
Tramway and bus per trip	0.70	1.02[2]

[1] Average for country.
[2] First half of 1975.

Rent went up by 25.3 per cent in four years, 1971-74. Working people's families of average means now spend roughly one-fifth of their income on rent. And this figure: 10 million flats occupied by working people do not

meet sanitary regulations. While 800,000 people are homeless, 375,000 flats in new houses stay vacant. Housing construction declined by 15 ... cent in 1974 and another 10 per cent in 1975.

The *Worker's contribution* to the social security fund is steadily *increasing.*

Monthly health insurance contributions by average-income workers amounted to 37.7 marks in 1960 and 178.3 in 1975 and are expected to be as high as 363.5 marks in 1980.

The *purchasing capacity of the West German mark* has been dwindling due to inflation.

Purchasing Power Index of the FRG Mark

1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
100	94.9	90.0	84.2	78.6

Compared with 1950, the purchasing power of the mark has decreased by almost half.

Real wages are going down for the first time in many years.

Real Wages

% change on previous year

	1971	1972	1973	1974[2]	197[illegible]
Per working person	3.8	3.7	0	2.3	[illegible]
Per able-bodied person[1]	3.7	3.4	—0.1	0.8	—1

[1] Including completely unemployed persons.
[2] January-October.
[3] Estimate.

Needless to say, the plight of those who have lost their jobs is particularly hard. In August 1975, only 659,000 of the more than one million unemployed were entitled to unemployment insurance or so-called assistance according to official data. Insurance—not exceeding 68 per cent of previous earnings—was paid to 537,000 unemployed. An unemployed person may draw insurance for a period of 78 to 312 days. "Assistance" may not exceed 58 per cent of previous earnings. It is not granted until after a humiliating "means test".

The fund from which cash payments are made to the unemployed is largely made up of working people's contributions. So far they have had to contribute two per cent of their earnings.

In the case of the self-employed, such as small employers, traders and

handicraftsmen, a "stable economic existence" is out of the question. There were 4,575 bankruptcies in West Germany in 1972, 5,515 in 1973, 7,722 in 1974 and 2,298 in the first three months of 1975.

The only group that has no reason for complaint is the West German big bourgeoisie. In 1973, a hundred of the top companies made a net profit of 37,600m. marks, or 28 per cent more than in 1972. In 1974 the rate of profit stayed high in spite of the crisis. Six leading steel concerns secured a 102.8 per cent profit increase over the previous year.

The future bodes no good for the working people of West Germany. In the autumn of 1975 the government had to announce a rigid and most unpopular austerity plan for the years ahead so as to reduce a budget deficit which ran to an estimated 41,000m. marks by late 1975. From 1977, the added value tax is to be increased from 11 to 13 per cent, which will put up retail prices by 1.6 to 2 per cent. From 1976, the working people's contributions to the unemployment insurance fund are to increase by one per cent and from 1977, taxes on tobacco will go up by 18 per cent and spirits by 20 per cent. Appropriations for the ministries of construction, agriculture and economic cooperation, as well as for education and science, are to be cut.

On the other hand, the government, yielding to pressure from the opposition parties (CDU/CSU) and manufacturers' associations, has proposed a bill providing for a factual reduction of taxes levied on employers by 11,000m. marks a year.

More and more people in the FRG are coming to see that the roots of the country's economic troubles lie in the capitalist production system. "Most West Germans," *Stern*, a magazine anything but sympathetic to socialism, wrote in the autumn of 1975, "are inclined to think that this system (meaning capitalism—*Ed.*) has no more chance. A poll held by the Emnid institute of Bielefeld in June of 1975 revealed that only 18 per cent of the West German population believe that five years from now the capitalist West will be stronger than the socialist East. But twice as many people—exactly 40 per cent—feel that five years hence the East will be stronger than the West."

The Crisis and the Strike Movement

Statistical Survey

The class struggles of the working people of capitalist countries in the past two years have been against the background of the deepest and most protracted economic crisis of the postwar period. The crisis has aggravate the chronic maladies of the capitalist system—unemployment, the energy and food crisis, currency and foreign trade upheavals, inflation, growing prices. The impact of these factors on the struggle of the working class varies from country to country. However, available data warrant the general conclusion that unlike the past, when economic crises led to much greater unemployment and cut the number of strikes, *the current crisis has by no means eased the strike movement or, for that matter, other mass struggles of the working people.*[1]

The facts point, first of all, to steadily growing action by wage workers, including strikes. Following are data on the number of strikers, nation-wide "action days" and other economic and political actions by the people in the past 15 years (see Table 1).

Over the past five years, which include two crisis years, an estimated 314 million people have joined in mass actions in capitalist countries, against 273 million in the previous five years. The working people's struggles, far from diminishing, gained in intensity during the transition from boom to crisis. In the pre-crisis 1972-73 perod, 120 million took part in mass actions in capitalist countries, industrially developed countries accounting

Prepared by the Institute of the International Working-class Movement (IIWCM), USSR Academy of Sciences.

[1] For details, see F. Burdzhalov's article "The Crisis and the Economic Struggle of the Working Class", *WMR*, September 1975.

for 88 million of them. In 1974-75 these figures went up to 124 and 97 million, respectively.

It is an important trend of the current crisis that the share of strikes—the principal and sharpest form of economic conflict btetween labour and capital—has grown in 1971-75 period. This is confirmed even by official statistics, which disregard some types of strikes (see Table 2).

The increasing proportion of strikes is evidence of a serious intensification of labour strife and the growing potentialities of the strike movement due to more efficient trade union tactics and the movement's ever closer interaction with other working-class struggles.

Data for 1974-75, while tentative and incomplete, indicate that in spite of the greater risk of losing their jobs, working people everywhere show a growing resolve to strike.

The number of strikers has gone up substantially in most countries. In 1974-75, for instance, the number of hours lost in the United States averaged 7,804 (against 7,016 in 1971-74) per strike. In 1974 each strike involved an average of 664 workers in Japan and 1,240 in EEC countries (West Germany, Britain, France, Italy), whereas the figures for 1971-74 were 600 and 829, respectively. The strike movement has surged high in Canada, which in 1974 and early 1975 placed second after Italy in number of strike man-hours. In Argentina, the first eight months of 1975 saw 803 strikes involving a total of 25,636,685 workers.

The crisis has by no means checked the expansion of the social basis of strikes. These are joined by new categories and involve more and more government employees and other white-collar workers, women, immigrant workers and farmers.

A number of capitalist countries show a considerable increase in the proportion of strikers among service industry employees, in particular transport and utilities personnel, as well as among municipal employees and teachers. This is particularly noticeable in the United States, West Germany and Japan. In West Germany, utilities personnel were in the forefront of the strike movement in 1974, and in the United States strikes by municipal employees and teachers were as militant as strikes by automobile or steel workers.

In the service industry, however, strikes by shop assistants and office personnel are still relatively few—an indication of inadequate class consciousness. Owing to the large proportion of women, growing competition by job-seekers, the weakness of trade unions, the employers' paternalist policies and other causes, this category has yet to join in social and economic battles.

The crisis has brought about changes in strikers' demands. In the early seventies, workers' participation in decision-making, steps to improve qualifications, job promotion, pay equality and other demands became predominant. Afterwards the rapid increase in the cost of living and the economic crisis again brought to the fore the workers' immediate material and economic interests. Many of the strikers' demands today concern wages and salaries—specifically cost of living adjustments, higher pensions, and above all, job security. The continuing price growth has led to a much more persistent demands for higher pay (from five to more than twenty per cent).

In the atmosphere of crisis and growing anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly struggle, the predominance of economic demands does not at all imply that the workers now have narrower interests and are drifting back to the "economism" of the remote past. These demands interact with the social, economic and political actions of the organised working class and this makes them an important line of action against the omnipotence of monopoly, for far-reaching democratic change.

The difficulty of holding strikes due to the crisis compels the working people and their unions to perfect strike tactics and employ more effective forms and methods. They strive to carry forward such forms as stoppages accompanied by the occupation of factories or the seizure of factories to carry on without the management. More and more often, these forms are complemented by picketing and solidarity strikes. The workers also use ever more flexible methods of exerting strong pressure on employers without calling mass strikes that are officially registered: work to rule, refusal to work overtime, stoppages in decisive production fields with the subsequent transfer of the dispute to some other bottleneck.

A remarkable feature of the present crisis is the growing share of general and nation-wide strikes. In 1974 alone there were about 20 general strikes in the US, Italy, France, Britain, West Germany and Japan. Strikes embracing whole industries or professions and other major actions in 1974 accounted for almost three-fourths of the total strike time in the United States.

Facts of recent date show that strikers are increasingly aware of the interconnection of the economic and socio-political objectives of their struggle. The unions try to link the working people's ecnomic slogans with the demand for changes in the government's economic policy, guaranteed jobs, an end to anti-labour legislation. The very nature of these demands necessitates forms of struggle encompassing the whole nation which inevitably acquire political significance by developing into action against state-monopoly capitalism as a system.

Table 1

Strikes and Mass Economic and Political Actions in Capitalist Countries

(million participants)

Year	Total	Industrial countries
1961	51	42
1962	55	41
1963	57	42
1964	56	35
1965	36	19
1966	44	27
1967	47	30
1968	57	43
1969	60	44
1970	65	45
1971	70	48
1972	60	43
1973	60	45
1974	62	48
1975*	62	49

Compared by the IIWCM according to official statistics and trade union press reports.

* The figures for 1975 in both this table and the next are estimates.

Table 2

Number of Strikers, According to Official Statistics

Year	Industrial countries		Developing countries		Total	
	strikers (million)	% of participants in mass actions	strikers (million)	% of participants in mass actions	strikers (million)	% of participants in mass actions
1966-70	65.2	34.5	15.0	17.9	80.2	29.3
1971	16.6	34.8	3.0	13.6	19.6	28.0
1972	14.7	34.2	3.0	17.6	17.7	29.7
1973	17.5	38.9	3.9	26.0	21.4	35.8
1974	19.0	39.6	4.0	28.6	23.0	37.1
1975	20.0	40.8	4.5	34.6	24.5	39.5
1971-75	87.8	37.7	18.4	22.7	106.2	33.9

NUMBER OF OFFICIALLY REGISTERED UNEMPLOYED IN DEVELOPED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES (thousands)

	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975 January	1975 June	1975 Sept.-Oct.
TOTAL	7,846	9,442	9,748	8,693	10,122	15,274	15,214	15,038
USA	4,088.0	4,993.0	4,840.0	4,304.0	5,076.0	8,180.0	8,569.0	7,800.0
Canada	495.0	552.0	562.0	520.0	525.0	817.0	704.0	623.0***)
Western Europe	2,588	3,157	3,473	3,078	3,656	4,962	4,759	5,410
EEC	2,195	2,697	3,000	2,668	3,307	4,469	4,333	4,899
Belgium	71.3	70.9	86.8	91.7	104.7	148.0	162.0	205.0
Denmark	23.9	30.0	29.9	20.1	44.5	123.0	84.0	93.0***)
France	262.1	338.2	383.5	393.9	497.7	766.0	738.0	946.0
FRG	148.8	185.1	246.4	273.5	582.5	1.154.0	1,002.0	1,005.0
Great Britain	640.0	848.0	964.0	642.0	804.7	777.0	870.0	1,114.0
Ireland	41.6	42.4	48.2	44.1	48.1	101.0	102.0	103.0***)
Italy *	960.9	1,120.0	1,133.8	1,093.3	1,090.3	1,202.2	1,198.0	1,200.0
Netherlands	46.4	62.0	107.9	109.9	134.9	198.0	177.0	233.1
Austria	58.4	52.0	49.1	41.3	41.3	75.0	37.0	36.0***)
Finland	41.0	49.0	55.0	51.0	39.0	49.0	45.0	48.0**)
Spain	145.6	190.3	190.9	149.6	150.3	224.0	243.0	304.0
Sweden	59.0	101.0	107.0	98.0	80.0	77.0	63.0	76.0
Japan	590.0	640.0	730.0	670.0	720.0	990.0	920.0	940.0***)
Australia	74.7	87.6	125.9	107.7	133.2	312.0	246.0	248.0

*) The Nine **) July ***) August

NOTE: As bourgeois statistics use different methods to assess the number of jobless (date supplied by employment bureaus, polls, etc.) the margin of error may vary substantially and the total figures should be treated as estimates.

Sources: "Bulletin of Labour Statistics", ILO, Geneva, 3rd quarter 1975; "Main Economic Indicators", October

Growth of Unemployment in Capitalist Countries

Statistical Survey

Despite the optimistic forecasts of bourgeois economists and sociologists, the situation in the capitalist world's labour market has been steadily deteriorating since the beginning of the 1970s. The economic crisis of 1974-75 has aggravated the problem more than ever. The winding down of production in key industries (automobile, aircraft, shipbuilding, iron and steel, metalworking, etc.), mass dismissals, and reduced working hours have resulted in a growth in unemployment on a scale unmatched in the last decades. According to official figures, the number of jobless in developed capitalist countries in the first nine months of 1975 has been at a postwar record level of 15 million. (See table on page 172)

The highest unemployment by the middle of 1975 was registered in the United States (8.7 per cent in July) and Denmark (9.2 per cent in June), followed by Canada, 6.2 (July). Belgium, 6.1 (June), Italy, 5.6 (June), and France, 4.7 (August). Unemployment has also been growing rapidly in countries that until recently had been short in manpower: 4.5 per cent in the FRG (August), and 1.7 in Japan (June).

Official statistics does not take all unemployed into account. Many people who have lost hope of finding work and stopped looking for jobs simply don't go to employment bureaus. Judging by press reports, in the United States there were some 1.1 million in this category by July 1975. Nor do all school leavers or college graduates who fail to find jobs register at once. Also unlisted are people holding occasional or part-time jobs—some 10 million in the developed capitalist countries in 1974. In the United States, towards mid-1975, 3.9 million persons were compelled to work a reduced week.

. Prepared by the Institute of the International Working-Class Movement, USSR Academy of Sciences.

Considerable changes have taken place in the social composition of the jobless. For the first time since the 1930s, unemployment has sharply hit white-collar workers and holders of university diplomas. Today's unemployed include many civil servants and workers in the service sphere and trade. In February 1975, for example, 25 per cent of the jobless were white-collar workers. The growth of the female workforce has resulted in a greater num*ber of jobless women, in the United States, for example, from 30.3 per cent in 1950 to 41.7 per cent in February 1975. The proportion of young unemployed has also increased substntially. In the United States, Great Britain, France and the FRG young people under 25 accounted for from 20 to 35* per cent of the unemployed.

Mounting unemployment, expansion of the social composition of the jobless, and a sharply declining standard of living owing to spiraling prices and inflation, combine to considerably enhance uncertainty in the future, as well as the force of social protest among the overwhelming majority of wage and salary earners. This explains the growing resolve of workers to continue, despite the crisis, the struggle against monopoly, for job guarantees, for the right to work.

At readers' requests we are introducing a series on international organisations. Certainly, it is impossible to cover all of them, for there are nearly there hundred inter-governmental and approximately 2,500 non-governmental. Some are of a general, others of a specialised nature, active in political, economic, scientific, cultural, sports, and other domains. Their postwar proliferation may be traced to the significant invigoration of the role and prestige of public forces working for peace and international cooperation. The profiles of some international organisations we shall present in the course of this year.

Committee on International Lenin Prizes

"FOR PROMOTION OF PEACE AMONG NATIONS"

The world's first socialist state launched the battle for a democratic, just and enduring world peace with Lenin's Decree on Peace. The institution by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Committee on International Lenin Prizes "for Promotion of Peace Among Nations" was a highlight in the peace struggle Formed 25 years ago, the Committee's purpose is to promote the peace movement and popularise its most distinguished members.

The Committee is formed by the Supreme Soviet Presidium of Soviet public leaders and representatives of other countries recommended by democratic organisations. It consists of a chairman and 14 members, who serve on it for six years, one-third of the membership changing every two years.

Lenin Prizes are awarded to prominent peace fighters irrespective of nationality, political views, party affiliation, religion and race, and to scientists or art workers with significant contributions to world peace.

Nominations are made by international and national democratic organisations, science institutions and educational establishments, associations of scientists, cultural or art workers, or by Committee members. The Committee meets annually in Moscow in March or

April, and awards prizes by a simple majority vote. The winners receive a diploma, a gold medal with the head of Lenin, and a cash premium of 25 thousand roubles.

As many as 128 outstanding public and political figures and statesmen of 54 countries have received the award in the past 25 years. Among them are the eminent scientist and peace fighter Frederic Joliot-Curie (France), the writer Anna Seghers (GDR), First Secretary of the CP of Cuba and Prime Minister Fidel Castro Ruz, President of the World Federation of Science Workers Eric Burhop (Britain), CP of Chile General Secretary Luis Corvalan, public and political leaders Tsola Dragoicheva (Bulgaria) and Nguyen Thi Dinh (South Vietnam), pastor Martin Niemoller (FRG), scientist Linus Pauling (USA), professor of international law Kaoru Yasui (Japan), CP of Spain Chairman Dolores Ibarruri, artist Renato Guttuso (Italy), and Secretary-General of the World Peace Council Romesh Chandra (India).

The award of the Lenin Peace Prize to L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU, whose tireless efforts for peace are recognised throughout the world, was acclaimed by peace forces in all countries.

The fighters battling for the radiant future of mankind, for the banishment of war from international relations, and for the materialisation of the great Lenin's lofty ideals, are growing in number. The Lenin Peace Prize Committee, too, is contributing palpably to the struggle for peace.

N. Blokhin

Chairman of the International Lenin Peace Prize Committee and Member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences

Hunger: Still a Problem

This article is in response to a request from Honduran reader Andrea de Paredes for information about hunger in the capitalist world.

Hunger and malnutrition have been very much in the news these past few years. Paradoxical as it may seem, the stupendous achievements in science and technology have not reduced, but menacingly increased the number of people suffering from hunger and malnutrition.

In the 70s hunger has been the lot of large populations over large areas of the globe. In 1973, for instance, about ten million were living on the sharp edge of starvation in seven African countries—Mauritania, Senegal, Upper Volta, Mali, Niger, Chad and Ethiopia. The food situation drastically deteriorated also in Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, India, Iran, Pakistan and several more developing countries.

Hunger made still deeper inroads in 1974. The situation was worst of all in India, where there was not enough food for 40 million people and where more than one million were pushed to the very borderline of death from starvation. Reports from northern areas spoke of the worst situation for very many years. In Bangladesh there was a shortage of more than 2 million tons of cereals, with millions facing death from starvation. According to bourgeois press reports, between 30,000 and 300,000 died in two provinces alone, Rangpur and Dinajpur, from August to December 1974

South of the Sahara, in the Sudan, Northern Nigeria and Ethiopia, the lives of 6 million people, 4 million of them concentrated in special relief camps, dependended on timely food deliveries.

There were pockets of hunger also in Brazil. Honduras, Pakistan, Tanzania, Sri Lanka, Burma Burundi, Gambia and other countries,

All in all, starvation was a very real danger for a large part of the population of 32 developing countries.

Malnutrition affecting hundreds of millions is still another world-wide problem. A report submitted in 1974 to the World Food Conference in Rome by the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation estimated that no less than 20 per cent of the population of developing countries, or about 400 million people, were suffering from calorie and protein deficiencies. Other statistics show that between 700 million and 1,000 million in various parts of the world do not get enough food. Some estimates put annual deaths from hunger at 25 million. In India 22 infants out of every 100 and 27 in Africa, die of hunger in their first year.

Chronic malnutrition is the cause of numerous diseases affecting millions of children and adults. Two thirds of the 80 million children born every year in Asia, Africa and Latin America are physically and mentally retarded because of malnutrition. In the developing countries of the Far East alone over 100,000 people annually become blind because of vitamin deficiency. In protein-deficiency areas infantile mortality is 20 times, in some cases even 50 times, higher than in the United States and Western Europe.

In the second half of 1975 the food situation in the developing countries, according to experts, was slightly better than in the autumn of 1974. Nevertheless, the FAO director general estimated that at least 500 million were suffering from hunger and malnutrition.

Population growth in the developing countries is running ahead of increases in food production. These are some of the figures: in 1967-74 average population growth and average increase in cereal output were respectively: 2.6 and —0.9 per cent in Africa, 3.0 and 2.1 in Latin America, 3.1 and 1.7 in the Middle East, and 2.6 and 1.6 in Southeast Asia.

Between 1950 and 1970 the share of developing countries in the world population rose from 65 to 72 per cent, while their share in world grain production remained the same, 45 per cent. The situation is much the same in other foods. Notwithstanding energetic efforts, the developing countries have not been able to boost per capita food production: in 1972-74 it remained at the level of 1962-6[illegible]. And it should be borne in mind that behind these average figures is a considerable decline in per-capita food production in the various countries and regions; between the mid-sixties and 19[illegible] the per capita figure declined by 2.9 per cent in Latin America, [illegible] per cent in the Middle East, and 13 per cent in Africa.

Another aspect of the grave food crisis is the gaping shortage of grain and the steep rise in its price. Two major world crop failures

(1972 and 1974) combined with a growing demand for cereals have sharply reduced world supplies. The world grain deficit was estimated at no less than 10 or 12 million tons in 1974 and grain stocks were down to their lowest level for more than 20 years. The developing countries are growing less grain and importing more: in 1974 imports totalled 52 million tons as against only 19 million in 1960.

Food is becoming dearer all the time. In January 1974, when prices reached peak point, wheat was up more than 250 per cent above January 1972, maize was up 200 per cent (October 1974) and rice 350 per cent (June 1974). True, subsequently prices declined somewhat, but even so in February 1975 wheat was 160 per cent and rice 201 per cent above the January 1972 price.

This rapid increase in prices, plus growing imports have meant more expenditure by the developing countries. In the 1973-74 agricultural year it totalled about 11 billion dollars, compared with 3 billion in 1971-72. With the present food production-consumption ratio, by the mid-1980s the developing countries will have to import as much as 80-90 million tons, at an annual cost of 16-18 billion dollars, which, FAO experts believe, would seriously damage their economies.

Food aid programmes have been cut from 18 million tons in 1962-65 to 5-6 million in 1973-74.

With few exceptions, bourgeois experts take a pessimistic view of the problem. Many argue that the present hunger and grave food problems are due to an excessive growth of population or to deterioration of climatic conditions.

Actually, the food shortages are mainly due to social, economic and political factors. The general economic backwardness of the developing countries, their economic and technical dependence on the imperialist powers, unequal trade relations and the West's policy of using its financial, economic and food aid as a weapon of political pressure—these are the main factors impeding economic progress and higher living standards in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Hunger and malnutrition can be eliminated only through fundamental social and economic change, elimination of the developing countries' dependence on the imperialist powers, promotion of equal international cooperation and strengthening of universal peace and security.

V. Kurayev

Diary

A delegation of the German Communist Party, in Prague at the invitation of the CP of Czechoslovakia, visited WMR. The leader of the delegation, Herbert Mies, Chairman of the German Communist Party, addressed an Editorial Council meeting. He described the social and economic situation in West Germany against the background of the world-wide capitalist crisis and discussed the tasks facing the Communists. He dealt at length wih the steps the GCP intends to take in campaigning for the implementation of the Helsinki Conference decisions.

Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary, CP Uruguay, who was staying in Prague, paid a visit to the editorial offices of WMR and addressed its Editorial Council. He spoke of the special features of the political situation in Uruguay and the struggle of Latin America's Communists for anti-imperialist unity on the continent. The Editorial Council sent the Uruguayan authorities a cable protesting against the continuing represssion and torture and demanding safety for Professor Jose Luis Massera, noted Party leader and cultural worker, and the release of all political prisoners.

A delegation of the National Council of the CP India, in Prague at the invitation of the CC CP Czechoslovakia, visited the WMR offices. At an enlarged meeting of the journal's Commission on the National-Liberation Struggle in Asian and African Countries, Jogendra Sharma, leader of the delegation, membr of the CEC and Secretary of the National Council of the CPI spoke about the situation in India.

R. Padilla and L. Becerra, secretaries and Political Commission members, CC CP Honduras, visited the journal's offices in passing through Prague. Speaking to an enlarged meeting of the Commission on the National-Liberation Movement in Latin America, they told about the political situation in their country and the Honduran Communists' tasks at his sage.

The CPSU and Its Historic Importance

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This month, February, the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will be meeting in Moscow. It has already attracted public attention all over the world, and is discussed by newspapers and magazines of every political trend. This is not surprising, for at issue are domestic and foreign-policy guidelines for the next few years to be adopted by the ruling party of a major socialist power, of a country that has become a bulwark of peace and socialism.

Every CPSU congress is of special significance to us Communists of different countries. It is cause for reflection and broad generalisation, for comparing scientific theory and practice, for verifying the correctness of our road and measuring the length of our strides, with due account of the special features of our countries. And that, too, is not surprising, for it is a congress of the party that first evolved as a Marxist-Leninist party of the new type, that first led the working people to victory in socialist revolution, that first headed socialist construction and brought its people up to the level of developed socialism, the party that has had a profound effect on the normalisation of the world's political climate, on the success of the struggle for peace, detente, economic and cultural cooperation of all peoples of the globe.

We thus have another occasion for reviewing some important experiences from the standpoint of the requirements of our struggle.*

—The historic experience of the CPSU in revolution and in building the new society;

—The experience of organising life in contemporary socialist society as compared with capitalist society;

—The experience of the CPSU's international policy, the unity of its

theoretical and practical aspects, the opportunities for strengthening peace and thereby creating favourable conditions for the development of the world revolutionary process.

Why do we constantly turn to the experience of the CPSU? Because, firstly, the very emergence of the Bolshevik Party was based on a generalisation of the whole preceding experience of the working-class movement. As a continuation of Marxism, Leninism absorbed, concentrated and scientifically developed that experience; the CPSU verified the conclusions in practice, enriched them with its own contributions, tried and tested in hard struggle. Because, secondly, the Party's difficult path, where each step was a step into the unexplored, where unpredictable dangers lay in wait and at times engulfed the trailblazers, was, despite all odds, a path of victory.

Whoever follows in the footsteps of trailblazers cannot fail to realise the advantage of his position. Engels once wrote that the German workers had an important advantage in that "the Germans were about the last to come into the workers' movement. Just as German theoretical socialism will never forget that it rests on the shoulders of Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen . . . so the practical workers' movement in Germany ought never to forget that it has developed on the shoulders of the English and French movements, that it was able simply to utilise their dearly bought experience, and could now avoid their mistakes. which in their time were mostly unavoidable. Without the precedent of the English trade unions and the French workers' political struggles, without the gigantic impulse given especially by the Paris Commune, where would we be now?"[1] Pursuing the idea, we could say: Where would we be now without the example of the Marxist-Leninist party of the new type, without its struggles, without the gigantic impulse given by the October Socialist Reolution? Where would we be now if not for the inspiration of the very existence of the first country of socialism, which initially faced alone the whole capitalist world, as well as its own internal difficulties, and which emerged triumphant precisely because its people were led by the Communist Party? What would the world of today have been like if the first socialist state had not opposed fascism, not only with the military-industrial potential created by the heroic efforts of its people and the correct policy and organisational role of the CPSU, but also with the strength of the humane, revolutionary ideology fostered by the Party in the masses, with the strength of a nation united by lofty social ideals? And today we rely in our struggles on the example of the great country where a socialist society, a socialist way of life, has evolved and daily demonstrates its advantages as a radical, diametrically opposite, positive alternative of capitalism. It would have been harder for us to speak

[1] F. Engels. *The Peasant War in Germany.* Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1956, p. 33.

of our own forms of transition to socialism if the trail blazed by the pioneers had not led to victory.

The achievements of the Soviet Union, of its people, under the guidance of the CPSU, are well known. The country is in the stage of developed socialism, tackling social and economic tasks of fundamentally different dimensions than before. Socialist social relations have reached a new level of maturity, and the problem of the harmonious and all-round development of the personality is now in the centre of attention. It is unquestionably significant that the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community have built up an economic and military potential that precludes any forcible elimination of the new system. And it is equally significant that imperialism has been compelled to accept peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition. We Communists rejoice at the successes of the Soviet Union. They instil a feeling of internationalist pride in our common cause, and are increasing socialism's force of attraction and example. We can see that the CPSU is doing everything for the good and happiness of the Soviet people, consolidating the international positions of existing socialism, thereby helping to create favourable conditions for our class confrontation with imperialism. The constructive labour of the Soviet people and of the nations of the socialist community is a material factor and exercises a determinative influence on the world revolutionary process, on the march of history.

The activity of the CPSU and of the Soviet people has confirmed in practice the laws and regularities of the progress of history discovered by the founders of Marxism-Leninism and has brought to light new regularities, the subject of profound Marxist research. The experience of the CPSU, creatively studied by each fraternal party in the light of its own conditions and needs, has led to many conclusions of universal significance, including, we hold, conclusions about the party itself.

The Social-Democratic parties have proclaimed socialism their aim, but none of them, however highly influential, even if in power, has been able to reconstruct society on socialist lines and take it beyond the capitalist framework. The first to do that was Lenin's party. Its experience shows conclusively that success in revolution and socialist reconstruction is inconceivable without a Marxist-Leninist party which follows the most advanced theory and is united ideologically and oragnisationally.

In its theoretical activity, in charting the path ahead, the CPSU has creatively taken "cognisance of real life, of the true facts of *reality*" (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 24, p. 45), and, intolerant of right and "left" distortions, preserved the purity of the Marxist-Leninist principles. This theoretical work enables the Communists to control events and, performing the tasks of the day, to advance to the main revolutionary goal.

The experience of the CPSU shows that at a time of rapid growth (and in many parties membership is now growing) when the Marxist-Leninist

party becomes a truly mass organisation, it maintains and increases its combat potential if it retains its class character and organisational structures.

The CPSU "has succeeded in linking itself inseparably with the whole life of its class and, through it, with the whole mass of the exploited" (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 187). Forging the unity of the working class, all working people, and entering into alliances with different political trends and groups, Lenin's party never failed to retain its individuality and always gained a truly vanguard position. That is one of the main reasons for its success.

The CPSU has always skilfully combined international and national interests. Its history shows that internationalism benefits the national interests of the working class, as well as the entire working-class movement.

The period between the 24th and 25th congresses holds an important place in the historic experience of the CPSU. For it was in these years that the Soviet people, led by its Leninist Party, carried out the social and economic programme drawn up by the Party. The country made significant progress in all areas of communist construction. The advantages of the new system over capitalism stand out in ever bolder relief. Soviet economic development over the past five years is a weighty argument in favour of socialism in the historic choice facing the peoples.

The pre-congress documents published in the Soviet press are impressive testimony to the scope and significance of what the USSR has accomplished in the past five years. The 28 per cent rise in national income is indicative of the sound health, dynamism and uninterrupted progress of the Soviet Union's national economy and of the steady improvement of the people's living standards. Four-fifths of the Soviet national income go to satisfy the rising material, social and cultural requirements of the people, and the remaining one-fifth to build new means of production. Real per-capita income is up 24 per cent. Another indicator of the Soviet Union's rapid economic growth is the 1.5-fold increase in basic production capacities. Behind all these figures is the multiform activity of the CPSU, five years of persevering and devoted labour by the Soviet people. Addressing the December 1975 Central Committee plenum on the results of the five-year plan, the Party's General Secretary, L. I. Brezhnev, said: "We have taken a big step forward. Measured in absolute increase of social production, the Ninth F[illegible]-Year Plan was the best in our history. Our country has become still [illegible], still stronger. The Soviet people are living better".

[illegible]ent of the social and economic goals set by the 24th CPSU Con[illegible] [illegible]ided the necessary conditions for the new stage in the buildin[illegible] [illegible]mism. On the basis of a Marxist-Leninist analysis of Soviet s[illegible] [illegible]l potentialities and requirements, the CC CPSU drew up the main [illegible] economic development in the next five years, 1976-80. They pro-

vide for a still bigger advance in economic development and for a further rise in the material and cultural standards of the people. The target is to make the new five-year plan "a plan of higher quality and higher effectiveness to assure a further rise in prosperity standards".[2]

In discussing the experience of the CPSU at the present stage, one cannot but note that it has tackled a unique task. It is solving problems objectively posed by conditions that have no parallel in other countries, the conditions of a developed socialist society advancing towards communism. Understandably, this imposes on the CPSU a special responsibility to the international Communist movement. And today, on the eve of the 25th CPSU Congress, we are confirmed in our conviction that the Party of Lenin is successfully and wisely carrying out its historic work.

Why has its policy proved so effective? First, because it rests on a solid theoretical foundation. We know that the CPSU is doing much research on the theoretical problems of developed socialism, the laws governing its evolution into communism, the mechanism of their operation and the methods of its use. The Soviet Communist Party devised the theory of building the material and technical basis of communism, perfection of social relations in developed socialism, formation of the new man and of the socialist way of life. The CPSU has concentrated also on theoretical research related to the scientific and technological revolution, higher productivity of social production, better economic management and planning, and prognostication of social and economic processes. It has made an essential contribution to socialist economic integration and to the problems of world development in our age. It can safely be said that only by taking into account the Party's theoretical research especially in the past few years, can one form a correct picture of the state of our revolutionary doctrine.

Another reason why CPSU policy is effective, and its leading and guiding role is increasing, is that its policy is backed by the initiative of the people, the creative activity of the masses. An important feature of the Party's multifaceted organisational work is the high political competence at all Party levels in directing the process of economic, social and cultural development of society.

This tremendous work has not been without its difficulties and shortcomings. The CPSU is aware of them. Its realism and self-criticism are evidenced by the Central Committee draft of Main Trends of Economic Development for 1976-80 to be presented to the 25th Congress and discussed by all Party branches, at public meetings and in the press. They contain a detailed analysis of the lag in certain economic indicators and in

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[2] *Pravda*, December 14, 1975.

the output of certain goods, though the basic assignments of the five-year plan have all been carried out.

We would like to emphasise the moral implications of this document. Its frank and businesslike tone will doubtlessly cultivate a feeling of greater responsibility in workers, farmers and intellectuals for the building of communism. In reading this document, and the response it has evoked in the Soviet and world press, we Communists from different continents have reflected on how, in our conditions, we can foster in the masses a feeling of vital association with the plans and efforts of our parties.

And the chief conclusion we draw today, on the eve of the 25th CPSU Congress, is that the CPSU and its Central Committee are leading the working class, the collective farmers and intellectuals of all the nations and nationalities of the great country along the correct road, the road of Lenin.

In the sphere of international relations, the past five years will undoubtedly go down in history as the period of the peace offensive by the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community, a period of progress in detente. Immense credit is due the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for its Peace Programme, the pivot of international politics today. The CPSU devotes much energy and effort to the solution of problems confronting all mankind. Its Central Committee constantly concerns itself with steps to extend detente. The CPSU discusses this subject at every bilateral or multilateral meeting with brother parties. Recent years have seen noteworthy gains in carrying its socialist foreign policy into practice.

The Peace Programme has proved effective as a mobilising factor because it is expressive of socialist society's effort for peace, an effort having a tradition of more than five decades, reaching as far back as Lenin's famous Decree on Peace. It has proved effective because it is based on profound realism, political wisdom and sober analysis of the international situation and the balance of class and social forces in the world. The Programme has been crowned with success due to tremendous perseverance, loyalty to principle, initiative and flexibility in carrying it out, to the truly colossal amount of work done by Lenin's Party, by its Central Committee and Political Bureau, by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, whose noble activity has earned him the highest award of the peace movement, the Joliot-Curie Gold Medal of Peace.

Our parties, operating in different countries, see the Peace Programme as a most important document of the epoch, meeting the vital interests of the peoples of our countries and the world, and we have supported it without qualification. We regard this as our internationalist duty.

The Helsinki Conference was an important advance in putting the Peace Programme into effect. We consider that its Final Act, embodying the standards of peaceful coexistence, provides a sound international legal basis for

carrying forward political detente, making it irreversible and complementing it with military detente.

Detente is by no means linked with abatement of the class struggle in the capitalist world. Nor does it ease the ideological struggle in the international arena. To our class opponents, who make further detente conditional on "recognition" of the social status quo and ideological conciliation with imperialism as a system, we answer that the class struggle and the battle of ideas are not regulated by agreements between governments, nor can the governments of imperialist countries abolish this struggle through internal legislation. The class struggle will continue, and will lead to changes in the social stuas quo.

Our parties identify themselves with the CPSU when it says that every effort must be made, nevertheless, to ensure that this struggle, which has objective causes and is inevitable as long as imperialism exists, and the break-up of imperialism as a system, take place in conditions that do not threaten mankind with global conflicts and a military collision of the two world systems. Like all who cherish peace, we welcome the consistently realistic steps taken by the Soviet Union to improve relations with the United States. We know that negotiations and agreements between the two countries have nothing in common with the falsehoods about "collusion between the two superpowers" put about by the Maoists and various anti-Communists.

The peace policy of the CPSU, all that it has done for peace, has won Lenin's Party high international prestige.

At the threshold of a great event, the 25th Congress of the CPSU, we want to say again in no uncertain terms that the struggle for the unity of the world Communist movement calls for stronger proletarian internationalism; that internationalism today is meaningless unless it has to do with defending, strengthening and supporting the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole, the principal achievement of the international working class. Our parties consider that now as in the past, the attitude to the Soviet Union, the first socialist country, is the decisive criterion of internationalism. Every manifestation of anti-Sovietism is incompatible with the Communists' internationalist views. So is a neutral position on nationalist policies and ideologies hostile to the cause of the working class.

These are just a few of the conclusions we have drawn for ourselves today from the rich experience of the CPSU on the eve of its 25th Congress.

We wish our comrades, the Soviet Communists, success at their congress and further gains in their great and fruitful activity for the good of their people, for peace and socialism.

Strategy of Accelerated Progress

Jan Szydlak

Due to socialist changes over more than 30 years, the Polish people have made notable headway in every sphere. Led by the Communists, they have laid the foundations of socialism. This shows that the Party's general line, the revolutionary content of its programme and the invariably patriotic and internationalist principles of its policy are correct.

The Polish United Workers' Party held its Seventh Congress last December. The Congress approved a momentous document—a programme of guidelines, rates and methods of further dynamic socialist construction.

To use and carry forward the experience gained, the Congress decided to follow the strategy of socialist construction evolved in the previous five-year period. In close contact with the working class and the people, with their active participation and support, the Congress outlined the tasks of building developed socialist society and adopted a social and economic programme for the 1976-80 period.

The programme is expressive of the unity of ideological, political and economic tasks and covers every aspect of the effort to increase the Party's leading role and the influence of socialist ideology on social consciousness, and perfect the socialist state and society. It is a programme for steadfastly furthering our unity with the CPSU and the Soviet Union, fraternal socialist countries, the international Communist and working-class movement and progressive forces throughout the world.

Like the previous Party Congress (1971), the Seventh Congress turned to the inspiring tenets of Marxism-Leninism, the theoretical and practical experience of the CPSU and other fraternal parties, and decisions of their congresses, for the fundamental laws of socialist construction are common and universal even though the forms in which they operate vary from country to country.

Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Party, set out those tenets in the Political Bureau's programme report to the Congress. "The main principles of our policy," he said, "are identical with the lines of communist construction adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. They follow the Marxist-Leninist principles and the universal laws of socialism. They are in keeping with the process of socialist economic integration and with the strengthening of the ideological and political unity of the socialist commonwealth" (*Trybuna Ludu*, December 9, 1975). Our experience of socialist construction confirms this. In the past, underestimation of this principle in both the theoretical and the practical work of the Party caused considerable difficulties.

At present the Party operates according to Lenin's recommendations and standards by consistently applying the principles of democratic centralism, strnegthening its links with the working class and other working people and directing economic processes in accordance with the social objectives of socialism. It strives to maintain the Leninist principle of the unity of politics and economics in every sphere of Party and government activity. The aims of social and economic development are defined in the political field, and the material basis for attaining them is created in the economic field. Their interconnection, if maintained correctly, inspires the working people, the main motive power of the country's socialist development, to greater social activity, and tangible results in economic activity benefit every working person and his family and increase the direct interdependence of quality of work and standard of life.

We have entered a period in which social consciousness plays an increasing role in accomplishing the tasks set by the Party. However, changes in consciousness do not come about automatically, as we all know. The Seventh Congress pointed therefore to the need to step up ideological education and increase the influence of Marxist-Leninist ideology in every sphere of life.

The conditions, lines and forms of building a developed socialist society find expression in the Party's main slogan: "For further dynamic socialist construction, for higher quality of work and a higher standard of life." This slogan determined the content of the pre-Congress discussion held in the Party and society. It became the fundamental idea of Gierek's report and is a synthesis of the major tasks set by the Congress.

Our goal is to bring about the complete domination of socialist production relations in towns and countryside, in every economic sphere and in public life generally. By expanding and modernising the material and technical basis of socialism and combining the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist system, we improve the standard of living. We are continuing our effort to strengthen the socialist principles of social justice, promote closer links

between classes and groups of working people and gradually efface the essential distinctions between town and country, between physical and mental labour.

The Polish People's Republic is entering a period in which the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat will gradually develop into a state of the whole people led by the working class. The state and its every function will be strengthened and perfected on the principle of unity of civil rights and duties, of subordinating the activity of the state apparatus to the people's interests and of encouraging socialist democracy and public self-government.

This means achieving close unity of the whole people around the working class and its party, shaping a socialist way of life and promoting patriotism, awareness of public duty and civic discipline. The growing influence of socialist ideology on social consciousness expresses itself in the spread of socialist principles to human relations and people's views and in the all-round progress of socialist culture. Increasing satisfaction of material requirements is accompanied by progress in the moral sphere and growing intellectual requirements. These deep-going processes are directed by the Party and the state and determined by their scientifically-based policy, a policy in line with Marxism-Leninism.

The Congress proceeded from the fact that the foundations of socialism have been built in our country and that our political, social and economic system has become consolidated. Poland is one of the countries where socialism is already developing on its own solid basis. However, the Party bears in mind that while our overall progress is rapid, its pace is not the same in every sphere. Whereas in many fields we are carryng out tasks typical of a higher level, in others, especially in agriculuture, we are still solving problems of the previous stage. It is perfectly natural that these problems should be solved simultaneously, for the various development stages of socialist society are not separated by artificial barriers.

In the course of a long succession of stages, Poland is forming a well-to-do and cultured society enjoying all the benefits of the socialist system, a society having up-to-date science and technology and increasing opportunities to meet people's requirements.

Our social and economic development programme is characterised by a continued policy of intimately linking rapid economic growth and an increasing up-to-date production potential with further measures to improve the working people's life. Steadily raising the standard of life is the chief task of our social and economic policy and an important factor for dynamic economic growth and increased public activity. This is seen in the fulfilment of extra production assignments every year, which helped in decisive measure to exceed 1971-75 plan targets.

The Congress stated our Party's strategic goals in this field and the

means of achieving them as follows: "In building a developed socialist society, the Party sees its highest goal and the main guideline of its activity in creating material and spiritual conditions for our people's all-round development and the satisfaction of their requirements, for raising their standard of life as a whole." These objectives are and will be served by rapid development of the productive forces, more productive social labour and more efficient management. As we have virtually exhausted the potentialities of extensive development, we must steadfastly intensify production and see primarily to the growth of qualitative indices.

Our Party maintains that the development of the material and technical basis depends on people, on their aspirations and needs, and that people are the decisive creative factor in economic, scientific and technological progress. This finds expression in our slogan, "For and by the people". Putting it into practice, we have in the past five years achieved far more than in any earlier five-year period. The devotion of the people, who backed the Party's policy with hard work, played a decisive part in this.

In the same period, the national income increased by roughly 62 per cent against the 38-39 per cent increase envisaged by the Sixth Congress. Real wages grew twice as fast. We are carrying out a vast social programme. Housing construction and urban development are being expanded, pensions and grants to veterans have been increased and so have allowances paid to big families and working mothers. Spending on public health has increased considerably and the working-day is being reduced.

All this was and will be made possible by a fast-growing economy. Industrial output and gross agricultural production in the past five years have gone up by roughly 73 and 22 per cent, respectively. In the same period, the average annual rate of economic growth was higher by a considerable margin than in the previous decade and, moreover, quality standards have gone up. Growth proceeded at an even pace in both the early and the closing years of the period and encompassed capital and consumer goods production, agriculture and the infrastructure. Our new five-year plan may be described above all as a plan for a high growth rate and steady and comprehensive social and economic progress.

Higher labour productivity is to be at the basis of increased output in the next five years. Scientific and technological progress will gain in importance as a factor for increasing and improving production, making it more efficient and perfecting labour organisation. By promoting our own research, bringing the tasks of science and technology into line with the requirements of the country and its economy and with the objectives of socialist construction, and by continuing our policy of purchasing licences, we will be able to use up-to-date technologies and machinery all the more fruitfully.

The Party's social and economic strategy is a long-term one. This ex-

presses itself in maintaining social priorities and combining fulfilment of current tasks with the effort to lay the groundwork for the future economic might of the country and the well-being of the people.

We must strive for a further increase in wages and consumption while continuing the policy of large investments, for which we have earmarked a substantial proportion of the national income. The national income must grow fast enough for us to accomplish both tasks simultaneously and in coordinated fashion.

Steps to perfect our investment policy will produce new appreciable changes in the structure of industry. Among other things, we are planning the priority growth of electrical engineering, whose output is to go up by 56-67 per cent in the next five years, whereas industrial output as a whole will make up 48-50 per cent. Inasmuch as substantial investments will be made in the consumer goods industries, the growth rates of capital and consumer goods production will gradually draw level.

We will continue to modernise production capacities. In 1971-75, fixed production assets grew by more than 60 percent. One-third of the fixed assets of industry and half the installed machinery and plant are no older than five years. The rate of modernisation will be kept very high. Closer scientific and economic cooperation with the CMEA countries, first of all with the Soviet Union, will play a decisive part in this.

In agriculture, too, there has been serious progress in the past five years. In pursuance of the Seventh Congress decisions, the Party will continue to combine socialist transformations in agriculture with a steep growth of output to meet the rising demand. The socialist sector, with its higher growth rates and progressively effective influence in modernising agriculture, as a whole, is bound to play a more important part. Regardless of property forms, all farmers are being brought into the orbit of our socialist planned economy through the supply and marketing contract system. The 1971-75 period saw a considerable rise in farm output, continued progress in specialisation of peasant farming, the development of cooperation between the state and private sectors and individual farmers. Agricultural development, extension in the processing and food industries and also in all industries supplying agriculture with equipment and services, are part of the comprehensive programme to improve the food supply adopted by the 15th CC plenum in 1974. The 1976-80 plan will be decisive in bringing this programme to reality.

Essentially, there is no dividing line between the last five-year plan and the present one, for both are based on one and the same socio-economic concept and share identical aims. We have laid the material basis for solving a number of problems by assuring dynamic progress in the next five years. One of the most formidable problem is housing aggravated by war-

time destruction, rapid industrialisation and urbanisation and the demographic composition of the population. The Seventh Congress decisions envisage a minimum of 1,525,000 new flats in the present five-year period, an increase of 400,000 over the previous five years. We can now build faster because we have a modern building industry, an expanded building-materials industry and more skilled building workers.

The fact that the Party will in the new five-year plan be continuing the policy formulated after December 1970 shows that we regard the 70s as an uninterrupted, integral period. The plan provided for a 130 per cent increase in national income in 1980 compared with 1970, 150 per cent in industrial and 1,5-fold in agricultural output. Investments in these 10 years will amount to 4,600,000 million zlotys, or 170 per cent up on the preceding 10 years. The consumption fund will grow by approximately 100 per cent, cesh incomes by 170 per cent, real wages by 62-65 per cent, social services expenditure by more than 200 per cent. Farmer incomes will increase at about the same pace. The supply of goods will be increased by more than 150 per cent and the volume of services by nearly 160 per cent.

Dynamic development of international cooperation, notably with CMEA member-states, is an important element of Poland's social and economic policy. Our cooperation with fraternal countries is based on the Comprehensive Programme of Socialist Economic Integration. The great advantage of this cooperation resides in the fact that all the countries involved share identical aims and interests and are closely tied by international proletarian solidarity. Socialist economic integration benefits each country and the community as a whole. That is why our Party attaches especial importance to expanding the socialist division of labour, production specialisation and cooperation, and the pooling of efforts and funds for joint undertakings. In the past five years Polish exports to socialist countries have increased more than 62 per cent and nearly as much in imports.

The PUWP fully shares the view expressed at the Seventh Congress by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU: "The socialist community is an entirely new type of union. It is based not merely on common state interests, but is a fraternal family of peoples led by their Marxist-Leninist parties, sharing a common world outlook and common noble aims and united in comradely solidarity and mutual support. Ours is a union based on the identity of attitudes and actions, which adds to the strength of each of its participants in accomplishing national tasks and greatly increases their joint influence in world affairs" (*Pravda*, December 10, 1975).

The Seventh Congress emphasised the need for still closer integration and cooperation within CMEA. This means joint plans, specialisation and cooperation in production, collective investments, joint research projects, the organisation and consolidation of multilateral economic organisations, and im-

proving the economic cooperation mechanisms. Besides the very tangible benefits this offers, it enables us more flexibly to adapt to changes on the world market and restrict the negative influence of crisis developments and price fluctuations in the capitalist world.

In speaking of the dynamic development of Poland's economic relations with fraternal countries, it should be emphasised that the main role, now as in the past, belongs to our growing cooperation with the Soviet Union. In 1976-80 the share in our trade with the USSR of goods produced under specialisation and cooperation arrangements will be 200 per cent higher. That is one of many indications of the vast importance to Poland of cooperation with the first socialist state. We are united by tradition and by present undertakings, by the noble ideals of socialism and communism, by common aims and aspirations, by cordial ties of mutual understanding and respect.

With international detente and increasingly fuller normalisation of political relations in Europe, we intend to expand mutually advantageous economic relations with capitalist and developing countries, boost exports and play a bigger part in the international division and cooperation of labour.

Higher quality in all our work is the key to successful fulfilment of the tasks set by the Seventh Congress, and attainment of the chief goal, higher prosperity standards.

That we are making progress in this respect can be seen from the high growth rate of productivity, that crucial economic indicator. In 1971 it accounted for slightly more than 60 per cent of the increase in industrial output; in 1974 the figure was about 81 per cent. Per-worker productivity is increasing at an annual rate of 8-10 per cent. This is a very appreciable economic achievement, especially considering that we take on about half a million new workers every year. This is a success for the Party's social policy and development strategy.

But we must not be content with that. The 1976-80 plan envisages that more than 90 per cent of the increase in industrial output and 100 per cent in building, will be attained through higher productivity. We must strive for all-out improvement of economic indicators, above all optimal use of manpower, funds and time, to achieve the results we need. The tasks before us are complex ones. Essentially, they can be reduced to introducing intensive methods, cutting production costs and bringing out latent reserves to make the economy more effective. We must not only produce more, but also of much better quality—that is at the root of the Seventh Congress programme.

Higher quality in all our work is the basic source of our progress and, furthermore, accords with the norms of the socialist way of life and the moral image of socialist man. Our Party's policy, as worked out at the Sixth and Seventh congresses, is designed consistently to improve the tech-

nical, organisational, economic and social aspects of production, so as to stimulate higher quality and its just remuneration.

Harmonious balance of personal and public interests is an important factor assuring high-quality labour. There are also other factors: comprehensive material and moral incentives, and commendation of good workers coupled with public reprobation of persons neglecting their duties and lowering the production results of their workmates and the country as a whole. To assure a high quality of life it is objectively necessary to tighten labour discipline, improve the quality of products, assure rhythmic work, and economise time, energy, raw and other materials. A necessary element of this is the satisfaction workers derive from their labour, from well organised and fairly evaluated work, and from friendly relations with workmates.

Our Party attaches importance to the fact that the continuous growth of reasonable public requirements stimulates the growth of the socialist economy. Satisfaction of requirements involves continuous effort and will-power, improvement of production techniques, and verification of practice against the theoretical targets and decisions. Of course, difficulties are unavoidable. Lagging sectors have to be brought abreast of the more advanced, and more resources must be concentrated in the weaker areas.

Certainly, dynamic social and economic growth creates a variety of problems. But it also generates social forces that can overcome them. The rapid growth of requirements predicates optimum use of social time. Saving time (in the final analysis, all aspects of efficient management can be reduced to this under socialism) is of the utmost importance, because it facilitates more rapid satisfaction of the people's growing needs. Besides, it is internationally important, since it increases our contribution to the victory of the socialist community in the contest against the capitalist system.

The Seventh Congress stressed that the Party is the organiser and leader of the drive to raise the effectiveness of the economy and to improve the quality of labour. In line with the dialectical interdependence of the productive forces and the relations of production, we emphasise the growing role of the socialist superstructure, accentuating the principles of the socialist mode of production and calling for continuous improvement of the methods of management and government.

The Congress Resolution calls for further improvements in the system of planning, management, and investments. It urges better use of the financial instruments, closer ties between science and production, tighter discipline and continuous improvement of the organisation of labour. Greater responsibility must devolve on all echelons of the administration for the quality of management and control, for more efficient services, and for the results of production.

The significance of the five-year plans will continue to grow. There will be more thorough long-term programming and planning. Comprehensive programmes are being drawn up to resolve some of the major social problems, and to speed up the growth of the basic industries. Good progress has been made, for example, on the house-building programme, for agricultural development and food production programme, and the programmes for universal secondary education, chemicalisation of the economy, development of metallurgy and electronics, etc. The major assignment now is to tie up local planning more closely with the long-term plan ending in 1990.

In line with the Party's social and economic strategy there is continuous structural improvement of local administration, the state apparatus, and the country's territorial division.

The organisation, structure and activity of government at all levels is determined by the class content of the socialist state. Improving the political system, we follow the principle of democratic centralism, which combines socialist democracy and public control with discipline and effective functioning of the state apparatus. At the same time, the concrete organisaional forms of state power, its methods and techniques, must change in step with the growth of socialist social relations and the emergence of new social and economic objectives.

The main force behind Socialist Poland's accelerated development is the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class and the people as a whole. The support of the Party's policy by the workers, by all working people, is a decisive factor in achieving the targets of our programme. The leading role of the United Workers' Party, its continuously closer ties with the masses, facilitate the shaping of the socialist way of life and system of values, the spread of the principles of conscientious labour and responsibility, and the strengthening of patriotism. This is expressed in the more efficient labour and social activity of the people, inspired by the Party's programme and policy.

The variety of links between Party and state organs and the working people has grown. The principle of consulting the working class and society on important decisions has taken deeper roots. The moral and political unity of the people is more vigorous. The socialist state has grown stronger. Socialist democracy is expanding, and self-government by the masses is proving effective. The trade unions, the People's Unity Front, and other public and political organisations are playing an ever bigger role in public affairs.

The Party attaches special importance to the educaitonal reform, the problems of the youth, the upbringing of the rising generation. This is served by the norms of behaviour we have worked out for the man of the new Polish society. Considerable progress has been achieved in invigorat-

ing the youth movement ideologically and organisationally. More young people are joining the Party.

The Party's ideological activity, the entire system of socialist public education, are based on the unity of patriotism and internationalism. The celebration of the 30th anniversary of People's Poland and the 30th anniversary of the victory over German fascism emphasised the significance of the historic turn achieved by our people through the establishment of the socialist state. It showed the effectiveness and inviolability of our alliance with the Soviet Union, and the socialist community's role as the chief force of peace and progress in the modern world.

The Congress was an impressive demonstration of our Party's internationalism, and of the deep respect it enjoys among comrades in the joint struggle, among class brothers throughout the world. The cordial messages of the fraternal delegations reaffirm the United Workers' Party's obligation to follow an internationalist political line. Like all the Polish working people, Congress delegates enthusiastically acclaimed L. I. Brezhnev's address to our Party. It eloquently reasserted the inviolability of our unity with Lenin's Party and the Soviet people.

Our Party cherishes the behest of past generations of Polish revolutionaries, and regards its activity and achievements as a contribution to the further consolidation of the socialist community, to its Leninist unity. Guiding soicalist construction in Poland, the PUWP is inspired by the vast theoretical and practical experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It regards its relations with the CPSU and the Soviet Union as a criterion of revolutionism and loyalty to proletarian internationalism, peace and socialism.

The Party advocates consistent invigoration of the unity of the Communist movement in Europe and the rest of the world, the unity of all anti-imperialist forces, and a stronger ideological offensive, which connotes consistent struggle against opponents of socialism, against bourgeois ideology, right and "left" opportunism, and the divisive Maoist policy.

Blending with the historic successes of the socialist communist, Socialist Poland's achievements are the source of the optimism with which our Party and the working people are tackling the programme of the Seventh Congress. We look to the future with confidence. We are imbued with a sense of new strength, and are certain that the immediate future will be highlighted by impressive progress in building a developed socialist society in Poland.

Behind the Facade of US Democracy

John Pittman

Recently committees of the US Congress have made public the direct involvement of the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in plots to assassinate Cuba's Prime Minister Fidel Castro, and its implication in the killing, among others, of Patrice Lumumba, first Premier of the Congo (now Zaire), and in the overthrow of the Popular Unity Government headed by Slvador Allende.

Testimony and other data released by the committees also pointed to the long and continuing efforts of the CIA, throughout its 29 years as a secret unit of US imperialism's global police forces, to dictate the policies of other countries. For this purpose it utilised the personnel, resources and connections of US universities, foundations, youth and student organisations, trade unions (the AFL CIO and international labour organisations), journalists, businessmen, banks, corporations, and especially US-based multinationals such as ITT, Kennecott, Anaconda, United Fruit and the oil monopolies. When its measures of economic, political and psychological "persuasion" failed to achieve the disired results, para-military means and armed forces were used (and still are being used) "to destabilise" or overthrow governments. All such activities are given the non-commital name of "covert operations."[1]

[1] During the congressional disclosures, CIA activities were reported in Angola, Portugal, Greece, Bangladesh, India and Uruguay. Its complicity in the fascist putsch in Chile, in the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, the overthrow of the Arbenz government of Guatemala and of the Mossadegh regime in Iran, its U-2 flights over the USSR and other socialist countries, its notorious Phoenix murder operation Vietnam and furtive war in Laos—these are well-known and highly publicised CIA activities. Less well-known activities are too numerous even to list here. Countries "targeted" by the CIA include all the socialist states, with the USSR given top priority; countries

In the fall of 1974 the US press reported that although the CIA's charter expressly forbids the agency from exercising "police, subpoena, law-enforcement power or internal-security functions", the organisation engages in massive, illegal domestic activities. These reports were followed last June by the bulky report of the commission to investigate the CIA, which was headed by Vice-President Rockefeller. This report claimed that although "some" of the CIA's domestic activities "were plainly unlawful and constituted improper invasions upon the rights"[2] of US citizens, the great majority comply with the agency's statutory authority.

It should be noted that only an infinitesimal part of the facts and testimony given these investigators has been made public. Conspicuously missing from many disclosures in information about the relations of the CIA and allied agencies with the top echelons of monopoly capital, the financial-industrial-military complex's designated puppet-masters, such as the "40 Committee" and the business and foreign policy elite, who pull the strings that control the movements of the entire apparatus of espionage and subversion. Nor are the activities described in these disclosures new to activities and militants of US working class, peace, and democratic people's movements, and least of all to US Communists, who have been the main targets of repression by government agencies since the CPUSA's founding in 1919. Much of the information in the recent disclosures has been presented by Communists during decades of struggle, but it was disregarded or suppressed by the very information media and some of the politicians and officials who lately have been compelled to publicise it. Besides, most of this information has already been presented in magazine articles and books by defectors from the CIA and allied agencies and by independent investigators.[3]

Reporting the congressional committee disclosure, U. S. News &

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allied with US imperialism in the NATO, CENTO and SEATO aggressive blocs; and countries of Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Middle East. Source materials for this commentary (see below) identify the countries and the kinds of CIA activities.

[2] *US News & World Report*, June 23, 1975, p. 17.

[3] See, for instance, sources of the information for this commentary: *CIA—The Inside Story*, by Andrew Tully, William Morrow & Co., New York, 1961: *The Invisible Government*, by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, Random House, New York, 1964; *Inside the Company*, by Philip Ages, Stonehill Publishing Co., New York, 1975; *The CIA and American Labour*, by George Morris, International Publishers, New York, 1967; *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, by Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks, Alfred Knopf, New York, 1974; *The CIA's Global Strategy*, Africa Research Group, 1973, P.O. Box 213, Cambridge, Mass. 021038; *The FBI Nobody Knows*, by Fred J. Cook, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1964, and reports and articles of *The New York Times*, *Daily World* (New York), *U. S. News & World Report*, *International Herald Tribune*, and *The Economist* (London).

World Report (Dec. 1, 1975) said they had "a heavy impact" in the USA, with "outraged" voters, legislators and newspapers expressing indignation that the US should be involved in assassination plots and attempts to overthrow foreign governments. The magazine commented that public confidence in the US government, already eroded by the Watergate revelations of 1973-74, had now received another blow. It noted that the disclosures concerning assassination plots increased the probability of a reorganisation of the CIA and listed some measures under consideration. As proposed by the Senate investigating committee, these would establish a joint congressional body to supervise all CIA covert operations, appoint an inspector-general to control CIA finances and to report to the Congress as well as to the President, re-define the CIA's domestic authority, and require the agency to report on covert operations to Congress.

However, in contrast to the Senate committee, the Rockefeller commission claimed it had found no proof of CIA transgressions abroad. Fearing the popular revulsion against the CIA's domestic activities would spill over to cripple its operations abroad, the commission recommended that the agency's activities should be related only to foreign operations, not domestic. Its proposals would bypass the Congress and vest new supervisory powers over the CIA in the President and appointed bodies of the executive branch, which are not accountable to the electorate.

Thus the disclosures of CIA activities bring into the open the sharp divisions between US governing circles and the US masses, as well as the differences within the governing circles. The masses, although disunited by racist, bourgeois reformist and class collaborationist influences, in their large majority strongly oppose the CIA's violations of their constitutional liberties and disapprove of its covert operations against other countries, the brinkmanship which they fear, increases the danger of war. As for the governing circles, all are concerned with rehabilitating the CIA's tarnished image, and, as President Ford expressed it, improving its strength, effectiveness and credibility. But one group of the governing circles, represented by a number of newspapers and elected officials, wants this done under congressional supervision and control; whereas the other group would retain a more powerful CIA under the control and direction of the executive branch.

Some interpretations of these differences in ruling circles consider that they reflect the effort by Congress to recoup its constitutional powers which, partly by its own default and partly by presidential usurpation, are exercised by the executive branch of the government. According to this view, the current differences are merely

another manifestation of the "constitutional crisis" which, it is claimed, was the major feature of the Watergate affair.

However, the issues of this dispute go deeper and are more far-reaching than is suggested by the term, "constitutional crisis". Such a crisis in US history has generally been associated with a disruption of the balance of powers defined and distributed by the Constitution among the States of the Union and the Federal Government, and among the legislative, executive and judicial branches of the Federal Government. The term does not reveal the underlying causes of such imbalances. As is known, in the case of the Civil War of 1861-65, the imbalance manifested in the secession of the slave-holding states and their counter-revolutionary aggression against the Union was generated by the contradictions between the production requirements of capitalist development and the pre-capitalist production relations of chattel slavery, which the slave-owners sought to impose on the entire country.

So, in the case of the CIA. although the differences are manifested in a conflict between the legislative and executive branches, basically they stem from the contradiction between the remnants of the cold war in domestic and foreign policies and the deeper requirements of the US ruling class in the context of its acute, all-encompassing crises at the present stage of the general crisis of capitalism, when the balance of world forces favours socialism in the struggle of the two systems.

Moreover, the dispute between the legislative and executive branches is also the outward form of a more portentous political struggle. At this stage of the general crisis, the political crisis of state-monopoly capitalism is manifested in a sharply aggravated **crisis of bourgeois democracy**. Characteristic features of this crisis are the increasing militarisation of society, the ever-widening gulf between the government and the electorate, and the growth of executive powers and their increasing resort to repression and terrorist forms of rule. These features, of course, are not characteristic exclusively of US state-monopoly capitalism, but are common among other countries of developed capitalism. To quote the report of Gus Hall, general secretary, which was adopted last June by the CPUSA's 21st National Convention: "The debate as to whether we face the danger of fascism or not in the abstract has very little meaning. The fact is that in this stage of the development of monopoly capitalism the danger is inherent and always present."[4] Basi-

[4] *The Crisis of US Capitalism and the Fight-Back*, International Publishers. New York, 1975, p. 44.

cally, the dissension over the CIA represents the division in the ranks of US monopoly capital over whether the bourgeois democratic form of the US political system can continue to serve its interests. As the Watergate affair only recently showed, again quoting Gus Hall, "there are powerful forces of monopoly capital who view the traditional democratic structure and the democratic political institutions as obstacles to their class operations in the present stage of developments."[5]

In the centre of this political conflict is US foreign policy and the struggle over detente. The bone of contention is neither solely nor fundamentally the role and future of the CIA and its home front counterpart, the FBI. As the moment, these are the on-stage actors in the unfolding political drama. Their fate is linked to the denouement, the yet undetermined outcome and resolution of the struggle over whether US monopoly capital will persist in attempts to realise its cold war aims and continue its self-appointed activities as imperialism's global policeman, or will adapt to the new world situation and the turn toward further concretisation of detente. Not even this rules out the probability that US imperialism, while making a show of curtailing the more objectionable features of the CIA, will attempt to pursue its aims by other means, including a new camouflaged counter-revolutionary tool.

The CIA was conceived, devised and utilised as a tool of the cold war aims of US imperialism, and evolved into an instrument of the most aggressive sections of US monopoly capital. Its role and functions, orientation and guidelines were fixed by the National Security Act of 1947, which simultaneously unified the armed services to improve their efficiency and striking power through further centralisation, set up the Department of Defence in the Pentagon, and established the National Security Council with the CIA as its operational arm. This coincided with the promulgation of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan in 1947, which, in the spirit of Churchill's speech at Fulton, Missouri, in 1946, constituted a master plan of military, economic, political and ideological aggression. These and subsequent measures to implement this master-plan were given the ideological camouflage of protecting the "national security" and "vital interests" of the USA and safeguarding the "free world" against a fabricated Communist and Soviet "threat", that is, a camouflage of defending "freedom" and "democracy".

The changes in weaponry initiated by the scientific-technical revolution, the changing balance of world forces resulting from the

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[5] Ibid., p. 43.

increasing might of the Soviet Union and the socialist community, and the continuing advance of other revolutionary forces brought changes in the CIA's role, scope and functions. As US imperialism retreated from suicidal strategies of "liberation", "rolling back communism" and "massive retaliation" to a strategy of "flexible response", the CIA's capabilities and licence for covert operations increased in importance, and it shifted its top priority targets from the European socialist countries to the countires of Latin America, Africa and Asia and the Middle East. Suffice it to say that no weapon or stratagem in the "cloak-and-dagger" bag of tricks has been unacceptable to the CIA as unethical or inhuman, and no country on our planet has escaped its attempts at dictation and subversion.

Clearly, US imperialism's aggressive activities, of which these CIA activities are one form, contravene and grossly violate both the standards of civilised human conduct and the international norms and principles of peaceful co-existence to which the USA gives both verbal and written adherence. The principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states and non-interference in the domestic affairs of other states are incorporated in the Charter of the United Nations of 1945, the Basic Principles of Relations between the USSR and the USA of 1972, and the Final Act of Helsinki of August 1, 1975—all of which were signed by US Presidents. Their inclusion in international law, their acceptance by the masses of all countries as just and sound bases for the relations between states, and the persistent efforts of the Soviet Union to obtain their translation into practice exert a positive influence on the struggle in the USA over detente, which holds the key to our country's future.

Also important in determining the outcome of this struggle is the confluence, in contemporary historical conditions, of the interests in detente of the US working people and masses and trends toward detente of a powerful section of US monopoly capital. This section of the ruling class considers that the CIA's activities at the present time have become counter-productive. They believe that such activities multiply the obstacles to its attempts to expand the US external market—increasingly an imperative necessity for monopoly super-profits. Instead of enabling US imperialism to win friends and influence people, they claim the CIA's activities multiply the enemies of US imperialism and exacerbate its relations with its imperialist rivals, and with the socialist community and the less developed countries.

The role of the working class and the masses is decisive in determining the outcome of the struggle. It is further enhanced by the interrelation and interaction of their struggles in defence of their

living standards and liberties with their struggles for peace. In respect of detente, the objective intertwining of the interests of the US working class and masses with those of a section of monopoly capital enable the masses to exercise their initiative in the struggle and increases the possibilities of winning it.

The underestimated 16 billion dollars annually spent for the operations of the CIA and its allied agencies, which are concealed in the continuously increasing 100 billion-plus dollar budget of the Pentagon and in the budgets of other government departments, is an additional burden on the masses. All the more so as government fiscal policy makes the people pay the cost of these activities which are directed against their self-interests.

The working class and masses, particularly the racially oppressed minorities, are strongly resisting the creeping police-state attacks on their liberties. Illegal invasions of the privacy and infringements on the rights of US citizens by the CIA and its subordinate agencies, which are estimated to number 60 to 90, have become a prominent feature of US life. A vast bureaucracy—said to number 170,000—including more than 60,000 full-time "investigators" of 44 government agencies and departments, assists 90,000 military spies and the more than 17,000 agents of the CIA and the National Security Agency.[6] To these should be added the army of "part-time" informers and provocateurs, and the police forces of the entire country which are influenced by the CIA's example and are monitored by the FBI. All spy on citizens in their communities and compile dossiers. No social or occupational strata is exempt. Bankers, businessmen, educators, students and church officials, even members of Congress and state legislatures, are included among the activists and militants of working class and people's democratic organisations who form the bulk of the victims, owing to the racist, anti-working class and anti-democratic orientation of the repressive apparatus. And economic and social reprisals short of frame-ups and criminal prosecution are severe.

Official propaganda makes much of an alleged rivalry between the CIA and the FBI, and of the independence of the latter. Evidence shows, on the contrary, the close collaboration of the two and a similarity of methods. Not only is there no rigid compartmentalisation, but the CIA has engaged in domestic activities, while the FBI, utilising its connections with the Canadian, Mexican and other Latin American secret police, and with the international capitalist police

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[6] *International Herald Tribune*, Oct. 14, 1975; *US News & World Report*, July 21, 1975.

forces (Interpol), has conducted espionage against and harassment of US citizens abroad as well as of "radical" nationals of other countries. Actually, the CIA exercises a controlling if not a directing influence over the FBI.

The FBI, which was set up in 1908 behind the backs and against the expressed opposition of Congress, launched its first large-scale operation against opponents and resisters against the US entrance in the imperialist First World War, and first of all against the Socialists. Then followed its sweeping roundup of "bolsheviki" and other radicals in the notorious Palmer Raids of 1919, when it commanded an army of "volunteer" vigilants. Its intermittent activities against the country's criminal gangs have been fleeting interludes in its seven decades-long hounding and persecution of working class and people's democratic organisations and leaders. Recent figures of soaring crime rates in the USA have underscored the FBI's failure to provide protection for the people.

The recent disclosures of the FBI vendetta against Dr. King, its connivance with the Ku Klux Klan in its violence against civil rights demonstrators, its unsuccessful effort to use organised criminal elements against the CPUSA, its numerous "break-ins", wire-taps, and acts of harassment of student and women's organisations—these are but the tip of the FBI iceberg threatening the ship of US bourgeois democracy.

Significantly, these violations of the rights and infringements on the liberties of the majority of US citizens are a consequence of the licence given by monopoly capital for unrestricted attacks on the Communists. US ruling circles understood that if the legality of the CPUSA could be abolished, this would undermine the democratic rights of all US citizens and cripple their defence against monopoly capital's rapacious policies at home and abroad. Accordingly, Communists have been and still are the first and main targets of repression. The CPUSA has been stripped of legality from the moment of the Party's founding in 1919, and never accorded more than a semi-legal status since then. With the aid of false charges, FBI stool-pigeon testimony, reactionary judges and rigged juries, more than 70 national and district leaders of the CPUSA were indicted and many were imprisoned, with the severest sentences imposed on the 12 members of the National Board. This experience of the CPUSA serves to underline the danger of activities of the CIA and its related agencies not only to Communists, but also to democratic and people's forces of all countries.

The disclosures of their flagrant violations by the CIA and FBI

help the peoples to see the fraud and hypocrisy of US imperialism's ideological camouflage of anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism. They make clear the chauvinistic arrogance and transparent absurdity of its attempt to impose its values and ways of life on the rest of the world.

Although, as said before, the recent disclosures of CIA, FBI and related spy agency activities are not all that sensational, they have opened new opportunities for the US people, and above all the working class and the racially oppressed minorities who are the main targets of these activities, to determine the outcome of the struggle are their future. It is a difficult and lengthy struggle. Many years passed before divisions developed in the ruling class and the people's protests won even the recent scant disclosures. The catalyctic consequences of the defeat of US imperialism in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, coinciding with disclosure of the Watergate conspiracy and of the all-encompassing corruption in federal, state and municipal government, created a climate conducive to probing the behind-the-scenes operations of official circles. But the disclosures, however limited, will help to strip the veil from the underlying issues of the struggle, which the CPUSA and other democratic forces are stressing in the national election campaigns now going on.

US state-monopoly capitalism's political crisis is a manifestation of the decline of its social base, and, togther with the crisis of overproduction and inflation which it is unable to solve, is a symptom of its advanced state of decay and parasitism in this 200th year of the Republic's existence. Yet, its capabilities for repression at home and aggression abroad remain formidable, and its means of manoeuvring are far from exhausted. Dmismantling the 30-year old cold war apparatus and the numerous country-wide links of dependency on military expenditures is a protracted process. The turn to detente and the mounting involvement of the US masses in the struggle for its concretisation and irreversibility, a struggle indissolubly bound up with the struggles to defend their living standards and liberties, give grounds for belief that this process will be speeded.

Upholding the People's Interests

Herbert Mies

As reported earlier, Herbert Mies visited the journal's office in Pragne and met with members of the Editorial Council. Following is an abridged transcript of the interview.

I wish to thank you for inviting me here and affording me an opportunity to share our experience, ideas and considerations with representatives of Communist and Workers' parties on the journal.

Before answering the questions put to me, allow me to say a word about the main line of GCP activity.

The situation in Europe has changed substantially in recent years. In spite of difficulties, the trend towards detente and peaceful co-existence has prevailed. Developments are favourably influenced, among other things, by West Germany's treaties with the Soviet Union, the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia. At the same time, with the worsening of the general crisis of capitalism, West Germany, like other developed capitalist countries, is going through a deep economic crisis, with all its political and social implications.

In these changed circumstances, our country's political parties try to visualise—each in its own way—the further development of the Federal Republic of Germany.

We Communists want our country to play a constructive part in the international process of detente and to foster peaceful relations with all countries. We seek stronger positions for the democratic forces and are against a swing to the right in FRG politics.

The fight for the democratic development of the FRG forms the main content of the German Communist Party's policy and overall activity at this stage. Our object is to convey the GCP alternative to the masses and lay before them the Communist vision of the future of our republic.

The GCP will hold its next congress in March. How would you describe the Party's activity since its previous congress?

Our previous congress met in Hamburg in November 1973. Events since then have shown that the international balance of forces goes on changing in favour of peace, democracy and socialism. As a result, conditions for the struggle of the democratic forces, including the GCP, have improved. On the other hand, we must not forget that lately opponents of detente and peaceful coexistence have become more active. They are frightened by the capitalist countries' growing internal contradictions and fear a stronger leftist trend, and this prompts them to take the offensive.

The GCP has been working fully to use the new. more favourable situation in order to bring about a broad-based democratic alliance that would foil reactionary attempts to hold up international detente and curtail democratic rights and freedoms at home.

We are far from overestimating our influence on the domestic situation. We take sober stock of our possibilities. Opponents of the GCP—the associations of manufacturers, the CDU/CSU, the government coalition parties and Maoist groups—try to keep our Party in isolation or to push us back wherever we have broken out of isolation. The only solution for us is to step up work among the masses and win their greater confidence in the GCP. Our Party is advancing to its congress aimd a lively—I would even say heated—exchange of views, There are discussions on how to improve our work among the masses, what new forms and methods to use. One of our important tasks today is to end the Party's isolation or hold and extend our positions where we have broken out of isolation.

The problem is that the West German workers' class consciousness as a whole is still low and falls visibly short of the requirements of social development. Among the workers, who feel the hardships of the crisis and have every reason to be dissatisfied with their condition, and actually are, there are widespread illusions about the existing social system and the functions of the parties represented in the Bundestag. Anti-Communist and anti-Soviet prejudice is still strong.

We know that we cannot considerably increase the Party's influence overnight. This is a task requiring systematic hard work. What we need is fitness, as sportsmen say. We feel certain that we are fit enough to cope with a "long distance". We are patient and realistic, and not pessimistic. I need hardly say we don't plan to win popularity by making the concessions to anti-Communism or anti-Sovietism our enemies are constantly demanding of us. On the con-

trary, we show the workers that anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism are inimical to their interests.

To discredit our Party, our enemies allege that it represents external forces and hence has no right to exist in the FRG.

We have always stressed that the GCP is a national force. Yes, we are opposed to the social system existing in the Federal Republic. But we are part of the people of the republic, part of its working class. I think we have proved this by our militant actions in support of the working people's rights and demands. The FRG is our country and we, who are members of the German Communist Party, defend its national interests, meaning not monopoly interests, of course, but the interests of the working people, or the majority of the nation.

There is no contradiction, nor can there be any, between defence of West Germany's national interests and our friendly relations with the Soviet Union, the GDR and other socialist countries. In fact, we are convinced that it is in the fundamental national interest of our country to promote friendship and cooperation with socialist countries.

What is the GCP doing for the implementation of the Helsinki decisions?

We regard the Helsinki Conference as a historic gain of the forces which for decades have championed detente and peace in Europe and the world. We consider that the basic message of the Final Act lies in its ten principles of peaceful international relations. It is the application of these principles that rightists in our country resist. They interpret the Final Act at will, misrepresenting it, snatching this or that provision out of its context and declaring it to be "most important" while dismissing others as being "of no consequence". This is why the struggle for the application of the principles of peaceful coexistence did not end with Helsinki, in fact it has become more complicated and calls for more effort.

In our conditions, the struggle for the Helsinki decisions is above all else a struggle for the implementation of West Germany's treaties with socialist countries, that is, for the FRG scrupulously to respect these treaties. Violating agreements has always been a trait of German imperialism and we remember that lesson of history. Our task is not to allow that to happen ever again. Treaties must be filled with a real content. This is why we declare for developing economic and cultural relations between our republic and the socialist countries.

Furthermore, in campaigning for carrying out the Helsinki deci-

sions, we insist that the FRG contribute its share to disarmament. We demand that its military budget, which has reached a record high, be cut by an annual 15 per cent. That would by no means affect the security of West Germany, for no one threatens our country today. We expose the dangerous plans of aggressive circles which try to lay hands on nuclear weapons by transferring French Pluto missiles to the FRG or by making deals with South Africa and Brazil.

The decisions adopted at Helsinki have created more favourable conditions for a campaign of international solidarity with the peoples fighting for freedom, against imperialist intervention. We identify ourselves with the anti-fascists and democrats of Portugal and Spain and emphatically condemn the crimes of the Chilean fascist junta, which is making a mockery of human rights. We support the Arab peoples and the progressive forces of Angola. We hail the heroic people of Vietnam, who have moved on to peaceful construction. We see this anti-imperialist solidarity as part of the struggle for the Helsinki decisions.

What is the role of Maoist groups in West German politics?

...It is impossible to speak of the policy of the Peking leadership without deep indignation. I am not going to speak of China's internal affairs. But we must firmly rebuff Peking's attempts to influence West German politics and meddle in our working-class movement.

In November 1975, twice in one week, the neo-nazi Nationalzeitung printed the slogan "Long Live Mao" in bold letters. Why all this neo-nazi publicity for Mao? Because Peking sides with the most rabid reactionaries of the FRG. It backs their demand for a "united Germany", that is, in fact, for the liquidation of the German Democratic Republic. It calls for a stronger NATO and Bundeswehr.

The Maoist groups operating in our country make common cause with extreme rightists. They support the anti-democratic measures directed against our Party, such as the politically discriminatory legislation, of which Communists are the main target. The Maoists also advocate a more energetic arms drive.

Members of the Maoist party, having stolen the glorious name of the Communist Party of Germany, demonstrate under provocative slogans against detente at a time when the workers are protesting against having to bear the burden of the crisis, against unemployment and anti-labour laws. Characteristically, the bogus "CPG" was pronounced legal by the Federal Court, whereas the ban on the real CPG is still in force.

The Maoist groups active in our country enjoy no appreciable influence in the working-class movement. But they do much harm by discrediting the ideas of socialism and communism, the ideas of the revolution. The bourgeoisie likes that. It backs the Maoists for their rabid anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism. We must not underrate the Maoist danger and must combat it with the greatest determination.

Among West German reactionaries there are those who want to start a "fourth party". What is behind that slogan?

The activity of the extreme rightists should be assesed in the overall context of the West German political situation. The influence of the neo-nazi NDP has declined considerably of late. The decline is by no means due to the elimination of the neo-nazi danger, for it is still there. Neo-nazism has a definite basis in our country. In view of the crisis, some members of the middle and petty bourgeoisie, even some workers, are vulnerable to exereme rightist demagogy. Our Party constantly calls for vigilance against the neo-nazis. Our Board devoted special attention to the matter at its 9th plenary meeting held recently.

The reason why the NDP has been losing influence is that the CSU leader, Strauss, and his political friends have taken up the National Democrats' basic slogans. The CSU is confined to Bavaria, but in the Bundestag it form a bloc with the CDU. However, its leaders consider the CDU political programme too moderate and have therefore suggested founding a "fourth party", that is, extending CSU activity to the whole republic.

How real is that? We think the West German bourgeoisie has no particular use at the moment for a strong party of the extreme Right operating on a national scale. Its political interests are defended reliably enough by the existing parties. Strauss seems to realise that, for he said recently that the CSU did not propose "for the time being" to extend its activity to the entire country. But his political associates are pushing on and the emergence of the Society for the Formation of a Fourth Party is indicative of that.

The idea of a "fourth party" is used as a tactical weapon. By threatening to found it, its advocates maintain their pressure on the CDU to force it into accepting an even more reactionary solution by identifying itself with Strauss. That is not to say, of course, that given definite conditions, such as an abrupt change for the worse in the domestic social situation, the rightists will not try to put their threat into effect.

In October 1975, the Bundestag enacted a law on "radical elements", the idea being to keep progressives out of the civil service and education. What is your assessment of this piece of rightist legislation?

Communists and other democrats are under increased economic, political, ideological and administrative pressure. It neither surprises nor frightens us. After all, it is a "normal" reaction of the ruling circles to the mounting difficulties bred by the crisis and to the growing, if still modest, influence of the Communists and other left-wingers. The special law barring "extremists" from government agencies, schools and universities and the lgal profession does not apply to us Communists alone. It also affects those Social Democrats who advocate unity of action with the Communists or join in extra-parliamentary anti-imperialist actions. It is directed against all progressives. The law has already hit hundreds of teachers and lecturers, member of the academic community, scientists and other intellectuals. Nor are intellectuals the only victims. Recently a court refused a reverse a decision discharging an engine-driver for holding a government job while a member of the GCP.[1]

The special law is plainly contrary to the Constitution. And yet our opponents have the cheek to accuse the German Communist Party of hostility to the Constitution whereas we are the ones who uphold the Constitution and the democratic rights proclamed by it. The law is on our side and we will not be cowed, or allow ourselves to be branded "violators" of the Constitution. We want to see scientists, teachers, lawyers and others, both Communists and other democrats, working in their professional fields.

The campaign against the unconstitutional special law is gathering momentum. There is also growing protest on the part of world opinion. We feel certain that the disgraceful law will sooner or later be repealed.

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[1] Even the bourgeois *Stern* criticises the authorities' position. In December 1975, in an article entitled "Firing Leftists—Hiring Rightists", it wrote that loyalty checks of leftists had turned into control over their thinking and sentiments. Every applicant for a government job had to be cleared by the secret police. Data on two million people had been fed into the new computer of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (Cologne), to mention only one. Since the special law was enacted, 450,000 people had been questioned and checked with the aid of intelligence files. All this is far from doing credit to the Federal Republic, *Stern* commented in conclusion (*Stern*, No. 49, 1975, p. 25).—*Ed.*

The GCP regards factories as the main arena of struggle between labour and capital. Could you give some details about factory Party groups and how they work?

Guided by the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, which regard the working class as the decisive factor of social progress, the GCP naturally addresses itself to the workers.

Accordingly, we see the factories as the main class battlefield, where the workers fight for higher wages, job security and to maintain and extend their rights.

That is understood by other parties, too. The Social Democrats are stepping up their activities in the factories. Even the CDU tries to form factory groups of its own, something it has never done before.

We have scored some gains, first of all in big factories, where we have Party groups and publish newspapers. The Communists there are active trade union members staunchly upholding the workers' class interests. In many factories, members of our Party have been elected to production councils.

I must say that we come up against certain new problems here. Today's factory is not like the one we knew in the past. The workpace has been quickened and special efforts are made to keep the workers apart. The bourgeoisie does its utmost to curb Communist influence and trade union activity. This means that we must constantly search for new methods for our factory groups if we want to make progress.

The fact that the GCP gives priority to strengthening its factory groups does not at all mean that we do not strive to expand our activity in residential neighbourhoods, universities or mass organisations, even though we are sometimes short of people.

The Communists criticise the Social Democratic "model of socialism". Yet they declare for united action with the Social Democrats. Is there a basis for such unity?

United action of the workers, primarily Communists and Social Democrats, has always been a key objective of our Party. We have never slackened our efforts to this end and never will, no matter how strongly the bourgeoisie and right-wing Social Democratic leaders resist them.

It is quite obvious that the Communists and Social Democrats have many interests in common despite fundamental ideological differences.

It would be in their common interest to fight jointly against shifting the crisis burden on the people, for higher wages, better working conditions and effective participation in management. That also goes for action in defence of democracy, against the unconstitutional special law. It is imperative that the Communists and Social Democrats should act together against the rightist menace and neofascist plots. A further field of cooperation is the sruggle for a continued policy of detente and peaceful coexistence, for disarmament. Lastly, it is part of our common cause to show solidarity with the Chilean people and all other peoples fighting against fascist dictatorships and imperialist and neocolonialist oppression.

In advocating united action, we do not intend, however, to ignore the fundamental antithesis between our world outlook and the right-wing Social Democrats' ideology, against which we are fighting. Specifically, we criticise the Social Democratic "model of socialism", known as "democratic socialism".

I will not go into the theoretical aspects of the matter. Let us see what it's like in practice. For more than six years now, the West German government has been headed by Social Democrats. What has "democratic socialism" brought our people?

A state which the Social Democrats say is "above classes" has been unable to prevent price increase. It betrays a complete inability both to cope with unemployment and prevent unprecedented layoffs. The municipal councils dominated by Social Democrats have virtually jettisoned the old Social Democratic principle that public transport fares and fees for services must be kept relatively low. Social reforms proposed as far back as three years ago have yet to be carried out.

Leaders of the Social Democratic Party have time and again pledged allegiance to democracy and freedom, and yet the special law is applied on an increasingly larger scale and the unions' demands for workers' participation in management are rejected.

The inherent fallacy of the Social Democratic "model of socialism" stands out all the more clearly when the situation in West Germany is compared with the achievements of socialist countries. It is only natural that in carrying on our ideological struggle we should refer to these achievements to show the superiority of existing socialism over the "socialism" of the Social Democrats.

Could you comment on your Party's ideological work? What about its Marxist evening schools?

The GCP gives much attention to ideological work to educate its

members in the spirit of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, of proletarian internationalism. We are operating in a capitalist society and the bourgeoisie brings increasing ideological pressure to bear on our Party. In these circumstances the Communists' political and ideological training and dynamic struggle against every variety of bourgeois ideology are of vital importance to the Party.

Ideological work is particularly important because over 70 per cent of the new members are under 30.

We have a society called Marxist Study of Workers that has been functioning for seven years. Our Party supports its activity and we have jointly set up a network of Marxist evening schools, for Communists and young workers who are not Party members but wish to acquaint themselves with the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Activists belonging to factory, university or residential Party groups attend the Karl Liebknecht Party School. We have an Engels Centre Wuppertal and similar centres in Hamburg and Munich. They may be described as operational bases for our ideological work.

In conclusion I would like to stress that **World Marxist Review** is of great assistance to our ideological work and our activity generally. We are convinced that the journal plays a growing role in the world Communist and working-class movement, as well as in the anti-imperialist struggle. I want to thank its international team of editors for its effort and to offer it my best wishes for further success.

Continuity, Unity, Internationalism

Marta Rojas

For the first time in the history of the American continent, a ruling Communist party held its highest forum. This happened in Cuba, the first socialist state in the Western Hemisphere.

The First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba sat from December 17 to 22, 1975, in Havana's Karl Marx Theatre. At the back of the presidium consisting of Central Committee members and heads of foreign delegations, on a background of deep red velvet, were portraits of Marx, Engels and Lenin, Marti, Maceo and Gomez, Mella, Camilo and Che Guevara.

Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the CC, Supreme Commander-in-Chief, presented the Central Committee report. The Congress was opened by Lt. Gen. Raul Castro, Second Secretary of the CC. Its early sittings were chaired by Major Juan Almeida Bosque and Ramiro Valdes, Political Bureau members. They all took part in the assault of the Moncada barracks on July 26, 1953.

That heroic action opened the present stage of the Cuban revolution, whose roots reach far back. In October 1868 Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, "Father of the Country", free Negro slaves bonded to the La Demajagua sugar refinery, precipitating the Ten Years' War against Spain. There was no dearth of bravery in that war, but Cuba was unable to win her independence at the time. But the Cuban nation was forged in the war, which involved freed Negroes, mulatto slaves and progressive-minded Creole landowners.

The Cuban war of independence brought forth its own heroes. Many men from the "lower strata" distinguished themselves in it. One of them was Antonio Maceo, a mulatto peasant from Oriente Province, an outstanding soldier and thinker. It was he who pro-

phetically warned his compatriots against the dangers posed by the "beneficence" of the powerful northern neighbour. Maximo Gomez, a Dominican, and a general of the liberation army, set an example of internationalism.

Afterwards, in a new war that began in 1895 and brought Cuba independence from the Spanish colonialists, Jose Marti rallied together the heroes of the first liberation war. That great man's political genius helped to end internecine strife and overcome the weaknesses responsible for the defeat in the first war.

The Communists' forum was marked throughout by loyalty to the principles of the historical continuity of the revolution and revolutionary unity and by recognition of these two conditions as indispensable to achieving and consolidating its victory. Marti, who in 1892 founded Cuba's revolutionary party, was a staunch champion of these principles. They were subsequently adopted by Fidel Castro, who called Marti the "spiritual author" of Moncada at the political trial of men who had joined in the Moncada operation. Every Cuban Communist is true to these principles.

The Congress paid tribute to Jose Marti, as well as to Julio Antonio Mella and Carlos Balino, the founders of Cuba's first Marxist-Leninist party.

A great event in the lives of Cuba's Communists, the Congress also marked a new victory for socialist ideas, first translated into reality under Lenin's leadership in 1917. The international repercussions of the Great October Socialist Revolution were so immense that they reached the American continent, which had seemed impervious to Communist ideas, Engraved on our minds is the kaleidoscope of events brought about by the early manifestations of Communist ideas in Cuba under the impact of the October Revolution.

—On January 27, 1924, a modest Cuban mayor of a small community, decided to plant on a hill an olive-tree in memory of the founder of the world's first socialist state and named the hill after Lenin.

—Marxist groups, though still weak and scattered, sprang up. It was on their basis that Mella and Balino founded the first Communist Party.

—An ordinary seaman who owned a small launch defiantly named it Lenin.

—And 22 years ago, the Batista police accused Abel Santamaria, another leader of the Moncada assault, of the "criminal offence" of having a volume of Lenin's writings in his home. Santamaria was tortured and done to death in Moncada prison.

The developments in this rather brief historical period ar... "Cuban miracle". The events which in December 1975 found ... the Marx Theatre were a result of sustained effort and a firm... evolved in struggle, an embodiment of the great idea upheld by... example of those who fell fighting for their country's independ... for the workers' cause, against fascism in Cuba and the world.

On April 16, 1961, the Cuban revolution, equipped with the ... logy of the working class, irrevocably opted for socialism. ... backed by the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist com... munity, which spanned the ocean with a bridge of generous ... unfailing aid, without the slightest intent, of course, of hurting ... dignity of a people in need of support.

The people of socialist Cuba prepared actively for the Cong... They pledged better work and higher results in honour of the Con... gress. The Congress was the culminating event in the achievem... of socialist construction and the progress of the revolution ... arduous historical path.

Inspired by pure patriotic and internationalist sentiments, ... 3,116 Congress delegates gave a standing ovation to Fidel Cas... whose report was addressed not only to the Congress, but to the whole Party and all Cubans. The report was a model of exactir... and objective analysis and synthesis of the country's major social achievements, a model of skilful use of the weapon of criticism ... self-criticism. The speaker was laconic when listing the remarkable gains of the revolution, and appreciative of the solidarity shown ... socialist Cuba by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, ... the progressive forces of the world. This solidarity enabled the Cuban revolution to consolidate its gains—a mere 90 miles from the United States, the citadel of imperialism which 17 years ago held undivided sway over our Antillean island.

Those who accomplished the historic feat of liberation were well represented at the Marx Theatre. They included pioneer dissemina-tors of Marxism-Leninism and veterans of struggles for the work-ers' interests; noble soldiers of the unsuccessful revolution of the thirties; members of the Party cadre and representatives of the Young Communist League and other mass organisations; participants in the Moncada assault and the Granma expedition; members of the former underground political organisations, former guerrillas, mem-bers of the revolutionary armed forces, milicianos; veterans of the Bay of Pigs battle; working people who had done their internation-alist duty in various parts of the world; people active in culture, the arts and science, journalists. Sixty-five per cent of those present

were of working-class and 22 per cent of peasant origin. There were 481 women among the delegates.

Thus, the very composition of the delegates was evidence of historical continuity and revolutionary unity, unshakeable principles of the Communist Party.

The internationalist character of the Congress is worthy of special note. It was manifest at every one of the nine sittings, in every speech and in the delegates' response. The audience burst into stormy applause and cheers at every mention of the October Revolution, the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Chile, Angola, of the names of great revolutionaries of today, of leaders of brother parties and countries who had visited Cuba in recent years, and representatives of the nearly 90 parties and other organisations attending as guests.

When the unforgettable Congress days were drawing to a close, the last item left on the agenda was the election of a Central Committee which, in turn, was to elect a first and second secretary of the CC and the members of the CC Political Bureau and Secretariat. The election took place on December 22, a day that will go down in Cuban hisotry.

On that winter morning, the sea was pounding the pier in front of the Marx Theatre. Inside, 4,000 people were waiting eagerly for the historic announcement. It was made by a veteran of battles for the workers' interests, a fighter who hailed the October Revolution at a time when it was attacked and slandered, one of the first men on Cuban soil to sing the Internationale, an ardent internationalist. Fabio Grobart, a revolutionary who had worked underground, an associate and friend of Julio Antonio Mella, co-founder of Cuba's first Marxist-Leninist party, announced amid cheers that Fidel Castro, the founder of America's first socialist state, had been elected First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba. Speaking of the leader of our revolution, the oldest Cuban Communist said: "He has educated us by his exemplary self-abnegation, perseverance, firmness and skill, by his consistent and unswerving application on Marxist-Leninist principles."

The First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba showed that it owes its victories above all the historical continuity, revolutionary unity and internationalism.

How Research Helps Practical Party Work

We continue our series on theoretical work in the Communist parties, begun last year, with interviews with the heads of two Marxist research centres. They were asked the following questions:

—What are the main lines and subjects of the research conducted by your institutes? How far are they predetermined by new social developments and the political struggles?

—How does your Party use the results of research?

—Who does the research? Any contacts with other institutions, domestic or foreign?

Franco Ferri

Our institute is a department of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party. Its independent research covers economic, historical, philosophical, legal, aesthetic and educational problems. I need hardly say that its work is not isolated from practice. Research themes are suggested by problems of Italian society and Italian culture in the broad sense of the term. In other words, our investigations are conditioned by the requirments of the Party's practical work, by its effort to influence developments. We proceed from the principle that Marxism as a revolutionary theory cannot be isolated from the evolution of society, which means that our theoretical discussions must take into account problems objectively confronting national culture.

Here are some examples. In Italy we witness a serious political phenomenon: as the working-class movement gains ground politically, the Right intensifies its counter-offensive against it. This poses certain questions for our research: What is the new type of fascism that has emerged in Italy? How does it link up with the fascism of the past? Why is fascism still possible in Italy? In speaking of this problem, we mean primarily the ability of fascism to win mass support.

And now for examples from another field of research. The absolute majority of our workers are employed by small and medium companies and not by the monopolies. Italian small and medium enterprises show amazing vitality. The question arises: What role do they play and why? Again, the big monopoly try to organise production on principles entirely different from those of the Taylor system. Work at the conveyer belt is replaced by team work. This method has yet to take root, but the trend points that way and it would mean changing the worker's functions, for he would perform many operations instead of one. How would that affect the working class as a whole? We have discussed these serious problems at seminars.

Then there are these complicated questions: What is the function of the state sector of the economy in the context of Italy's capitalist development? What changes does the state sector bring into the existing system?

And lastly this example. In last summer's elections, the Communist Party won a substantial number of seats in regional, provincial and local government bodies. Since then, many Communists have had to deal with the problems of schools, urban development, welfare, environmental protection and other practical matters. We are planning a series of seminars for these newly elected officials to discuss the theoretical aspects of the problems they have to cope with. This will also give research workers a better understanding of the problems and needs that arise in applying scientific knowledge.

The Party must now devote much attention to economic work. It needs more competent people for this. The training of economists is thus a priority task. Life has confronted us with these problems sooner than we had expected.

I have so far been speaking of internal factors determining the lines and content of the institute's activity. How far is it influenced by external factors?

What happened in, say, Chile had a serious impact on theoretical and political research. The provisions of the historical compromise, which has met with wide response both at home and abroad, were worked out in the context of the situation created in Chile by the fascist coup. Evidently, the problem of unity aimed at laying the groundwork for genuine democracy and advancing to socialism requires deeper, theoretical analysis. It also requires analysis of the distinctive aspects of activity in our conditions, the possibilities of solving the problem of alliances of the working class, its relations with the peasants and middle strata, and so on. This is part of our work.

All these problems are treated from Marxist positions, of cour... that is, we try to work out politically oriented solutions based ... reality.

We are compiling a history of our Communist Party. We ... present it realistically if the record of our Party is to influence ... social consciousness, not only of Communists, but of the mass... The Gramsic Institute has numerous Party documents, so... of them not complimentary of the Party, but all of them a... available to the Italian and, to foreign public. Ours is the on... Italian party to do this, the only party that is not afraid of its hi... tory and does not hesitate to speak of its mistakes. All this ... helped us to win mass influence.

What is the effect of theoretical work on the fulfilment of ... political tasks? Our duty is to present a true picture of reality ... tain the nature of problems that arise and find scientific solution... The Communist Party, which strives to transform reality, cann... achieve its goal without a scientific knowledge of reality. Th... makes explanatory work and the dissemination of scientific know... ledge an important feld of our activity. Our work useful as lo... as it produces real knowledge. Otherwise it would be a mere academic exercise.

As for the results of our research, they generally find practica... application in Party work. In some cases, however, it does no... either because a particular piece of research does not draw th... Party's attention at the given moment, or because its subject has ... bearing on pressing problems. For instance, we studied problems of Italian statehood, but the Party did not use the results of our studies until later. This is perfectly normal, for the logic of researc... and the logic of politics do not always coincide.

Marxism in Italy enjoys immense influence beyond the Communist Party. Many who accept Marxism do not belong to the Party. We cooperate with anyone who can contribute to the scientific cognition of reality. Our seminars include Marxists, non-Marxists holding different views, and, in some cases, even people opposed to Marxism. This makes it possible to confront positions. Being a Marxist it does not mean that your subjective opinions are invariably correct. You must verify your opinions and, in solving problems, be ready to discuss the positions of others. Through such cooperation, the Italian working-class movement and Marxism in Italy establish links with national culture as a whole and provide conditions for the advance... ment of Marxism by attracting to it all positive currents.

We say after Gramsci that hegemony has to be won. If we are to

influence and direct ideological processes, we win, build up hegemony. This is why we cooperate with non-Communist specialists. We guarantee free and public discussion. Economists and historians who differ with us investigate, for example, problems of fascism. We study problems of the enterprise with both workers and managers.

We have extensive links with other research centres. We maintain them, first of all, with university scholars and people active in the scientific and technological fields. I have touched mostly on problems directly concerning the Party's practical work. But we also look into other problems. In particular, we discuss the subject "Biology and Man's Requirements" with Italian biologists. We are also working on aesthetic problems.

We have wide international contacts too: with the universities, academies and institutes of Marxism-Leninism of socialist countries, as well as with the universities and specialised institutions in capitalist countries. Italy and other capitalist countries and socialist countries approach one and the same problem differently. However, difficulties arising from this reality do not prevent us from constantly exchanging views in a spirit of friendship and frankness.

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Josef SCHLEFSTEIN

Our institute concentrates on economic and sociological research, investigating, first of all, the condition of the West German working class, the evolution of its social consciousness and problems of its social and political struggles. At the moment we are studying economic processes of the current crisis. We want to publish a large treatise on these problems and problems of state economic policy. We expose bourgeois ideological currents influencing the working class and prepare material criticising the theory practice of bourgeois parties and the Social Democrats.

Our theoretical investigations have but an indirect impact on the activity of working-class organisations, in particular the German Communist Party. As part of our research, we strive to formulate theoretical and tactical principles for the political and trade union movement that could also be used in anti-monopoly and socialist strategy. Our publications are in high demand in the Marxist working-class movement, also among young scholars and students interested in Marxist analysis and politically active Christians and adherents of other political trends. In 1974 we published a critical analysis of the Social Democrats' long-term programme, known as

the Tentative Plan of Development till 1985. The publication [illegible] wide readership among both Communists and Social Demo[illegible].

We are now working on documents relating to a highly [illegible] political subject, a law which affects teachers and member[illegible] professions holding government jobs. This so called Law [illegible] cals is directed above all against Communists, as well as [illegible] wing Socialists and Social Democrats. There is a strong [illegible] against it in the Federal Republic. We expose the [illegible] and anti-democratic nature of this kind of legislation [illegible] ence includes the opinions of legal experts. Our [illegible] published in four languages.

The Institute has a research staff of only seven, and [illegible] work is done collectively. Our output may be consid[illegible] large for so small an institute. We owe this to collabora[illegible] young scholars and students. The institute has produce[illegible] volume book on the social structure of the FRG. In prep[illegible] scholars and students helped us by writing articles and [illegible] statistical data and records. Our critical anlysis of the Social [illegible] mocrats' long-term programme involved many specialists in additi[illegible] to our own staff.

Once or twice a year we hold theoretical conferences that are at tended by many young scholars and by students interested in Marx ism. Last November we sponsored a seminar on the sociological [illegible] blems of young workers.

Every quarter the Institute publishes a survey of the West [illegible] man economy, prepared by a large group of specialists. The [illegible] is carefully studied, among others, by progressive journalists, [illegible] leaders, and Party activists and functionaries.

We are not the only ones to be concerned with these probl[illegible] The trade unions have an institute of their own which invest[illegible] mostly economic problems. There is no official cooperation [illegible] us because the heads of such institutions are wary of links wit[illegible] institute sharing the political objectives of the GCP. However [illegible] books draw a great deal of attention and are quoted in publication of the unions and their research institute.

As for relations with the Marxist institutes of Europe, they are extensive and durable and this applies to both socialist and capitalist countries. There is a regular exchange of literature. We also ex change delegates to scientific conferencs. Lastly, Marxist scholars maintain close multilateral contacts.

...rsaw Meeting of Communist Party Leaders of Socialist Countries

...he general and first secretaries of the Communist and Workers' ...rties of the socialist countries, who attended the Seventh Con... ...ess of the Polish United Workers' Party, met on December 9 in Warsaw.

Taking part in the meeting were: Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary, Bulgarian Communist Party; Gustav Husak, General Secretary, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; Erich Honecker, First Secretary, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Janos Kadar, First Secretary, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party; Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, First Secretary, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party; Edward Gierek, First Secretary, Polish United Workers' Party, and Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary, Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The leaders of the fraternal parties exchanged views on questions of further expanding cooperation between the socialist countries, and discussed topical international problems.

The meeting unanimously stressed the importance of steadily expanding the cooperation of the fraternal parties and strengthening the ties between the socialist countries in all fields of their constructive endeavour.

In discussing the international issues special attention was paid to the ways of implementing the principles and provisions of the Final Act of the European Conference signed at Helsinki

The need was stressed for practical steps to curb the arms race and consolidate political detente with measures in military detente.

The meeting was held in an atmosphere of friendship and complete mutual understanding, and was characterised by identity of views on all questions discussed.

Meeting of Representatives of Communist Parties of European Capitalist Countries

A working meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties of the capitalist countries of Europe was held in Paris, on December 10, 1975. Taking part were the Communist parties of the FRG, Belgium, West Berlin, Denmark, Spain, Finland, France, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey. The parties of Austria, Cyprus, Luxembourg, Norway, Portugal and San Marino supported the idea of a working meeting, but were unable to attend for various reasons.

Progress made in implementing the recommendations of the Brussels conference of January 1974 and of the previous working meeting held in Dusseldorf in October 1974 was reviewed.

The participants expressed satisfaction over the scope and, initiatives taken in the past two years on such questions as the condition of women, workers in the automobile industry and farmers, and joint action against the multinationals.

In particular, they agreed to strengthen political solidarity with the struggle of the democratic forces of Spain for a general amnesty and the establishment of democratic freedoms.

The participants also agreed to submit to their respective Party leaderships proposals for the preparation of a series of new initiatives of common interest designed to strengthen cooperation to defend the workers' and peoples' interests in face of the crisis in the European capitalist countries.

It was also agreed to examine the development of concerted action on workers' demands with particular reference to employment and

the fight against domination by multinational firms, the condition of women, farmers, motor industry workers, and in a joint reply to politically discriminatory legislation in West Germany and West Berlin. Meetings and seminars are also envisaged on themes such as incomes policy and inflation, energy and raw materials, as well as on problems concerning the information media.

For a Democratic Solution of Army Problems

This is the title of a statement by the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party. The statement says in part:

The country is faced with army problems, because French society is in crisis, and discontent is rife in the army. Nothing can obscure this fact. The situation cannot be concealed, nor the Giscard government absolved of responsibility.

The government's policy is diverting the army from its national defence mission and placing it in the service of foreign strategic projects. It is sacrificing the army's modernisation to nuclear arming. It does not provide servicemen with stable material conditions or moral dignity. It refuses to democratise army life.

Sanctions, repressions, and authoritarianism cannot alter the present situation. On the contrary, it will only continue to deteriorate.

The French Communist Party wants France to have a modern and democratic army serving none but the nation.

It advocates a national defence policy centred on the country's independence and on free definition of the army's tasks exclusively in defence of the country's territorial integrity.

It wants all servicemen—soliders and officers—to have the same rights as all other citizens, including freedom of speech, information and association. More than at any other time democracy is an essential condition for an army assuring national defence.

The French Communist Party wants servicemen to have democratic status. Officers' legitimate demands should be taken into consideration.

To achieve these aims and—on a more general plane—to assure democratic changes essential for the country, there is no other way save broad democratic struggle uniting the people and its army.

This is why the policy and activity of the French Communist Party has nothing in common with the anti-militarism and the adventurist methods of ultra-left groups representing a negligible minority. Their provocative actions are exaggerated before the public and used by the Giscard government for an anti-democratic, reactionary and anti-national policy armed at compelling Frenchmen to accept the consequences of the crisis.

The French Communist Party calls on the youth and all working people to continue the fight for a democratic solution to army problems.

It reasserts the demand made by the Communist group in the National Assembly to launch a parliamentary debate on these issues without further delay.

A broad alliance with clear principles is necessary to counter the repressive measures. Hence, the French Communist Party has called on its partners in the left alliance to define common initiatives.

The government's behaviour shows that the Communists are right in initiating the struggle for freedom. And they will continue to work for this end.

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Forthcoming Congresses

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Reports and elections are under way in the branches of the Socialist Unity Party. The membership is highly active. The campaign is an important stage in the preparations for the 9th SUPG Congress. The Party is reviewing the results of the Communists' political, ideological and organisational work in all government and Party structures. The press reports that more than 240,000 have joined the Party since the 8th SUPG Congress, with 78 per cent of them workers. At present every sixth citizens over 18 belongs to the militant Marxist-Leninist body of Communists.

MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

A recent Central Committee meeting of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party has resolved to convene the 17th Congress of the MPRP on June 14, 1976. In preparation for the Congress, the

meeting instructed Party, government, public and economic organisations to promote socialist emulation for the successful fulfilment of economic and cultural plans in the first year of the coming five-year period, to assure greater effectiveness of socialist production and further growth of the productivity of labour, and to determine and use all available productive potentialities.

PORTUGAL

In December 1975 a meeting of the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party examined the November events and their impact on the political situation. It discussed a large range of questions. Despite difficulties in different parts of the country, the Central Committee noted, the Portuguese CP is winning new members. The CC PCP has decided to convene the 8th Party Congress in the first half of 1976.

SOVIET UNION

In preparation for the 25th Congress of the CPSU, hundreds of thousands of workers, collective farmers, and intellectuals are taking part in the countrywide discussion of the recently published CC CPSU draft, "Main Trends of Economic Development in the USSR for 1976-80".

In Party branches and at workers' meetings, and in the press, participants in the discussion declare support for the main objective of the 10th Soviet Five-Year Plan, defined in the draft as consistent implementation of the Communist Party's policy of raising the material and cultural standards of the people on the basis of a dynamic and balanced growth of social production, its higher efficiency, rapid scientific and technical progress, high labour productivity, and better work in all sectors of the economy. The people are expressing approval of the targets set by the Party in industry, agriculture, transport and communications, capital construction, and science, and acclaim the programme of social development and of improving the living standard. Many concrete suggestions are being made.

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In Brief

MEETING OF DRAFTING COMMITTEE

Convened in Berlin November 16-19, 1975, the drafting committee continued its work on the document of the Conference of Euro-

pean Communist and Workers' Parties. Representatives of 22 fraternal parties took part.

INDIA

In December 1975 India's Communists celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of their Party. In its fifty years, the Communist Party of India has travelled a heroic and glorious road. Today, it is ideologically, politically and organisationally united, its prestige is rising and its political positions are stronger. The Party membership totals more than half a million.

ISRAEL

Tawfik Zayyad, candidate of the Democratic Front and Communist member of the Knesset, was elected mayor of Nazareth, a major Arab centre. The Democratic Front—an organisation of the city's progressive forces—polled more than two-thirds of the votes and won eleven of the 17 seats in the municipal council.

ITALY

Left forces were highly successful in the partial elections to municipal councils in a number of Italian provinces, as evidenced by results in 125 communes. The Italian Communist Party won many more seats than in the preceding communal elections. As many as 29.5 per cent of the voters (against 17.7 per cent in the previous elections) voted for Communist candidates.

SPAIN

Members of 45 branches of the CP of Spain and YCL in the Benelux countries held a conference on the new political situation in Spain, Spanish emigration, and the aim of building the CPS into a mass Party. Participants resolved to double the membership of their respective branches in 1976, and to raise nine million pesetas for daily publication of **Mundo Obrero**. Spanish Communists working in the Benelux countries have already collected more than five million pesetas.

VENEZUELA

The Agrarian Commission of the Communist Party of Venezuela recently discussed the situation in agriculture. Peasant leaders participated. It was resolved to invigorate Party work in the agrarian sector and, in particular, to recruit more peasants and farm workers in the Party.

Concerning A United Ideological Point of the World Communists

Enrique Rodriguez

Important Questions Awaiting Solution

In many ways a significant year, 1975 witnessed major ideological clashes, so characteristic of our tempestuous age. New, rapidly developing events portend deep upheavals which will test the political and theoretical maturity of the working-class vanguard, the Communist and Workers' parties.

The sharpening and intensification of the struggle on the ideological front is obvious. It can be seen in the increasingly persistent attempts by the bourgeoisie to exploit differences within the international Communist movement, and by the use of more subtle methods of frontal and flank ideological attacks, "In the face of the strengthening of the international positions of socialism, imperialism tries to weaken the unity of the socialist world system. It uses the differences in the international revolutionary movement in an effort to split its ranks. It places its ideological apparatus, including the mass media, in the service of anti-Communism and its struggle against all progressive forces".[1]

The international Communist movement has undoubtedly made progress in the ideological area; however, certain essential problems still await final solution. And we should have no illusions on this score. With every passing day imperialism's propaganda machine and its mass media, those lie-factories, are more and more inundating the world, and the most subtle techniques are being used to

[1] International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969, Peace and Socialism Publishers, Prague, 1969, p. 13.

further the policy of "erosion", conspiracy and ideological trickery. Hence, open struggle against this type of ideological subversion is today an essential necessity.

If we were to single out the question which the monopoly bourgeoisie and its direct apologists use most frequently to damage the international Communist movement, then we would have to point to the so-called contradiction between our struggle within each country and proletarian internationalism. The attempt is being made to concentrate attention on his by using a more euphemistic terminology, such as "national models" of Marxism-Leninism, or even repeal of the principle of internationalism, which would dull the tried and tested weapon that alone can bring victory over capitalism. Alongside this basic method, there are many others, many derivatives: belittling the role of the proletariat as the leading force in the revolutionary process, negating the revolutionary qualities of the USSR, attacks on the Marxist-Leninist concept of freedom. Everything is being used—the "convergence", "two imperialisms", "humane socialism" and similar theories, even such a rabid anti-Sovieteer as Sakharov.

One and a half years after the 1969 Meeting, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, squarely posed the question when he said: "The fight against right and 'left' revisionism, against nationalism, continues to be urgent. It is precisely the nationalistic tendencies, especially those which assume the form of anti-Sovietism, that bourgeois ideologists and bourgeois propaganda have placed most reliance on in their fight against socialism and the Communist movement. They have been trying to induce the opportunist elements in the Communist parties to make something of an ideological deal. They appear to be telling them: just give us proof that you are anti-Soviet, and we shall be prepared to proclaim that you are true 'Marxists' and that you are taking completely 'independent attitude'. The course of events has shown, incidentally, that such men also take the way of struggle against the Communist parties in their own countries. Examples of this are renegades of the type of Garaudy in France, Fischer in Austria, Petkov in Venezuela and the Manifesto' group leaders in Italy."[2]

In all our activities we take into account the plans and plots of our enemies, and the history of the class struggle has shown that the vital question here is elementary ideological homogeneity of the Marxist-Leninist contingents that have made it their purpose, in the

[2] Report to the 24th CPSU Congress.

words of the **Internationale**, to build a new world, and root out bourgeois ideology.

Internationalism Comes First

The international character of our doctrine stems not from abstract constructions, but from a scientific analysis of social development. Unity of the world proletarian struggle and priority of the international over the national is not the whim of a nihilist who negates what Lenin described as the "nationally particular and nationally specific", but the logical conclusion from a truth which can be neither denied nor questioned. That simple truth is that the class struggle, the motive force of history, is waged on an international scale and not contained within local or national bounds, for the fundamental interests of the working class of all countries are the same. This finds its fullest expression in the confrontation, begun after October 1917, of the capitalist and socialist systems. Similarly, in the past socialist theory found its expression in Lenin's search (after Marx) of the general principles illumining the path to the international socialist revolution.

No one, save the ideologues of imperialism, will venture openly to question the international character of Lenin's approach to the preparation and performance of the three Russian revolutions. All such attempts would prove in vain.

In his **"Left"-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder**, Lenin demolished once and for all the then voguish contention that Bolshevism was a typically Russian phenomenon, Lenin's refutation of that contention can be seen in his **What Is To Be Done?** and in the subsequent development of his thoughts, particularly in his study of the possibility of socialist revolution triumphing in one or several countries, or in his substantiation of the dialectics of revolution and the policy of peaceful coexistence, and in the more precise formulation of many related theoretical questions. But nowhere will we find even a hint of concessions to bourgeois nationalism or local exclusiveness. In short, there is no remote hint of renouncing proletarian internationalism as the lodestar of the revolution.

During the fruitful, at times sharp, polemics our Party has waged against the revisionists, they insisted that there were new phenomena, new realities which Lenin had not foreseen or had not investigated, but which now, more than ever before, required an attentive approach to the national, specific and particular in each country. Of course, we must take into account new developments. But we know that there are volumes, also thousands of political and government

decisions written by Lenin on the sensitive question of nationalities, anti-colonial struggle, the fight against "great power" chauvinism, scrupulous respect for national traditions and the national spirit, etc. But in every case this was seen in the context of the international socialist revolution. In other words, it was always placed in the service of the great world-wide class battle and never in separation from it.

Significantly, no one ventured to question this during the polemics. But this was done obliquely, through assessments, judgments and pronouncements of a distinct Maoist flavour. For instance: "Contemporary Marxism-Leninism resides in the wise application of its principles to the concrete realities of each country." That proposition looks attractive, creative and based on common sense. But can we accept it? At any rate, we are entitled to put some of our own common-sense questions. If what is meant is applying our doctrine to the specific conditions of a given country, then that is hardly objectionable. For there are fundamental, basic, essential principles which must be carried out, but in adaptation to differing realities; each Party enriches these principles through its experience. But we cannot accept that the common principles are relegated to the background in the process, that the local approach takes precedence. We can make this comparison: a tactical maneouvre on the battlefield could be so "specific" as to run counter to the general strategic plan of the battle and contribute to its loss.

This is not just playing with comparisons; it follows logically from revolutionary dialectics. In our polemics we said that a tactical victory of one or another revolutionary contingent wouldn't be worth much if it dulled the weapon used to bring victory of the revolution throughout the world and not just in one corner of it. Incidentally, when we speak of such a "tactical victory", we must bear in mind that this is a relative concept, that such a victory will sooner or later turn into its very opposite. By the same token, a temporary retreat to safeguard our principles, even a temporary defeat, can serve as the starting point for future historic victories.

Inalienable Obligations

When we speak of the principles to be applied in local conditions, we mean the principles of Marxism-Leninism. They include rejection of the capitalist system and its replacement by socialism with subsequent transition to communism; they substantiate the epochal mission of the proletariat as the gravedigger of capialism; stress predominance of class struggle; define the general features of genuine

socialist revolution, taking into account all the vicissitudes of the paths leading to it; proclaim the destruction of the military-bureaucratic apparatus of the bourgeois state and the institution of a new socio-political system. Marxismi's classical formula of the character and substance of power in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, though realisable in one or another specific form, remains unchanged despite all the vain attempts to question its validity. Ever since Lenin, in his **The State and Revolution**, came out against Kautsky, it has been the line of division between reformism and revolution.

Acceptance of these propositions means acceptance of consistent internationalist principles, and it is only natural that we should study, carefully and searchingly, how they can be implemented in changing and dissimilar national conditions. *Given this approach there would be no need to ask what is primary in our movement, nor to question the international character of the proletarian revolution and the obligations imposed by the world-wide class struggle. To answer that question in the negative, or even with reservations and doubts, is to challenge the principle itself.*

A technique often used by the bourgeoisie in its ideological struggle is to play up possible differences between revolutionary contingents on critical issues. The tactic is to "trap" them on the question of obligations imposed by international solidarity, force them to dissociate themselves from these, etc. "The question is," Gus Hall wrote, "whether to meet such a challenge by an offensive campaign of its exposure or to retreat by acommodating to its pressures. In questions like this, one has to decide where principled tactics end and opportunistic accommodation begins. And opporunism tends to spread from one area of struggle to others, from one area of accommodation to other areas."[3]

Of course, everyone has the right to doubt or to set out his own position. We know that mistakes are made here and there. They should be examined in order to devise a means of correcting them. All that is possible, now and in the future. Such things happen—and fairly regularly— on a local scale, in countries with more or less intensive political life. Many a time we in Uruguay had to endure persecution and temporary retreat because of our solidarity with revolutionary actions initiated by forces with which we do not agree, in some cases forces ideologically hostile to us.

What criterion should a Marxist-Leninist party use in assessing such facts? Our Party believes that it must use only the revolution-

[3] *PPS*, August 1974.

ary, class criterion. It is not a case of balancing "debit and credit", but of assessing the tribute a revolutionary contingent must pay in the form of a convinced and consistently pursued principled policy, in training the working class and its allies in the spirit of these principles, and in winning for itself vanguard status. There is all the more reason to apply this class and solidarity approach in crucial situations and major clashes in the world involving our comrades, our brothers in the struggle for communism, when the gains of the world proletariat, the gains of socialism, are questioned.

Posing these vital questions in what might appear extreme form does no damage, but a superficial generalisation would be wrong.

Broad But United

Despite its present unsolved problems, the world Communist movement is unquestionably the broadest revolutionary movement that has ever existed, and also the most homogeneous ideologically and politically.

It is this very breadth, a reflection of the equally unprecedented breadth of different revolutionary movements on all continents, coupled with the highly promising fact that the Marxist-Leninist vanguards are in the thick of, and often also play the leading role in these colossal movements, and the greater or lesser influence these powerful movements exercise on the vanguards of the working class as the non-proletarian masses (and even proletarians under bourgeois influence) approach the revolution with their intrinsic hesitation and prejudices, and their predilection for spontaneity and disposition towards disenchantment (the consequence of too little political experience)—these and many other factors were frequently (and not always wrongly) invoked to justify the necessary flexibility towards particular, sometimes unilateral, attitudes. The mistaken conclusion was drawn in this connection that collective study of experience and tendencies is impossible, though life and the struggle require it. This concerns the vital question (though it may appear a derivative) referred to by Comrade Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the CP of Uruguay, at the 1969 Meeting in Moscow:

"Frequently, the following is given as the only and principal explanation (of differences and contradictions—E.R.): the breadth and diversity of the international revolutionary process are the objective basis for differences and divergences. In other words, the scale and successes of our movement are, at the same time, the reason for our weaknesses. Partially, that is so. And it would be legitimate to stress this as a counterbalance to simplified notions or to attempts

to reduce everything to some single factor when specific problems are examined. But this is only half the truth, for on this basis emerge ideas, and sometimes trends, both incipient and those that have already taken shape, which concern profound ideological problems and are, in our view, of a revisionist nature and which, therefore, must be qualified from the class standpoint, from the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist principles. Any other approach would lead us to relativism, namely, to regarding the practice of the international socialist revolution as a sum of local experience, which would imply negting the universal nature of Marxist-Leninist theory.

"If we strive for unity, no political and theoretical explanation of these questions must be made with the help of epithets or labels."[4]

This presentation of the idea is incomplete, because the speech was necesarily brief, and not a treatise. In substance, however, it contains the proposition directed against what Arismendi described as "the metaphysical counter-posing of the national features of each Party to its internationalist duties."[5] It is above all a call for the so necessary "collective study". And, as we see it, the warning contained in the quotation against "regarding the practice of the international socialist revolution as a sum of local experience" has retained its relevance and meaning in the light of the significant events of recent times. We must not speak of these phenomena and situations in general terms or classify them simply as positive or negative Some of them are highly promising, such as the great victory of the Vietnamese people or the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in Portugal. As a rule, they are the result of our own efforts, accompanied by successes and setbacks that always express the dialectics of the struggle between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution. Let us just say that if anyone does have reasons for melancholy and mourning over the events of the recent period, it is by no means the Communists, but the imperialists and capitalism as a whole.

New Problems and Old Concepts

The many factors that have aggravated the general crisis of capitalism—imperialism's defeat in Vietnam, the ignominious collapse of the economic "miracle" and other "panaceas", and most of all the undeterrable sharpening and higher level of the class struggle in the

[4] International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Moscow, 1969. Peace and Socialism Publishers, Prague, 1969, p. 204.

[5] Ibid, p. 203.

principal capitalist countries—suggest that we must determine our time-table with the maximum accuracy and tie up the anti-monopoly struggle more correctly with the socialist perspective. This gives rise to other questions: unity and struggle, enlistment in the struggle of the broadest possible masses, and, at the same time, a more profound approach to ideological problems.

Portugal has acted as a detonator in this respect. Yet the ideological problems—in the framework of patient efforts for unity—are everywhere more acute. Nothing can conceal the deeply aggressive complexion of the attitude of the leaders of European Social-Democracy towards the developing Portuguese revolution. Exponents of the reformist Social-Democratic trends in Western Europe could not help betraying the shock they experienced over the appearance of a real and concrete socialist perspective. The classical Social-Democratic "evolutionism" tried and is still trying to neutralise or distort this rich revolutionary process.

It is quite obivous that the Marxist-Leninist assessment of the Portuguese process must envisage support of the dedicated and far-sighted activity of the Communist Party. However, nobody can tell whether the same or similar events can unfold in another country. As for the form in which the people come to power, revolutionaries should follow the valuable advice of Marx and Lenin and not tie their hands whenever conditions arise for the vanguard to take decisions, determining or quickly and effectively changing its tactics, in order, jointly with its allies, to achieve the aims set for the given stage in the revolutionary programme.

These questions are causing concern, and it is essential at this time to give thought to the necessary ideological unity.

Many of us have reflected on what would have happened at a definite time in Portugal if there had been no mature and tempered Marxist-Leninist Communist Party. The same question, adapted to the concrete conditions, may also be posed in relation to the events in Cuba and Vietnam. At the same time, such negative events as those in Chile require thorough analysis. Among other things, they emphasise the need for deeper mastery of the Marxist-Leninist methodology and better knowledge of the results of rsearch in such questions as that of the bourgeois state and its military and bureaucratic apparatus.

It is only natural to ask whether these and situations that may arise somewhere else can be examined or anticipated if we rely exclusively on accumulation and summation of local experience, and make none of the necessary broad theoretical generalisations. Not

only in order to verify experience, but to continue to learn the laws of revolution.

Those working for a collective examination of the more important subjects facilitate the creative development of Marxist theory, study of the Marxist classics, and thorough assessment and comparison of the facts and premises of revolutionary practice. It has been conclusively proved that any other attitude, one that could be described as "freerer and bolder" but that negates this approach, will ultimately, irrespective of its aims, turn out to be narrow, because it limits to a national framework phenomena saturated with international significance and dependent on the consequent ties and interactions. If we fail to apply the method of collective study of major problems on an international scale, the only one to profit will be our adversary.

Marxist theory loses in value if it is prevented from examining such serious phenomena as Maoism. More, if Maoism is not shown to be a serious menace (certainly, from a standpoint of principle, and not by the kind of crude rhetoric used by the Maoists), this will objectively give it strength and deprive us of the opportunity for drawing it into an upright debate. Besides, it will prevent us from examining Maoism as a theoretical question of principle, as a problem of the vanguard party—the crucial problem of any revolution —and from locating the causes that lead to such degeneration.

Maoism is a difficult subject, because its study must not impair the desired and necessary progress in the matter of unity. We hold, however, that the dramatism which the process is acquiring—and this is no exaggeration—should stimulate still greater efforts. All of us are aware that it will take much effort and much patience to assure a calm and persevering search for solutions of problems so vital and urgent for all of us revolutionaries.

An Instructive and Positive Example

The recent example of the Conference of the Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean shows that it is possible to succeed if we apply efforts worthy of revolutionaries and if we act in a comradely, Communist spirit.

The differences that had existed between some Latin American Communist detachments in the recent past were neither small nor insignificant. There are few places on earth where leftism, voluntarism sufaced as violently as they did in Latin America, where the effectiveness, even the very existence, of Communist parties were placed in doubt, to say nothing of other, no less important ideological aspects. However, anyone who reads the document of the June 1975 Havana Conference is bound to appreciate the tangible success achieved in producing joint formulations and political and theore-

tical definitions on questions of strategy and tactics of the utmost importance for the future. Furthermore, agreement was reached concerning immediate actions against US imperialism, the common and chief enemy, on the basis of a broad, all-continental anti-imperailist alliance.

Neither was it an accident that during the important debates, in which the Communist Party of Cuba and Fidel Castro took an active Part, the firm statements against Maoism were accompanied by the pledge to work for a new international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. Conscious of the serious duties that devolve on us from the analysis of the situation in this turbulent and explosive region, the Marxist-Leninist parties feel the need "to turn to the source"—to adhere firmly to the basic principles of the Communist ideology, to international proletarian solidarity, to the scientific conception of the world socialist revolution—in order to increase strength, achieve closer mutual understanding and collectively work out strategy and tactics.

It was highly instructive that this outspoken discussion, this patient collective elaboration of documents in the framework of the Communist concept of mutual assistance, helped the Conference to resolve many of the old problems and gave a start to the examination of the new ones. All the work was done in such a way as not to offend the dignity of any of the parties, of any of the leaders, without the least pressure on anyone. On the contrary, the healthy spirit of comradely criticism and self-criticism added to the prestige and authority of those who had promoted the Conference; it also facilitated a profound examination of all the pertinent questions.

For a Common Ideological Front

The struggle of Marxists-Leninists for a common ideological front is a fundamental strategic issue. We may, and will, make mistakes in secondary tactical questions. They are inevitable, but they can be speedily rectified. What cannot be corrected—and costs dearly, as amply shown throughout the history of the revolutionary working-class movement—is the absence of a common approach to basic theoretical problems. Our theory is based on recognition of the international character of the struggle, on overcoming, with the help of dialectical and historical materialism, bourgeois-nationalist views.

Only Marxism-Leninism provided the key to the solution of that historical issue when it demonstrated that human history was a history of class struggle. The international Communist and working-class movement spares no effort to illumine its road ahead, which abounds in old, new, and renovated ideological obstacles. Our era

spurs us on, demanding swift action. The urgency of the revolutionary cause does not, of course, imply absence of order or a clash between science and the vital requirements of the struggle. Lenin has set an example of how to combine scientific approach with the demands of daily battle. Ultimately we learned that the revolutionary process and correct leadership inevitably depend on the ideological preparedness of the Communist vanguard to tackle numerous complex duties.

I should like to reiterate that ours is an internationalist teaching. But the elaboration of an inherently internationalist teaching, whose purpose is to comprehend human society as a whole and transform it with the help of an internationalist revolutionary theory, cannot be reduced to national confines, for its progress involves more than the summation of experience acquired by individual countries

By its very nature and by its actions in the tempestuous revolutionary process, the working-class and communist movement sets an example of solidarity. It is in duty bound to advance in closed ranks, despite all obstacles, despite its own mistakes and those of others, despite differences and controversies inevitable on unexplored roads of such great historical significance

Internationalist consciousness, the very feeling of internationalism, inevitably moves us to undertake commitments deriving from this global, all-embracing approach; it also implies that we shall restrict and moderate behaviour that could provide grist to the enemy's mill or be interpreted as evasion. It is self-evident that understanding of and respect for each Communist detachment leading the revolutionary process in its country must be correctly combined with a principled and firm stand with regard to direct encroachments on the fundamental principles of our teaching and the unity of our movement.

Throughout the whole of the protracted stage of division brought about by the leaders of the Communist Party of China, often with very painful repercussions, it has been demonstrated that precisely those who advocate collective consideration of controversial issues are most scrupulous about conducting the polemic in a Communist, comradely spirit, both in content and in form. But there is an obvious contradiction, for the other side—the leaders of the Communist Party of China—shamelessly attack such important historic gains as the USSR, the world communist movement, and its unity. In our view, the interests of unity make it impossible to tolerate this. In the light of the "generosity" and ease with which the Maoists express themselves on real or imagined, sometimes painful problems, that would be neither fair nor right, even from the standpoint of elementary, equal relations between the parties.

This does not mean that we stand for a kind of "non-aggression" ("if you don't discuss this I won't discuss that"). Not at all. That would be immoral and unworthy. There is nothing wrong with discussing all issues concerning the movement; such discussion implies neither pressure nor hegemony. We have the common sense to correctly evaluate phenomena, get to their roots and understand their evolution; we have the patience to understand others and try to get ourselves understood.

As the Conference of Communist Parties in Havana showed, frank debate will only be to our benefit. There is much to gain from the diversified revolutionary experiences of different countries, provided we overcome nationalistic prejudices and survivals. Of course, at times, faced by the various alternatives such a broad movement may encounter in its struggle, one may have to "clench one's teeth" to deny the enemy ammunition. Lenin demonstrated in practice the necessity of educating the proletariat and the whole people, not just by glorifying tactical successes, but by devoted struggle, pointing out to the masses the most difficult issues, in which class interests are at stake. By the logic of those interests, going "against the current" is not necessarily a sign of stubbornness or dogmatism. On the contrary, in some circumstances it may be a sign of strength, presence of mind and revolutionary spirit—as has been amply demonstrated in practice.

Classics of Marxism-Leninism on the Role of Theory

It is hard to imagine a movement like ours, dedicated as it is to fundamental change, being able to achieve its goal while lagging in theory.

One frequently recalls a remark by Engels in an article in connection with an anniversary of the German labour movement, quoted by Lenin in his **What Is To Be Done?**: "It must be said to the credit of the German workers that they have exploited the advantages of their situation with rare understanding. For the first time since a workers' movement has existed, the struggle is being conducted pursuant to its three sides—the theoretical, the political, and the practical-economic (resistance to the capitalists)—in harmony and in its interconnections, and in a systematic way. It is precisely in this, as it were, concentric attack that the strength and invincibility of the German movement lies" (**Collected Works**, Vol. 5, p. 372). Engels's "Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Programme of 1891" is in a similar vein: "In the long run such a policy (idealisation of the 'peaceful way' in the conditions of Germany in 1891—F.R.) can only lead one's own Party astray. They push general, ab-

stract political questions into the foreground, thereby concealing the immediate concrete questions, which at the moment of the first great events, the first political crisis, automatically pose themselves What can result from this except that at the decisive moment the Party suddenly proves helpless and that uncertainty and discord on the most decisive issues reign in it because these issues have never been discussed?"[6]

Engels is scrupulously concerned that the party and its leaders always kept in mind the interests of the revolution, the revolutionary class. One could recall his extremely original analysis of the actions of the legendary revolutionary Thomas Munzer as head of the Muhlhausen "eternal council". What does Engels say, addressing himself to the future and forewarning revolutionaries? Analysing the correlation of the social forces of the time, he shows that neither the social conditions nor the class Munzer represented had matured, concluding that Munzer "is compelled to represent not his party or his class, but the class for whose domination the movement is then ripe. **In the interests of the movement is compelled to advance the interests of an alien class, and to feed his own class with phrases and promises, and with the asseveration that the interests of that alien class are their own interests. Whoever is put into this awkward position is irrevocably lost**"[7] (my emphasis.—**E.R.**).

The question here is not one of possible analogies. He who reads this text and goes beyond detecting the likeness with classical opportunism will observe that the prime idea is that we should always, in all conditions, be guided by the class approach. What Munzer could not avoid in 1525 the Germans could have avoided in Erfurt in 1891. Thinking things over in the light of dialectical materialism is instructive and essential, so that in judging our good intentions we remember "whom they serve".

The quotations above lead up as it were to what Lenin wrote in **What Is To Be Done?** in substantiating his simple, and now classical statement regarding proletarian and bourgeois ideology: "The only choice is—either bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course (for mankind has not created a 'third' ideology, and, moreover, in a society torn by class antagonisms there can never be a non-class or above-class ideology). Hence, to belittle the socialist ideology **in any way, to turn aside from it in the slightest degree** means to strengthen bourgeois ideology" (**Coll. Works**, Vol. 5, p. 384)

[6] F. Engels, "A Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Programme of 1891", in K. Marx F. Engels, *Selected Works*. Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970, Vol. 3, p. 434

[7] F. Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1956, p. 139.

It can be claimed that today the struggle is not against the old "economists" or the "cult of spontaneity"—today such concepts smack of political primitivism. Nevertheless, it is obvious that Lenin's assertion is of a universal character, and as such is as relevant as ever. In his same work, a few pages earlier, Lenin writes: "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement." He shows that "precisely the very recent past was marked by a revival of non-Social-Democratic revolutionary trends," and goes on to remark, "Under these circumstances, what at first sight appears to be an 'unimportant' error may lead to most deplorable consequences, and only short-sighted people can consider factional disputes and a strict differentiation between shades of opinion inopportune or superfluous. The fate of Russian Social-Democracy for very many years to come may depend on the strengthening of one or the other 'shade'" (op. cit., pp. 369-370).

It might be said that today this does not apply wholly or in the same sense as Lenin had implied, that much time has passed since then, and we have accumulated much experience. That is so, but our current commitments are much broader, and sometimes more dramatic, which is why whatever Engels or Lenin said and did in similar circumstances is as relevant as ever. The problem is the same one in whatever circumstances. It is obvious that in laying down party principles and consequent modes of action at any given moment, neither of these great tacticians, equipped with a dialectical, universal understanding of the vicissitudes of any revolution (its successes, setbacks, alliances, necessary compromises, etc.) made any concessions. More, they warned against the dangers of "serving an alien class" or strengthening bourgeois ideology. We must also heed these statements with full understanding for revolutionary practice confirms the importance of their conclusions and fills them with new, living content, thereby giving them new strength.

Although present-day issues differ from those involved in the quotations above, it is worth reflecting on positions which—if analysed objectively, irrespective of the goals they pursue—may, because of national narrow-mindedness, an idyllic view of world developments, insufficient self-criticism, or all three together, aid and abet the destructive actions of the class enemy, providing him with new advantages.

The possibility is obviously maturing for a collective understanding of inestimable historical importance. And this is well within the capability of the communist movement at this stage of world development.

The Scientific and Technological Revolution and the Competition Between the Two Systems

The symposium, which was held in Prague, was sponsored by *World Marxist Review*. It was attended by: Professor *Toncho Trendafilov*, D. Econ., head of Political Economy Department, Institute of Modern Social Theories, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, and *Stefan Stoyanov*, instructor at International Department, CC, Bulgarian Communist Party; *Kvetoslav Roubal*, Cand. Econ., deputy director, Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and *Marie* [illegible] Propaganda Department of the CC CPC; Professor *Harry Nick*, D.Econ., head of group at the Institute of Social Sciences, CC, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and Professor *Harry Maier*, D.Econ., deputy director, Institute of Economic [illegible], GDR Academy of Sciences; *Tibor Halay*, Cand. Econ., deputy director, Institute of Social Sciences, CC, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and *Laszlo Agoston* [illegible] Phil., department head of the institute; *Badam Lhamsuren*, D.Hist., member of CC, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party; Professor *Tadeusz Janaszewski*, member of CC, Polish United Workers' Party, deputy director, CC Institute of Fundamental Problems of Marxism-Leninism, and research associates of the institute *Dr* [illegible] *mienicki* and *Dr. Stefan Opara*; Professor *Ovidiu Trasnea*, corresponding member, Rumanian Academy of Sciences, head of scientific socialism department, University of Bucharest; *Semyon Mikulinsky*, corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences, director, Institute of the History of Natural Science and Technology, USSR Academy of Sciences, and Professor *Ivan Frolov*, D.Phil., Editor-in-Chief of *Voprosy Filosofii* (Questions of Philosophy) magazine; as well as by representatives of fraternal [illegible] on the Editorial Council of *World Marxist Review*.

Below follows a recapitulation of the main points made in the discussion.

The symposium concentrated on the following aspects of the subject: essence and significance of the scientific and technological revolution at the present stage in the competition between the two systems; specific analysis of its impact on the competition between socialism and capitalism in the economic, political, cultural and moral spheres.

World Marxist Review, said the journal's managing editor *V. Shundeev*

in his introductory address, clearly realises the importance of providing Marxist-Leninist analyses of the issues involved in the scientific and technological revolution for all fraternal parties, which is why it strives never to lose sight of the problem.

World developments of the last few years have introduced many new elements into the confrontation between the two social systems. Revolutionary change is extending to ever broader fields; social and economic change involves more and more millions of people. These changes are varied indeed; some are associated with the deepening of the world revolutionary process, some with the unparalleled achievements of the peace forces, some with the broad realisation of the inexorable character of the laws of social development. A problem of tremendous interest is the place processes associated with the scientific and technological revolution occupy in these global transformations. The manifestations of these processes are different in different social systems. What, in this context, are their positive or negative effects on the positions of the sides in the historic competition? How do they affect specific spheres of that competition, especially in the light of Lenin's premise that socialism would influence world development mainly in the economic field?

In our dynamic times life continuously faces science with problems that had not existed in the earlier stages of the technological revolution or had been of minor importance. In the socialist countries national socio-economic programmes are being drawn up for the next five years, as well as internationally within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). These programmes will unquestionably have to reckon with new dimensions in the scientific and technological revolution and, evidently, with new problems.

Great changes have taken place in the capitalist world. The atmosphere of bustling business and economic boom has given way to an all-round crisis. Capital strives to place the burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the working people, which causes discontent and is contributing to a new upsurge in the revolutionary movement. Lenin once noted of monopoly capitalism that "the extremely rapid rate of technical progress gives rise to increasing elements of disparity between the various spheres of national economy, to anarchy and crises" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 209). Many questions arise of how the rate and scale of the scientific and technological revolution affect the current and general crisis in capitalist countries.

Problems of scientific and technological progress are especially pertinent to the development of international cooperation and the materialisation of detente.

Imperialism, as we all know, strives to make up for the weakening of its economic and political positions by ideological attacks against Marxism-Leninism and the practice of socialist construction. This is the special task

of scores of corporations, research and university centres in the United States and Western Europe. We cannot restrict ourselves merely to exposing their new "theories" and concepts or treat them as simply symptoms of the agony of bourgeois science. Great importance attaches to a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the realities of capitalism, and the need to advance and deepen our views on the development of the scientific and technological revolution in different conditions and its social and economic consequences.

All these problems, Shundeyev stressed, are studied by Communists working on different sectors of the general front in the confrontation and competition of the two opposite systems.

New Stage

The scientific and technological revolution has been going on for a quarter of a century, but its biggest achievements still lie ahead. It will continue throughout the scientifically foreseeable future. Exceedingly important today is the question of the ways in which the scientific and technoolgical revolution affects the basic content of our epoch—the transition from capitalism to socialism—and an analysis of the nature, trends and role of this revolution in social progress.

The new discussion represents a continuation of previous ones,[1] *Mikulinsky* noted, and in a way sums them up. It is appropriate to recall that only a few years ago the scientific and technological revolution was often reduced to discoveries in nuclear physics and energy, cybernetics, chemistry, etc. But by now it is widely, if not universally, recognised that the scientific and technological revolution is not made up of individual breakthroughs, however remarkable; it consists in a radical change in the productive forces on the basis of the transformation of science into a prime factor of social production. This idea was supported by *Karoly Lipkovics*, representative of the HSWP on *WMR*. The scientific and technological revolution, he said, is transforming the totality of the productive forces and as such is a new form of their development.

The features and processes of the scientific and technological revolution can be observed to varying degrees in different countries. There is the rapid development of science,[2] there is the merger of science and industry, and

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[1] Questions of the scientific and technological revolution were discussed at an international symposium in Berlin, in 1972 (see "Problems of Theory and Practice of Present-Day Socialism". Peace and Socialism Publishers, Prague, 1973), as well as in a series of PPS articles (May, June, September, October 1975).

[2] As *Frolov* noted in his contribution, one-half of all of mankind's [illegible] research were acquired in the last 15 years, 90 per cent of all the scientists who ever lived are our contemporaries, the amount of knowledge in science as a whole doubles every ten years, and every five years in biology, every [illegible], and every eighteen months in nuclear physics and space research.

the transformation of science—as Marx predicted—into "a direct productive force". There are also the typical changes taking place in the structure of labour, in skills, in factors affecting the environment, in human contacts, in the ways and means of management and administration, etc.

On the other hand, the international character of the scientific and technological revolution does not at all mean that it follows the same pattern as everywhere or develops through laws of its own, capable of subordinating the socio-economic regularities governing the development of the various systems. As *Frolov* pointed out, despite the existence of many common features and processes, there is also apparent the existence of specific features, even opposite developments, in the two systems. That, of course, should not be interpreted as implying the existence of two scientific and technological revolutions, one "capitalist", the other "socialist". There is only one scientific and technological revolution. Its essence everywhere, as *Nick* pointed out, is the explosive development of the productive forces; its universality is manifested in the uniqueness of the requirements essential for the continued development of those productive forces. Such, for example, is the requirement of coordination on a societal scale, of planned utilisation of the tremendous material productive forces bred by the technological revolution; such is the requirement of creative, concerned, businesslike attitude towards the labour effort on the part of all participants in the production process. These requirements show that there is a wide gap between the possibilities for meeting them under capitalism and under socialism.

Agoston, Halay and Trasnea examined in detail the factors contributing to the advantages of socialism: public ownership of the means of production, planned development as a law of socialist economy, absence of social barriers to the application of the achievements of science and technology both within each socialist country and within the framework of the community, elimination of class and other privileges in education and science. The speakers agreed that in socialist society the requirements of the scientific and technological revolution coincide with internal trends and requirements of the system, facilitating the advance of socialism, whereas capitalism is incapable of meeting the requirements of the STR on the social plane, and is sinking deeper and deeper into irresolvable contradictions.

Thus, the scientific and technological revolution cannot rise "above" the general laws of social and economic development, or subordinate them. It takes place wholly within the framework, and under the influence of, those laws. The STR does not eliminate the competition between the two systems. But it does usher in a new stage in that competition and becomes a prime battleground in the confrontation between them.

The actions of the sides involved in this competition, it was noted, are

determined by the different objectives they set themselves and the diametrically opposite socio-economic tasks they have to solve. Socialism sets itself the objective of combining the newest achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of its system and thereby accelerating social development. Capitalism strives to use scientific and technological progress to overcome or mitigate its organic flaws and delay its end. Nor is the difference reduced to subjective opposition of the aims set. *The fact that the technological revolution is incapable of either halting or altering the trends of historical development does not mean that it is "socially neutral", a kind of "20th-century goldstrike", with the competition between the two systems reduced to rivalry for success in working it.*

The scientific and technological revolution, said Trendafilov, does not immediately affect the socio-economic relations. But indirectly it wields a powerful influence on the life of society as a whole. It can be understood only on the basis of a scientific analysis of the mechanism through which the revolutionary changes in the material and technical basis are extended to the system of production relations and affect the entire socio-economic structure. By promoting progress in socialist social relations and their gradual transformation into communist relations, on the one hand, and, on the other, aggravating the contradictions of capitalism impeding it and preparing the replacement of the capitalist relations of production by socialist relations, the scientific and technological revolution is acting as a new and powerful revolutionising factor on a worldwide scale. It contributes to the continued change in the correlation of forces in the competition of the two world systems in favour of socialism. The industrial revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries, *Maier* said, was decisive for the victory of the capitalist mode of production over feudalism and small-commodity production, whereas today's scientific and technological revolution provides conditions for the working class to accomplish its historic mission for the revolutionary replacement of capitalism by socialism, and for creating the productive forces of the communist system.

This conclusion drawn by Marxist-Leninist science is, the speakers stressed, highly important for an analysis of the nature, essence and significance of the scientific and technological revolution. It meets with a ready response in the consciousness of the masses, inspires them in the class struggle and is therefore especially hostile and obnoxious to bourgeois ideology. Spokesmen for the latter spare no effort to oppose the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the scientific and technological revolution with their own views serving the interests of capitalism.

The scientific and technological revolution is thus also an arena of implacable struggle of the two ideologies.

Bourgeois ideology, it was emphasised, attunes itself as if were to the "age of scientific and technological revolution". The conveyer-belt produc-

tion of theories and their rapid succession pursues, among other things, the objective of keeping the consumer from grasping the true value of the latest product, a manoeuvre which, it must be conceded, still pays off for bourgeois propaganda.

Not so long ago optimistic notes prevailed in bourgeois interpretations of the scientific and technological revolution. Many ideologists claimed that conditions of the latter half of the 20th century are more favourable to capitalism than at any other time in its history. But as soon as conditions changed dark forebodings began to predominate. In their second report on world developments the members of the Club of Rome write, for example, that humanity is at the crossroads in its historical development, and hence it is extremely important not to overlook the possibility of a catastrophe, but to anticipate it with an intensive search for possible alternatives.

This search, which in the final analysis is indicative of a paucity of fundamental ideas capable of standing the test of time, breeds a multitude of different views and contradictory assessments of the scientific and technological revolution.[3] As one can easily observe, *Trendafilov* pointed out, common to all such theories is their explicit anti-Marxism. They reject the prospects of socialist development and the Marxist-Leninist theory of classes and class struggle, dictatorship of the proletariat, and the natural evolution of society towards socialism and communism.

There can be no doubt, Trendafilov continued, that capitalism's continued adaptation to the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution will produce new ideological speculation, in particular a possible strengthening of the positions of the so-called third way ideology, especially in European capitalist countries. At the request of *M. Rossi*, representative of the Italian Communist Party, Trendafilov dwelt on this in greater detail. The "third way" slogan, he said, is a camouflage for present-day revisionists and opportunists who criticise capitalism but also reject the existing socialism. In effect, they would have the masses accept a "modernised" capitalism. In this connection it is especially important to expose the views of bourgeois ideologists and resolutely draw the line at opportunism and revisionism.

Summing up the discussion, the participants came to the unanimous conclusions that:

— The scientific and technological revolution is essentially a revolution

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[3] *Agoston, Kamjeniecki, Roubal and Trasnea* examined and demonstrated the insolvency of such concepts as Daniel Bell's "post-industrial society" or Zbigniew Brzezinski's "technotronic age" claiming that the STR will result in "convergence" of the two systems; the technocratic views of H. Schelsky, K. Steinbuch and other bourgeois ideologues.

in the productive forces. Although it does not change the basic content of our epoch, which was and remains transition from capitalism to socialism the scientific and technological revolution has introduced a new stage of the competition between the two systems, of which it is an important sector;

— The Marxist-Leninist understanding of the nature and significance of the scientific and technological revolution as a new revolutionising factor is of tremendous political and ideological importance and pursues the positive objective of deeply investigating the objective laws of historical development and spreading scientific knowledge among the masses to help them correctly to take their bearings in the class struggles of the epoch of history's advance towards socialism and communism.

The Competition In the Mirror of Economics

The fact that the prospects of socialist development are fully in harmony with the inner tendencies of the scientific and technological revolution, while the realities of capitalism clash with them, does not mean that the STR guarantees any one party easy victories in the competition of the two systems or dooms the opposing system to one endless streak of bad luck. Life is much more complex than that. The dominant laws and trends make their way through a maze of diverse, contradictory concrete historical circumstances.

The economic competition between socialism and capitalism began long before the scientific and technological revolution. By the time it commenced, capitalism had attained maturity and had the needed material and technical basis. Economically imperialism still had vast potentialities. Moreover, the beginning of the scientific and technological revolution made ideologues of capitalism hopeful of stabilisation, revitalisation and progress of the system.

How justified were those hopes?

It would be quite erroneous, *Trendafilov* noted, to assume that monopoly capitalism does not use the scientific and technological revolution to strengthen its positions. The STR extends the possibilities of state-monopoly regulation and facilitates the programming of economic life and its monopolistic control, thus opening up new spheres for the profitable investment of capital. It facilitates the process of the cosmopolitanisation of capital and stimulates the activity and development of transnational corporations. One could say that the scientific and technological revolution imparts a certain dynamism to the capitalist economy, but in the final analysis this leads to the further aggravation of the internal contradictions of the bourgeois system.

Neither the multinationals nor the state-monopoly mechanism are capable of ensuring continued development of the productive forces in the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution. They are incapable of preventing the economic crises and other evils inherent in the capitalist economy. Unemployment, soaring prices and inflation, the unbridgeable gap between poverty and wealth—none of these, all speakers stressed, can be cured by the technological revolution. Events of the third quarter of the 20th century have demonstrated beyond all doubt that the technological revolution in no way alters the essence of the capitalist system and the way of life in which a handful of owners of the means of production appropriate the lion's share of the produce of labour, while the masses of the exploited live solely by the sale of their labour, provided the demand for it is there.

Progress based on maximum profit, *G. Kwiatowski,* representative of the German Communist Party, said, entails a variety of consequences detrimental to the working class and all working people. The employers achieve appreciable gains in labour productivity, whereas more and more workers and employees lose their jobs or are forced to work shorter hours.[4] Extensive introduction of scientific and technological innovations also plays an important part in the activities of the government and monopolies of Canada, *Mel Doig,* representative of the Communist Party of Canada, pointed out. But of what good has this been to the workers? In the last 10 years the work force increased by 40 per cent, the national income more than doubled, but the working people's share in it declined from 67.8 to 64.2 per cent.

Within the framework of international cooperation the socialist countries have also begun placing orders with capitalist enterprises. Their socio-economic consequences are varied. On the other hand, orders support production, prevent redundancies and benefit the workers. On the other, the empoyers too stand to gain. Which of these two consequences should dominate?

Doig, Kwiatowski and Rossi pointed out that in their countries the Communists and the workers welcome and uphold the policy of peaceful cooperation and promoting business contacts with the socialist countries with

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[4] Kwaitowski cited a number of examples. Thus, Ettker, a multinational concern with some 150 subsidiaries, announced a 4 per cent cut in personnel and 6.7 per cent increase in turnover. A steel plant in Krefeld reduced its work force by 12 per cent while productivity per worker went up 75 per cent between 1971 and 1974. Siemens announced the closure of two factories in the Saar, leaving 650 persons without jobs, although the factories were financed from tax revenues and a month before an increase in investment and profit had been announced. How does this square with monopoly claims that higher investment and profit guarantee the workers jobs and better living standards? Kwiatowski asked.

their stable markets, reliable supplies and stable currencies. Such ties the workers fight inflation, unemployment and production cutbacks. esimated that in the FRG orders from the socialist countries prov 200,000 jobs in 1974, quite a figure for a country with one million employed. Of course, the employers use the orders to get richer, but socially unjust distribution of wealth does not derive from internat exchange: it is inherent in capitalism, and a key issue of the class stru

The economic domination of a few monopolies aggravates the an nism between the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people the financial oligarchy, as it does the contradiction between the social racter of the productive forces and the private mode of their utilisa between the capitalist free-for-all and the objective need for planning velopment. The monopoly bourgeoisie is being dragged against its will a state of affairs which Lenin defined as transitional from complete competition to complete socialisation (See Vol. 22, p. 205). capitalism is incapable of ensuring complete socialisation of the m of production or complete planning, just as it cannot change its na The capitalist system is becoming increasingly vulnerable and unst Graphic testimony of that, it was stressed at the symposium, are the netary, fuel and energy, and general economic crisis.

Socialism began its economic competition with capitalism in the unfavourable conditions. At the time of its political birth (speakers phasised) socialism was still a very long way from acquiring an adeq material and technical base. In fact, in a number of countries it ha begin by introducing wider use of machines.

The transition to socialism in countries with relatively underdevel productive forces, *Opara* remarked, strongly influenced the stages of nomic development. Unlike bourgeois revolutions, which adapted the su structure to a more or less formed economic basis, the formation of economic and material-technical basis of socialism became a major accomplished only after the socialist revolution and moreover "on march", so to say, in the process of buiding socialism. In the word Lenin, the economic edifice was erected in the course of the work, " moreover in a situation of desperate struggle and frenzied resistance the exploiters" (Vol. 27, p. 409).

The advantages of socialism enabled the socialist countries to overc economic backwardness in a historically brief span. In their contributi *Lhamsuren, Mikulinsky and Halay* cited data testifying to the steady stable economic development and the results attained by fraternal c tries. The question which of the two systems makes for faster econ growth has been decided long ago in favour of socialism. Not said. cialism's superiority is especially evident if we compare the height

dynamics of the economic and scientific potential of the CMEA and EEC countries.

In the early 60s, *Roubal* noted, sophisticated machine-industry became the common material basis of the two world systems But whereas for capitalism this, objectively, is the closing chapter, for socialism it is the starting point for new stages in economic development. The socialist countries are using the achievements of the technological revolution to build—with differing time intervals—the material and technical basis for developed socialist society and for the gradual construction of the material and technical basis of communism.

In the socialist countries the present stage of the economic competition is characterised by a sharp turn towards higher effectiveness of social production, expanded reproduction of the intensive type, more efficient, scientific-based economic organisation and management with the use of new techniques and technology. This is attended by accelerating improvement in living standards and fuller satisfaction of the people's rising requirements. The socialist countries' continued successes, it was pointed out, are measurable in the results of the five-year development plans for 1971-75.

Bourgeois propaganda has sought to discredit the high and stable growth rates in the socialist countries. One of its arguments is—of all things—the present crisis in the capitalist countires; it has become all but a daily feature in the Western press. There is, for instance, the allegation that socialism is "going through an import stalemate" and is therefore interested in the West extricating itself from the crisis. Another, diametrically opposite, argument is that socialism "profits" from the crisis in the West and that explains its interest in boosting trade and economic exchange with the capitalist countries. The motivation behind such statements, based entirely on reliberately "slanted" data, is outright anti-communism.

Business contacts are the very opposite of self-isolation. Of course, they are bound to have repercussions due to world price movements and other concrete factors. They can affect business relations, but cannot give the capitalist economy overall influence on the socialist. It should not be difficult to prove, *Shundeyev* remarked, that the socialist economy is developing in accordance with its own plans, and these are not dependent on the vicissitudes of the capitalist economy That is eloquently confirmed by the generally known statistics of economic growth in the socialist countries in times of crisis in the capitalist world.

Of course, capitalism would like nothing better than to exploit international cooperation to "ideologise" economic relations with the socialist countries. And attempts in this direction, it was emphasised, will be intensified and directed primarily against closer ties and integration within the socialist community. For it is precisely integration, the planned fusion of

economic complexes, that is a powerful means of advancing the technological revolution and strengthening socialism's positions.*

The socialist type of relations between states maximises the economic effect of international cooperation, enabling all the partners to tackle and solve technological problems which they could not solve single-handed. This applies, among others, to nuclear power, raw materials and environmental protection.

Scientific and technological progress under socialism (speakers pointed out) should not be seen as a smooth, conflict-free process. It has its difficulties, and temporary negative effects. Some are of an objective character, for concrete, historically-formed factors may compel socialist countries to compress into one the successive stages of industrialisation and the subsequent restructuring to keep abreast of the technological revolution. This can lead to temporary complications. In other instances, undesirable side effects are due to the relativity of our knowledge: decisions based on results that are known to be positive can later produce unforeseen effects. Lastly, subjective mistakes make themselves felt in concrete technical decisions, and in this age of the technological revolution no one is insured against that.

This thought was amplified by *Nick*, who stressed, however, that socialism is fundamentally superior to capitalism is being able to resolve problems and contradictions on its own socio-economic basis, in finding solutions that strengthen socialism and its progressive role.

Speakers emphasised that:

—for all its adaptability to changing conditions, capitalism cannot make the technological revolution stabilise its economy and cure it of all its inherent maladies; it uses the achievements of science and technology to further the interests of state-monopoly capital, increase exploitation of the working people and the dependence of the developing countries.

—Progress in science and technology under socialism leads to an uninterrupted rise in material and cultural standards; the technological revolution is the condition for, and means of, shaping the material and technical basis of developed socialism and communism.

Politics in the Age of the Technological Revolution

The technological revolution has made nonsense of the old "liberal" thesis that politics and science are independent of each other and has demonstrated the need for a new pattern of relationships between the two. Science provides new instruments, both methodological and technical, for policy-making (for instance, automated systems for collecting and processing information). But are the objective opportunities for using science in

[...] policy the same under capitalism and socialism? Or, in other words: does science provide effective support for every policy?

The impact of the technological revolution on the internal policy of capitalist countries is reflected in the changing pattern of their economies. Concentration of production gives the state a bigger role as spokesman for the capitalists; political power is increasingly concentrated in monopoly capital, which has no desire to share it with anyone.

In this situation, the sociologist and politologist, unlike the engineer or any other "technician", are no longer employed as competent consultants in their particular field, but increasingly become the objects of "prestige consumption" by persons interested in giving their actions of semblance of substantiation and scientific validity. That this has become a political and ideological requisite of present-day capitalism is admitted by bourgeois authors, Trasnea remarked. One of them, the French politologist Burdeau, writes in his "Treatise on Political Science" that decision-making, even in representative democracies, is determined by the position of the contending forces rather than by the intrinsic validity of argument.

This reference to "even in representative democracies" is indicative. It reflected the erosion of democratic procedures and processes in capitalist countries, so characteristic of their political life. The following passage from a book by Jacques Duclos, was cited: "In the imperialist countries, where monopoly capital is steadily and ever more directly increasing its influence on the state apparatus, *the basic trend is towards restricting democratic freedoms and the role of officials elected by the people.* There is a clear tendency to replace elected representatives of the nation by a powerful technocracy which is not accountable to anyone.[5]

Bourgeois sociologists are at pains to prove that the curtailment of political freedoms, restrictions of the prerogatives of the legislative branch in favour of the executive, and the growth of technocratic manipulation of the masses, are all objectively necessary. On the other hand, Jaroszewski said, the crisis of political democracy is being played down, while "industrial democracy" is being played up, with much made of experiments supposed to give the worker a share in "joining management", "partnership", harmony of the "interests of co-owners", and more in the same vein.

The facts tell a different story. And citing facts from the Federal Republic of Germany, *Kwiatowski* showed that "participation" in management does not change the worker's social status, nor prevent the monopolies from continuing their profit-growth policy. The German Communist Party has countered this with the demand that the workers be allowed free access to all records, plans, investment data, etc., that they are given more rights at every level, from enterprise to government, that key branches of the eco-

[5] J. Duclos, *L'avenir de la democratie*. Paris, Editions sociales, 1962, p. 165.

nomy be socialised and placed under democratic control. The Communist Party emphasises that a fundamental change in the alignment of political forces in favour of the working class and full realisation of all the potentialities of the technological revolution are possible only with the transition to socialism.

Scientific and technological progress, *Agoston* said, is revolutionising capitalist reality. The misuse of science and technology under capitalism is prompting people to reflect on the reactionary policies of the monopolies and is stimulating the masses to political action, revolutionary criticism of capitalism and promoting the understanding that the replacement of capitalism by socialism is inevitable and should be fought for.

Mikulinsky was asked to what extent the scientific and technical intelligentsia can be an ally of the working people in this struggle. Such an alliance, he replied, was a distinct possibility. That is evident, for instance, from the history of the October Revolution in Russia. When the Soviet Union blazed the trail to socialism, the far-seeing policy of the Communist Party led by Lenin made it possible to enlist the active cooperation of the main body of intellectuals and scientists, including some of Russia's greatest. More recently, meaningful experience in forming an alliance with the intelltctuals has been accumulated by the Communist parties in France, Italy and other capitalist countries.

Needless to say, the political effect of the technological revolution in capitalist countries cannot be interpreted as a "spontaneous impetus" to the revolutionary movement. The decisive role in the mass struggle against capitalism, *Rossi* stressed, still belongs to the working-class vanguard, the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties, which alone can correctly orient the masses in complicated political situations, give them leadership and carry the movement to victory. The technological revolution does not repeal this or any other of the fundamental laws governing the transition from capitalism to socialism, though it does create new conditions and new opportunities for that transition. In the view of *Oparu*, the fact that capitalism, using the achievements of the technological revolution, can build the material and technical basis needed for socialism, even for developed socialism, is an especially favourable factor.

The foreign policy of capitalist countries, *Kamieniecki* and *Tsamea* remarked, the policy of imperialism as a system, remains reactionary and aggressive, seeking to exploit the achievements of the technological revolution for militarist aims for the subjugation of other nations, for expansion and neocolonialist aggrandisement.

It is no accident, *Lipkovics* said, that in the capitalist world the scientific and technological revolution began in the armaments industry. Even now with detente, more than two-thirds of all appropriations for science and

research go into military projects. Suffice it to say that US military spending in 1975 topped $100 billion.

The gains of the movement for peace and democracy, the healthier international climate and expanding international technical and economic cooperation have compelled imperialism to adapt to the new situation. It is changing the forms of its policy. This is clearly demonstrated in its policy vis-a-vis the developing countries' share in the technological revolution.

It is a fact, *Lhamsuren* said, that developing countries, as a result of age-old backwardness, have to import technical innovations and achievements, a circumstance exploited by the ruling element in the developed capitalist countries. Neocolonialist policy towards Afro-Asian countries is to force their development along capitalist lines, preserve their technical backwardness—in short, keep them objects of imperialist plunder and exploitation. Bourgeois specialists, *Essop Pahad*, representative of the South African Communist Party, said, often claim that at their present development level these countries can use only "intermediate" technology: the introduction of more progressive technology would only aggravate their internal problems. Actually, *Alberto Kohen*, representative of the CP of Argentina, said that policy is meant to strengthen the monopoly stranglehold and turn the developing countries into a dumping ground for obsolete technology.

On the other hand, simply transplanting the new technology to developing countries is not the answer, said *Mikulinsky*. He drew attention to the "green revolution". Much had been written about it and much had been expected of it, often in complete oblivion of the fact that high-grade seed required high-grade agrotechnology which, of course, is quite inaccessible to the peasant working his small plot. Consequently, social policy plays a decisive part in shaping technological policy. The only guarantee that the complex socio-economic problems of developing countries will be adequately solved, *Nick* said, is adoption of the non-capitalist path. And the imperialist policy of neocolonialism, or "technical colonialism", or "technological dependence" is designed to keep the developing countries away from that path.

As for socialism, its organic need of science and a scientifically-grounded policy was repeatedly emphasised by Lenin and is stressed in the documents of the Communist parties of the socialist countries.

The objective possibility of curbing imperialism and preventing a world war is at the very basis of the socialist community's foreign policy of international peace, security and friendship. The socialist countries build their relations and scientific, technological and economic cooperation with other states on the principles of mutual respect, equality and advantage. That aspect was discussed in some detail. Socialism has consistently supported national-liberation movements, is always ready to help developing

countries, always concerned for their national interests and solution of their cardinal problems.

As distinct from the capitalist states, *Lhamsuren* told the symposium, countries of the socialist community conduct their scientific and technological cooperation with developing countries in a way that helps them build a balanced national economic complex, concentrate on projects vital to the economy, industrialise, modernise agriculture, develop their own facilities for fundamental and applied research and designing, and train a national cadre of experts and skilled workers.[6]

There is a growing interest in cooperation of this type, *Haba* declared. My own country, Iraq, he said, has signed a cooperation agreement with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Other developing countries are also interested in wider cooperation, in particular, in connection with the huge accumulations of oil exporters.

The use of this money, *Stoyanov* said, is primarily a domestic issue, but generally speaking, it could do much to facilitate cooperation between socialist and developing nations. *Stoyanov* cited Bulgaria's experience in this field. It is in the interests of the international working class, *Maler* said, to support the developing countries' UN initiative in starting a discussion on the restructuring of the world economy. To capitalist policy we must present our own alternative of using accumulated funds for the socialist future of the developing countries.

Socialism's home policy, speakers stressed, takes account of objective laws, including the law of phased and balanced building of the new society, solution of the national question on the principle of equality and fraternity of the nations, closer relations of classes and social groups to achieve a socially homogeneous society, uninterrupted improvement of material and cultural standards, a larger share for the working people in government, promotion of the initiative and activity of the masses. The technological revolution does not substantially alter the picture, but presents new opportunities, one of which, bearing on the future of socialist democracy, evoked special interest.

The very emergence of the socialist political system was a revolutionary leap, the realisation of popular rule and a genuine democracy for the working people. The need for collective leadership, *Tramea* said, follows from the new status of the citizen of socialist society, who is both producer and

[6] Many facts were cited to show how this policy operates. CMEA countries have long-term stable-cooperation economic agreements with 64 Afro-Asian and Latin American states. All told, CMEA countries have extended low-interest loans of nearly 11 billion roubles and have built or are building nearly [illegible] industrial and other enterprises. More than 100 educational and training centres with an aggregate student body of more than 20,000 have been built with [illegible] from CMEA countries.

wner of all produced values. A uniform policy and organic unity of centralism and democracy, *Kamieniecky* added, are inseparable from the promotion of initiative and creative activity of work collectives, from their progressively wider participation in formulating and implementing political and managerial decisions. All this, in combination, makes for a rational socio-economic policy.

This should not be taken to mean that the political system of socialism emerges, ready made, from proletarian revolution, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter. Socialist democracy develops gradually. And the symposium discussed the new objective prerequisites for this provided by the scientific and technological revolution which are usually played down or distorted by bourgeois ideologists.

To begin with, *Jaroszewski* said, bourgeois technocratic concepts overlook the fact that the scientific and technological revolution reduces working time. The producers get additional leisure, which they can use for self-development and which makes for their greater political activeness. In other words, the scientific and technological revolution helps eliminate two obstacles to the producers' direct and competent participation in political life, namely, shortage of free time and shortage of knowledge. Besides, it alters the "tools" of administration. Computers and auomated control systems simplify most procedures, leading to a reduction of administrative staffs and paving the way for a gradual transfer in appropriate social conditions of administrative functions from state to public organs.

However, *Trasneu* stressed, Marxists cannot ignore the fact that, though it creates new political levers and opportunities, the STR also creates new problems. Here is an example: the changes in administration tend to deepen the division of labour between managers and managed, reviving the tendency towards formalism and bureaucracy. Society must consequently guard and promote socialist democracy, assuring both improvement of the state apparatus and invigoration of the trade unions and other public organisations. This complicated dialectical process is guided politically by the Marxist-Leninist parties.

Of late, it was pointed out, bourgeois propaganda, the mass media, have been heaping malice on socialist democracy. They stop at nothing to vilify the socialist way of life and to distort the picture of political rights and freedoms in the new world. But this slander cannot alter the fact that democracy and freedom are class concepts. Under capitalism they stand for "freedom" to exploit the masses, "freedom" from equality, justice and job security. Socialist democracy is in essence the true democracy of people who are building their future in freedom.

Doig asked about the growth of socialist democracy as a direct result of scientific and technical innovations. As in other capitalist countries, he

said, the workers in Canada have no decisive say in projected changes of technniques and technology, though these usually lead to a further intensification of labour and cause layoffs. Do workers in enterprises have a say in technical progress?

All technical plans and policy trends, participants from socialist countries replied, are first discussed on the shopfloor. In Soviet factories, Party and trade union branches exercise direct control over the administration. In a number of socialist countries there are permanent workers' production conferences. Polish enterprises, for example, have workers' control conferences, and in the German Democratic Republic the personnel participates in elaborating scientific-technical projects. This means that ideas and projects are put before the workers, who are expected to pass judgment on them.

Under socialism, participants pointed out, the consistently implemented principle of democratic centralism rules out a clash between professionalism and mass participation. Scientific substantiation of policy and greater democracy in the choice and implementation of solutions, *Roubal* said, are crucial elements of political development. But they are not parallel, and will converge in the communist future.

The discussion led to the unanimous conclusion that

—though the scientific and technological revolution gives capitalism certain new means and opportunities for political manoeuvring, it leads ultimately to bureaucratisation and technocratisation of power, widens the chasm between capitalist policy and the interests of the masses, and brings closer a revolutionary solution of this contradiction;

—Whereas under the socialist system the STR facilitates full achievement of political ideals and goals, socialist policy wins world-wide prestige, and increasingly determines world development.

Man is the Supreme Problem

In the course of the discussion, participants turned again and again to the historic destiny of man. The more deeply we probe into the problems of the scientific and technological revolution, said *Frolov*, the clearer it is that its most essential and basic aspect, an aspect that compounds all the other aspects, is the question of extending the sphere of freedom and of elevating and developing the individual. This is a most important and global philosophical problem. Our Marxist convictions oblige us to give it special attention, for it is the most crucial theme in the analysis of the scientific and technological revolution.

Marxist-Leninist humanism has nothing in common with the utopian and unrealistic, albeit sincere, wish of bestowing vague and abstract bounties upon the human race. Marxism-Leninism gives the concepts of freedom and

personality a specific meaning: freedom from exploitation; social equality; an end to the alienation of the individual in production and society; communist ethics and morality; free development, and full play for man's faculties and creative potential. The solution of the problem is conceived in the concrete historical perspective. So, the scientific and technological revolution plays a special role. For the first time in history, the symposium noted, the STR creates the technical resources for a long-term solution of the problem of the individual. But the relationship to this perspective of the competing systems is different.

The capitalist mode of production, *Roubal* said, opposed physical to mental labour. It gave science the form of an extraneous force embodied in capital and hostile to the masses. The formerly free artisan was replaced by the wage labourer and skilled labour was reduced to simple mechanical operations out of tune with the workers' inclinations and abilities, making them an appendage of the machine. But, as Norbert Wiener was quoted as saying, "if man is restricted and doomed to endlessly performing the same functions, he will not even be an effective ant, let alone an effective individual. Those who want to organise us so that every individual performs one and the same function all the time, are condemning the human race to just half the possible progress."[7]

The scientific and technological revolution generates other tendencies, *Maier* stressed. Its fullest expression is comprehensive automation. It creates systems which achieve the aims of production without direct human intervention. This is gradually liberating man from unskilled and mechanical operations, placing him in creative control of processes, and shifting his activity to spheres more directly related to the development of the personality—science, education, health, the arts, etc. In short, *Roubal* added, the social consequences of the scientific and technological revolution are essentially a complex and drawn-out change in the character, functions and role of labour. This lies at the root of all the other changes.

To what extent can these tendencies be realised in capitalist conditions, and can they serve the ultimate liberation and development of the personality in the capitalist framework?

The question of liberating man, *Opara* said, should be treated at several levels. The highest is the producers' relation to the means of production and the products of labour. Since alienation from both is a necessary condition of the capitalist system, no liberation is possible there at this highest level despite all the changes wrought by the scientific and technological revolution. To overcome the obstacles means to overcome capitalism itself.

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[7] N. Wiener, *Cybernetics and Society*.

However, *Opara* added, the "lower" levels of the solution should not be ignored. Though the individual is not liberated in the highest sense of the word, there is a "lesser humanisation of labour", that is, better arrangements at the work bench, improvement of working conditions and safety, removal of excessive psychological and physical stresses, and the like. Using the latest achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, the capitalist system has made some strides in this respect, which it would be useful to study, for certain of the positive elements could be applied in socialist practice.

Jaroszewski stressed, however, that this "lesser humanisation" and other "social and psycho-technical" steps do not go beyond the point where they would begin affecting the capitalists' basic interests. On the face of it they are based on scientific analysis of the human personality, its properties and needs, though in actual practice they are not intended to extend the freedom of workers, but to manipulate them by more refined and more "effective" methods. This conclusion was backed by *Doig's* observations of capitalist practices. He referred, in particular, to cases where workers are allowed to "regulate" their own labour—to work four instead of five days a week, for example, but for a daily ten instead of eight hours. This and similar "extensions of freedom" are, in the final analysis, only impulses towards self-exploitation. Though they may create illusions among some people, these do not last.

The scientific and technological revolution is not able to alter capitalism's basic anti-humanitarian essence, the capitalists' treatment of human beings as a means of bringing capital into motion and assuring its accumulation. This treatment extends from production to other spheres.

The epoch of the scientific and technological revolution increases the need for more knowledge and a broader outlook, for general and specialised education. And capitalism is compelled to reckon with this. However, *Maier* said, capitalists give precedence to the cynical utilitarian approach ("how many and what type of people will be necessary in future"). The accent is laid on "adapting" people to unquestioning service. Recently, a US Senate committee established, for example, that some schools in the United States subject up to 30 per cent of their pupils to "pill treatment" for this purpose. Elaborating, *Frolov* pointed out that when used in the service of capital the latest means of influencing psychology and genetics are not only potentially hazardous, but actually dangerous. They endanger human culture. Man's ideals are reduced to a "consumer" or "pop" culture, with spiritual values pushed out by pornography and violence.

Even capitalist ideologues are alarmed over man's future. Western literature, *Frolov* continued, is in the midst of an "anthropological boom". It is literally teeming with pessimistic judgments of the present and future, maintaining that man is not the most "fortunate" of nature's creations and

that progress is "spoiling" the human race. The authors of the second Roman Club report, gave it this epigraph: "The world is invaded by cancer, and this cancer is in man." The cause of this anti-humanism, *Maier* said, is often ascribed to the technological revolution. But this is not true. Capitalist relations are becoming too narrow for real progress and for solving all man's problems. The sharpening of capitalism's basic contradictions has materialised not only in economic and political crises, but also in social demoralisation, in increasing anti-humanism, in inability to use man's better qualities and gifts.

This means, *Agoston* said, that in the conditions of the scientific revolution and to the extent to which its achievements govern the life of society, there is a growing objective need to replace capitalist social relations with relations of a new type, under which the producer is a free individual.

By socialising the basic means of production, removing exploitation and eliminating labour-capital relations, socialism assures liberation at the highest level. But the socialist revolution does not stop there. Marxism-Leninism sets goals leading to a further development of freedom and a further elevation of the individual--including special ones enriching the content of labour, and general ones leading to the eradication of distinctions between physical and mental, urban and rural labour, a greater interest and stake in production, complete social equality, and homogeneity of social structures. The overall objective is to assure the harmonious development of all members of society. That is the aim, the essential ideal, of socialist and communist construction.

These objectives have never been tackled before, and are not easy to achieve. In production, for example, they encounter a definite contradiction, referred to by *Agoston*: socialism places the producer in the centre of the intrinsic structure of the productive forces, while the material composition of production does not yet entirely conform with this new pattern.

The labour of the immediate producer is developing into a variety of creative labour while (despite the scientific and technological revolution) mechanisation is not yet complete and a substantial portion of the work, especially auxiliary work, is either still poorly mechanised or entirely manual. And we shall have to reckon with this symbiosis of qualitatively new technologies introduced by the scientific-technical revolution and the old-time machinery and techniques for still a long time to come. Hence, while it removes the antagonism between the social character of production and the private mode of appropriation, socialism cannot simultaneously remove all the contradictions of the "man-machine" relationship. As a result some human functions immediately in production have remained. Elimination of this contradiction, it was stressed, requires development of the creative faculties of producers, on the one hand, and of an adequate material and technical basis, on the other.

In the socialist countries, the Communist parties strive to combine the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism. The economic plans provide for extensive mechanisation and automation, which generate substantial changes in the structure of the working class and the workers' skills.[8] The prevalent tendency is expansion of skilled, creative labour, though the process is still fairly complicated. The character and content of labour is changing, but not for all workers at once. In the socialist countries the prime objective is to eliminate unskilled and mentally monotonous physical jobs. This does not mean, *Maier* stressed, that mental labour is contraposed to physical or that the former substitutes fully for the latter. That is utopian, because physical effort is involved in every, even the most "mental", variety of labour. In fact, the objective is to eliminate unskilled labour, to obliterate the distinctions between physical and mental labour.

John Pittman, representative of the CPUSA, and *Rossi* raised a number of questions that sparked a lively exchange of opinions. Since the socialist countries, too, use such technology as conveyors, involving fragmentation of labour into minor operations, they asked if there was the same alienation of workers as in capitalist enterprises. If so, is it being introduced "from outside", by the fact that the growing international economic and technical cooperation results in the import of equipment bearing the imprint of the capitalist division of labour and capitalist treatment of workers as an appendage of the machine? What happens to workers made redundant by automation?

These are not simple questions, participants noted. In some cases imported equipment is a bearer not only of consumer value, but also of the alien capitalist organisation of labour. Imported consumer goods, too, often reflect the bourgeois way of life. Their adaptation to socialist standards is, indeed, an essential problem.[9] We have all the necessary technical, organisational and other means for this adaptation, said *Halay*. The sense of alienation comes not from technology as such, but mainly from property relations. Therefore, there is no alienation in socialist conditions We might add in support of this, *Nick* said, that certain outdated machines, including conveyors, do create problems. But this applies to outdated

[8] Here are a few facts and figures. About 10 per cent of GDR workers were operators of automated technology in 1974; it is planned to modernise from 180 thousand to 200 thousand jobs annually, which will fully eliminate unskilled labour in approximately 25 years. The same process is seen in Czechoslovakia, where the objective is to increase the percentage of workers operating automated equipment to 15-20 in 20 years, and also in Hungary, where the relation of physical and mental labour was 90 : 10 in 1949 and 72 : 28 in 1973.

[9] *Jaroszewski* described the experience of Polish specialists who adapted the automobile works purchased from Fiat, which was originally shaped for a Taylor-type organisation of labour.

machines only, whereas under capitalism the sharpest contradictions originate from the latest scientific-technical achievements—achievements that under socialism help to resolve the most urgent problems.

Does automation under socialism leave people without jobs? No, it does not. There is a legal provision prohibiting dismissals due to automation. Its observance is controlled by the trade unions. Retraining is organised at the enterprises, qualifying workers for new trades. The employment field in material production does decline (also, the percentage of skilled labour may temporarily decline, giving place to simpler labour), but people are shifted to the non-material spheres of production. Does this conflict with the thesis about the growth of enriched, creative labour? It does not, said *Maier*, because, as a rule, in the non-material spheres people begin with skilled operations. Besides, in production the volume of new creative labour increases, and this not only in the case of the workers' direct functions. Participants laid special emphasis on the far-flung movement of innovators and inventors, comprehensive teams of innovators, spare-time designing groups, and the like. These are stimulating elements of a new social division of labour and cooperation, and embody man's many-faceted creativity in the close collaboration of workers, engineers and researchers.

Social and political aims contained in the programme of building a developed socialist society, too, serve the purpose of developing the personality, *Agoston* stressed. The programme is centred on new standards of human relations, on the socialist way of life. The values of the developed socialist society differ from those of capitalism. The socialist way of life embraces such concepts as standard of living and satisfaction of material needs. But this is only one, and not the main, aspect. Priority goes to education, culture and spiritual values. And the progress made by the socialist countries in these fields has already won worldwide acclaim.

The expansion of the sphere of freedom and the development of the individual under socialism comprise a process that is not only objectively and historically necessary in the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution, but is also the purpose of all subjective efforts, of all the political and educational work. The moulding of the new man, *Mikulinsky* said, is a complicated process. Our objective is to turn knowledge into convictions, and convictions into a norm of behaviour of all members of society. Moulding the new man implies cultivation of a communist attitude to labour, of communist views, intolerance of bourgeois ideology, morality and their survivals. These human and humanitarian problems are acquiring ever greater weight.

The discussion led to the conclusion that

—in the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution there

arise relations of production that necessitate society's orientation on ... full liberation, elevation and development of the human personality;

— the problem of man shows more deeply than anything else the ... site character of positions and aims in the competition between socialism and capitalism. To what extent man is free, to what extent conditions ... provided for his all-round and harmonious development—this is ... important criterion in the competition between the two systems;

— in the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution ... criterion is proving the historical superiority of the existing socialism ... moribund capitalism.

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In his concluding remarks, *Karoly Lipkovics*, chairman of the Commission on Problems of Socialist Construction, noted that the ... sion was abreast of the present level of our knowledge of the scientific ... technological revolution as a crucial area of the competition between socialism and capitalism. It revealed general agreement that the scientific and technological revolution is a universal phenomenon and also ... portant revolutionising factor. The STR aggravates to the utmost the ... tradictions and crises of the capitalist system and accentuates the ... conditions for its revolutionary replacement by the socialist system ... their competition within the scientific and technical framework, the ... world systems pursue diametrically opposite aims. For capitalism, the ... is a struggle for survival, for retaining its class, economic and political domination contrary to the interests of the masses. For socialism, it ... struggle to use the present scientific and technological resources for ... benefit of the masses. In essence, the tendencies of the scientific and technological revolution, if set to serve humanity, coincide completely with ... ideals and perspectives of the world's communist reconstruction, though the concrete difficulties, all the existing contradictions and problems ... social development, should not be ignored.

We are continuing the Marxist discussion on "The Working Class and Its Allies" begun in the July 1975 issue with the theses drawn up by the Institute of International Working-class Movement, Academy of Sciences of the USSR. In the September, October, November and December issues of 1975 and in the January issue of 1976 contributions to this discussion were made by *Enrique Pastorino*, secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Uruguay, and chairman of the World Federation of Trade Unions; *Emmanuele Macaluso*, member of the Leadership, Italian Communist Party; *Giorgis Panitsidis*, Greece; *Robert Kenny*, Canada; *Indradip Sinha*, member of the Central Executive Committee and secretary of the National Council, Communist Party of India; *Alberto Escala*, an Argentine sociologist; *Hamid Safari*, D. Econ., Iran; *Pedro Vasquez*, member of the Political Commission, Paraguayan Communist Party; *Satiljadjaja Sudiman*, member of the Leadership, Communist Party of Indonesia. In this issue we publish articles by *Ernst Wimmer* and *Nuraddin Kianuri*.

The Social Image of the Intelligentsia

Ernst Wimmer

Few will deny that the old notion about the intelligentsia in the labour movement and in the class struggle acting exclusively or chiefly as ideologists, agitators and propagandists no longer applies. In developed capitalist countries intellectuals have become a mass category, with much greater weight in the economic, cultural and political domains. Gone are the days when only individual members of the intelligentsia saw the incompatibility of its interests with the logic of capitalist development. So, one wonders if the changes in its social status have made alliance between its larger portion and the working class historically possible or necessary.

Analysing the role of intellectuals in the present revolutionary processes we must clearly avoid both dogmatism and "modernism". The first ignores

For earlier articles on the Working Class and its Allies see *PPS*, July, September, October, November, December 1975.

or at least underestimates the importance of studying qualitatively new phenomena, the importance of the changes in the social status and activity of intellectuals for the policy of alliances, and consequently precludes any relatively new approach. The so-called modernists, on the other hand, though they see the new developments, fail to tie them up with the hard-won experience of the working-class movement, which they regard as no longer valid. Seeing that science is becoming a direct productive force, the "modernists" attribute the decisive role in society to scientists, engineers and technicians. Being Marxists-Leninists, we see the need for continuous development and enrichment of theory in line with the latest acquisitions of social practice and scientific cognition. But enrichment does not mean departing from working-class positions or borrowing from bourgeois ideology; it is assimilation of the real gains of science, culture and revolutionary experience.

Lenin studied and conclusively defined the specific status of the intelligentsia in capitalist conditions, the commonalities of the changes in its midst. Referring to the social-class essence of the intelligentsia, he said that they "occupy a special position among the other classes, attaching themselves partly to the bourgeoisie by their connections, their outlooks, etc., and partly to the wage-workers as capitalism increasingly deprives the intellectual of his independent position, converts him into a hired worker and threatens to lower his living standard" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 4, p. 202). It would be useful, we feel, to examine the changes in the social status of the intelligentsia in the light of Lenin's assessments, notably that the intelligentsia "is not an *independent* economic class" (Vol. 11, p. 380).

The concept "intelligentsia" is of relatively recent vintage. It was not until the end of the past century that the word "intellectual" came into use designing people engaged in the cultural domain. By now piles of books have been written, suggesting dozens of different definitions. But the bourgeois authors' definitions are onesided, overstressing some single property and limiting the social-professional boundaries. Nothing could be more superficial, for example, than to reduce the intelligentsia exclusively to ideologists and people in the creative professions.

As we see it, the intelligentsia is not a homogeneous social unit, a narrow "intellectual elite" of ideologues, technocrats, writers or proponents of a new morality. In pros and massive terms, the intelligentsia comprises the aggregate of those engaged in more or less complex mental activity and, as a rule, possessing a comparatively high educational standard. But this definition, too, is incomplete: it does not indicate the social differentiation among intellectuals or the distinctions in the nature and status of the intelligentsia under different social systems. Yet we cannot reduce matters to an "intelligentsia in general". The properties (nature of employment and qualification) making the intelligentsia a social community

should be complemented with characteristics concerning its class nature—such Leninist criteria as its place in a historically determined system of social production, its relations to the means of production, its role in the social organisation of labour, its means and extent of sharing in the social wealth (see Lenin, *Coll. Works,* Vol. 29, p. 421).

The rapid growth of various intellectual groups as a worldwide trend has already been recorded in this discussion.[1] The group employed in material production—engineers, technicians and managerial staff—showed the highest rate of growth in Austria. In 1971 we had 269,000 scientists, researchers, engineers and technicians. Here is the dynamics of growth: from 1961 through 1971 the number of engineers and technicians in heavy and electrical engineering went up from 12,500 to 17,500 construction engineers and architects from 11,600 to 22,100 and chemical engineers from 1,700 to 4,800. The Federal Economic Chamber estimated that in 1972 approximately 50 per cent of university-trained specialists in industry and the crafts were concentrated in enterprises with more than 1,000 employees. Their industry by industry breakdown speaks of a clear tendency (especially in the state sector) towards concentration in the big chemical, metalworking and iron-and-steel enterprises and the power industry.

To understand the productive and social functions of scientists, engineers and technicians we would do well to refer to Marx, who pointed out in *Capital* that "in order to labour productively, it is no longer necessary for you to do manual work yourself; enough, if you are an organ of the collective labourer, and perform one of its subordinate functions". In "Theories of Surplus Value" he noted that engineers, skilled workers and unskilled workers, or, in other words, workers by brain and hand, "represent a living machine for the manufacture of products. inasmuch as in the process of production as a whole they exchange their labour for capital and reproduce the capitalist's money as capital, that is, as a self-increasing and growing value".

Growth of the intelligentsia in material production has important social and political implications, and merits close study. The attitudes of engineers and technicians are already influencing the workers' struggle for better working conditions, higher wages, against intensification of exploitation; they also have a bearing on the effectiveness of strikes. And this influence will grow in step with the share of highly qualified mental labour in the living production machine. Another reason for the growing role of this group in production and the class struggle is the gradual convergence of its social status with that of the working class. Identification with productive labour, we might note, however, becomes a determining social

[1] See *PPS*, July and November 1975.

criterion only if it combines with other features of the working class under capitalism: absence of means of production and inability to decide one's own working conditions.

We must not overlook the fact that the situation of the technical intelligentsia is intrinsically contradictory. In capitalist society production is always simultaneously reproduction of capital. Hence, the engineer or technician taking part in the manufacture of a product is at once organiser of production and organiser of the reproduction of capital. This duality is clear evidence that there is now a convergence, but not a merging, of the intelligentsia and the working class.

What about the service industry? Is there convergence there as well? Yes, *but not to the same extent. In the services, mental workers are not a direct part of the production machine. Ultimately, they only create and maintain the conditions essential for the reproduction of labour power and the functioning of the state-monopoly system.*

The need for adapting the human productive force to the level of material production (whether through education or health services) is now so vital that state-monopoly capitalism is compelled to reckon with it. But from the capitalist point of view the intellectual labour involved has the incorrigible flaw of not being immediately productive. It does not create surplus value. More, it has to be financed. This is why state-monopoly capitalism tends to pare down expenditure on education, health, public transport, the utilities, and the like, though to keep up the system's functional capacity it cannot entirely cease to maintain them at a definite level. This state and monopoly policy creates many acute social problems.

Public health is probably the most graphic illustration. First, it reveals the anti-humanitarian essence of the capitalist system, the chasm between the possible and necessary—from the point of view of science and public need—and the actual situation. Second, it shows that in the non-productive sphere the tendency towards concentration of capital depersonalises the once "free" forms of professional activity.

Big capital and the state have turned the group of "free" professionals that had thrived under "free enterprise" capitalism into hired help and have already deprived most of them of the right to decide their own working conditions. Even writers, journalists, artists and composers—these last homeworkers of the age, as they are aptly described—have lost their status of independent producers. The prediction of Marx and Engels has come true: "The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honoured and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-labourers" (*Communist Manifesto*). In modern capitalist society members of the "free professions" still in possession of formal independence but already as a rule drawn into the orbit of capitalist influence, tied to de-

fenceless that they are forming organisations to withstand the concentration of power.

Participants in this discussion, notably A. Escala, the Argentine Communist, have already examined the social consequences of the conversion of the "free professions" into wage labour[2]. However, I should like to add a few ideas concerning the class status of this category of intellectuals.

Sometimes, members of the "free professions" are put under the general head of "petty-bourgeois strata". I think this is inaccurate. It obscures their intrinsic connection with wage labour, which the classical petty-bourgeois does not have because, though a working person, he is also a property-owner. The vast majority of the intelligentsia employed in the service industries lacks not only means of production, but also independence comparable to that of the petty-bourgeoisie. More, the situation and outlook in education, health and culture are closely related to the policy of monopoly and the state and to the input of investments. This is why the working conditions and social value of physicians, teachers, writers, artists and many other professions depend on the distribution of social wealth and the progress of the struggle against the state-monopoly system. The interests of the vast majority of "free" professionals are therefore objectively linked with the struggle of the working class.

Using Lenin's definition of classes to analyse the intellectuals' place and standing in capitalist society, we see that while they have grown immensely in numbers over the past half-century and are a large social stratum today, they do not constitute an "independent economic class". Changes in their social condition do not tend to turn them into a "new class". Indeed, social differentiation among the intellectuals in capitalist society has become more marked and is taking place on an unprecedented scale. A relatively small number of intellectuals are closely linked with the bourgeoisie, and their top stratum fuses with the state-monopoly oligarchy. Many more, though a minority of the intelligentsia as a whole, are drawing nearer to the working class. Lastly, there are numerous employed specialists and members of the professions who can be won over to the workers' side or at least neutralised. Singling out these three basic groups is, of course, not enough when it comes to solving specific problems, but it is useful and even necessary as a general guideline for political strategy.

What contradictions in the intellectuals' social condition do we have in mind in stressing the possibility of alliance with the last two groups? There is, to begin with, today's typically capitalist tendency to bar most intellectuals from decision-making on production, research and culture. Real power is increasingly concentrated in monopoly hands, and bureaucratised management is inseparable from monopoly capital. While granting experts

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[2] See *PPS*, November 1975.

some rights in solving particular problems, monopolies deny them any say in fundamental decision-making. There is also the proletarianisation going on among specialists which under capitalism makes for loss of prestige, worsening conditions for professional activity, a declining standards of life and greater dependence. Lastly, we take into account capitalist hostility to culture.

Pedro Vasquez asks in his discussion contribution whether the intellectuals have become, or are becoming, an independent social factor.[8] In answering this question, we must remember the following:

If the intellectuals proceed on their own, in isolation from the working class and its revolutionary party, they cannot bring about social changes destroying the power of big capital and the state-monopoly capitalist system and radically transforming the condition and prospects of the vast majority of intellectuals. In Austria this can only be done by ending working-class disunity and heightening the militancy of the workers and their unions. Specifically, the unions must seek a new role. They must sever their paralysing links with the employers and the government, become autonomous and militant class organisations and begin working in accordance with the interests of their membership and with the role played by the working people in the nation.

In fighting for social emancipation, the working class upholds its own interests and, furthermore, puts forward social and political alternatives expressing the interests of other classes and groups. The intellectuals, like other social strata, can do no such thing unless they side with the working class, for they are not socially homogeneous and are divided between the main classes. The claims, demands and interests of the vast majority of intellectuals and members of the middle strata are expressed in the general social conceptions of the working class. On the other hand, views based on the intellectuals' declared "leading" role can never take into account the fundamental interests of the working class.

The leading role of the working class in respect of the intellectuals should not be conceived simplistically. We think Roland Leroy, CC secretary of the French Communist Party was right in saying that this role does not imply that in every class confrontation or in building the new society every engineer or manager must be franked by a real proletarian entrusted with guiding and controlling him. Assertions of this nature must be refuted, for attempts to replace the problem of political guidance of the intellectuals by the working class with unwarranted claims to intellectual leadership injure the cause of the working class, hinder the policy of alliance and contribute to dangerous anti-intellectual sentiments.

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[8] See *PPS*, December 1975.

If we want to frame a scientifically sound policy of alliances with the intellectuals, we must carefully analyse their actual condition and prospects of development, as well as their mentality and our experience gained in work among them, and specify the problems requiring in-depth research.

Forming an alliance with diverse groups of intellectuals is a difficult and protracted process attended by changes and contradictions. Along with factors favouring cooperation with the working class, there are also impediments, such as the objective distinction between the workers and intellectuals in way of life, outlook, income, social and legal standing, place in production. Although joint labour involves more and more intellectuals, people who can replace each other are fewer among them. Intellectuals in an illusory or real "special position still nourish individualist sentiments arising from the opinion that capitalist reality does not necessarily have to be altered since it gives one a chance to get a well-paid job. Some intellectuals praise rationalisation and regulation in the interest of monopoly as "modernisation" of the social system.

Bourgeois theories citing changes in the social standing of intellectuals as proof—theories ranging from Burnham's "managerial revolution" to Galbraith's conception of the "new industrial society" to Bell's similar and, indeed, still more modernistic conception—greatly overrate the real power of technocrats and experts. They contend that bourgeois society is no longer dominated by capital and profit but by the "technostructure" or "pure science". Instead of really solving urgent social problems, bourgeois politicians, such as Bruno Kreisky, the Austrian Chancellor, echo these views, alleging that there is no more need to socialise the means of production because imaginative technocrats will soon rid capitalism of all the evils.

Those who see the problem of fundamental change as a single reshuffle and reorganisation and claims that this problem is still unsolved because of the ignorance or arbitrariness of individuals, may, of course, seek comfort in the thought that sooner or later the right men will be put in the right places. Those, however, who realise the manifest inadequacy of technocratic remedies but still fail to see the need for social revolution, blame all the woes on the "technologicalisation" of society. The advocacy of anti-science and anti-culture, the tendency to blame science and technology for every malady of capitalist society, is the reverse of blind faith in the omnipotence of science. This kind of obscurantism stems from the capitalist world's hopeless moral, ideological and political crisis.

The concepts seriously hampering joint struggle by the intellectuals and workers likewise require close attention. They include the bourgeois intellectuals' complaints of surfeit and uncontrolled consumption in the capitalist world, and their moralising about "surfeit" in industrial countries to "poverty in the third world". This moralising tends to link up with "left"-

wing opportunism, which regards the working class as well-fed and satisfied and considers that there will be no new uptrend until the workers' stomachs are empty. Yet the problem of the Austrian working-class movement is not that the workers are overfed or too well provided for, but that they often settle for what they have instead of fighting actively enough for more, which would enable them to achieve a radical change of their place in society.

Lastly, we must devote special attention to the fight against anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, particularly when these are addressed to the intellectuals.

What we mean are, for instance, the concepts of "reformist communism", which protests that it does not wish to eliminate the existing socialism but merely wants to "improve" it and make socialism more "attractive". Taking advantage of the intellectuals' particular sensitivity to problems of democracy, anti-communism attributes to socialism the sort of regimentation and standardisation typical of state-monopoly capitalism.

Anti-communism also strives to exploit the feeling of insecurity common among Western intellectuals, the "wretched consciousness" (as Hegel put it) born of the problematical character of their own being. It tries to channel pent-up protest against bourgeois democratic freedoms and encourage the evolution of intellectuals to the right, and blames all shortcomings on the lack of "proper order".

Without minimising the threat posed by right-wing radical trends in Austria, the Communist Party concentrates on combating the intellectuals growing infatuation with various forms of "left"-wing radicalism. To win over this group of intellectuals, it is important not only to confront positions but to distinguish between those who use anti-communism to hoodwink the masses, for personal gain, and those who have been misled and cannot find their bearings. The course of the intellectuals' ideological search will depend on many factors, including the alignment of national and international forces and the policy of the working class towards the middle strata. Struggle against anti-communism and anti-Sovietism is a condition for closer ideological and political links between the intellectuals and the workers.

The relative weakness of progressive currents among Austria's intellectuals is due, first of all, to the ideology and policy of "social partnership", which still dominates the Austrian social scene. It is a method of disorganising and misleading the working class. It also tends to mislead the intellectuals and raises further serious obstacles to their understanding of the actual role of the working class as the decisive transforming and liberating force.

Alliance between the working class and progressive intellectuals is necessary to both. It is indispensable to the fight against monopoly capital and

would help to release important spheres of intellectual activity from the profit lust, curb the power of monopoly capital and pave the way for the transition to socialism.

The highest form of alliance between the workers and the intellectuals is cooperation within the Communist Party. To exercise its leading role, the working-class party must have intellectuals in its ranks. It needs the intellectuals' talent and knowledge, and their ability to influence the mass of mental workers. They would help to generalise the experience gained by the working class in struggle, evolve the strategy of transforming society and put it into practice.

Alignment of Class Forces at the Democratic Stage

Nuraddin Kianuri

The problem of working-class allies—and this has been emphasised in the discussions—is determined by the tasks of the progressive forces at various stages of the struggle. In countries with a medium or low level of capitalist development the struggle is for anti-imperialist and anti-feudal aims envisaging democratic change and an independent foreign and foreign-economic policy in the interests of the vast majority of the nation. These aims are, of course, common to developing countries, but are differently formulated in each depending on the concrete situation.

It is against our social and economic background that our Party has defined the stage of the working-class struggle [illegible] initial, i.e., anti-imperialist and democratic stage. Only after this stage has been passed, can we go over to the next stage and put the country on the road to socialist change.

The most characteristic feature of Iran [illegible] which [illegible] through a combination of [illegible] more than 200 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

in the January issue of PPS) that in countries with reactinoary regimes, our alliance strategy must reckon not only with the social and economic position of the various classes and socal groups, but also with the process of polarisation of class and social forces as part of the recoil to the regime's policy. This would give us a much clearer understanding of the social prerequisites for extending our class and political alliances.

In the fight to overthrow the reactionary regime, the working class can cooperate with forces not interested in democratic revolution, and with forces, let me add, which potentially might become enemies of that revolution. How realistic this is only the future will show. But we believe that there are social forces in Iran which, though far removed from the left, even from anything democratic, are eager to see the present regime done away with.

With the extension and resultant complication of the social base of alliances, and with new categories of the population involved in the democratic and anti-imperialist struggle, the question naturally arises: from what social milieu does the working class draw its allies? The answer given in the theses of the USSR Academy of Sciences International Working-Class Movement Institute is from: "the sum-total of classes and social groups occupying an intermediate position between the workers and the capitalists, the two basic classes of capitalist society".[1] And this category, the Theses say, includes peasants, artisans, the urban small and middle bourgeoisie, white-collar workers and professionals.

While accepting the basic propositions of the theses, I would like to comment on some of their aspects.

In countries with a medium or relatively low level of capitalist development, the social milieu in which the working class can look for allies is not confined to the sum-total of intermediate social groups. In Iran the peasantry and the national bourgeoisie—which have all the hallmarks of independent classes—do not "occupy an intermediate position" in the social structure. The peasants, especially the peasant poor, are at the base of the social pyramid, while the national bourgeoisie is at the top. Apparently this has to be taken into account in assessing the social forces in developing countries.

In our country the problem of allies is above all a problem of relations with the peasants and farm labourers (about 60 per cent of the nearly 34 million population live in rural areas). Agrarian reform and development of [illegible] have in the past few years drastically changed the class [illegible]. There is now a much larger number of farm labo[illegible] large stratum of well-to-do peasant farmers. Mecha-

[illegible] of agriculture has [illegible] [illegible]ation
the peasantry. [illegible]

The big landowners—and some of [illegible]
still hold more than 50 per cent of [illegible]
supply so vital to agriculture, and [illegible]
ence. By efficient application of [illegible]
labour, they are exerting strong [illegible]
which, beset by a multitude of pro[illegible] to
etc.—are doomed to bankruptcy. [illegible]
towns or become hired farm labourers.

A much bigger role now belongs to the [illegible] co[illegible]
plexes, most of which are owned by fo[illegible] offic[illegible]
of the regime. These complexes are a [illegible] over
best land and water sources, buy up small [illegible] In this w[illegible]
the economic position and status of the [illegible] natural al[illegible]
of the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution.

The farm labourers are paid the lowest [illegible] of th[illegible]
jobs, get no support from the law, do not come [illegible] insurance schem[illegible]
are not entitled to medical aid, and so on. Their [illegible] is growing, as
more gradually, their feeling of class consciousness [illegible] to [illegible]
in the struggle.

The small and middle peasants who received plots [illegible] und[illegible]
the agrarian reform are now finding themselves caught [illegible] of econ[illegible]
mic contradictions. This and frequent clashes with [illegible] policy, a[illegible]
turning them towards the revolutionary forces. [illegible] farmers
those who enjoyed certain privileges in the early years of the agrarian
reform, are now hit by the government's anti-[illegible] policy,
supported by the big landowners and designed to [illegible] imports of
farm produce, particularly from the United States. Dissatisfaction among
this group is making itself more tangibly felt. [illegible]

A substantial segment of the national [illegible] domination
of big capital, Iranian and foreign, reacts [illegible] pressure
[illegible] the stifling police-state atmosphere, and the constant threat of
bankruptcy or dependence on monopoly capital.

But unlike the small and medium farmers, [illegible] is an
[illegible] in periods of revolutionary [illegible] co-
operation with the working class and [illegible] people.
[illegible] with monopoly capital [illegible]ing
[illegible]
[illegible] of
[illegible] will do everything [illegible]

Lastly, [illegible]
[illegible] support of [illegible] mark-

[illegible] of the struggle, cooperate with part of [illegible] are counter to those of the [illegible] *basis for joint action is bound to be much* [illegible] *For even among the top capitalists there are* [illegible] the flagrant corruption, the widely-known fact [illegible] national wealth and the national income goes [illegible] overthrow of the regime, they believe, would better [illegible] and activity. That, too, is the motivation behind [illegible] the continuing and accelerating penetration of imperialism [illegible] They believe that this, and continuation of the present [illegible] in Iran and therefore advocate a "Greek solution", [illegible] of the dictatorship.

There is also this consideration: the social milieu from which the working class can draw its allies is much wider than the sum-total of intermediate strata, for it includes also democratic movements that voice the attitudes and interests not only of the middle strata. In countries like Iran we must take into account such factors as the attitude of the clergy, progressive-minded elements in the armed forces, and movements for national autonomy.

The clergy have traditionally had a part in the people's fight for freedom and independence. In the revolutionary struggles of 1905-11, the democratic struggles of 1915-21, the fight for nationalisation of oil in 1949-53, and in more recent years, the clergy (especially its younger members) sided with the people. With the growth of the national-liberation movement they can join in a popular front for the victory of the anti-imperialist and democratic revolution. That is evident from the political demonstrations a few months ago of theological seminary students in Qum, which culminated in the murder of dozens of students and the arrest of hundreds more.

The Iranian army is made up mostly of young workers, peasants and middle-class youth, and that is largely true also of the younger officers. Reactionary sentiments have always predominated in the army, but there are also progressive national traditions. Ever since the imperialist coup d'etat of 1953 against the Mossadegh government, there has been an unrelenting campaign to root out these progressive traditions. And this is being done by the most draconic measures: the execution in 1954 of nearly [illegible] officers, imprisonment of more than 600 officers and retirement of several thousand more, a network of spies within the army, constant purges, and special privileges for senior officers. The regime wants to keep the army its reliable power base. And yet there are symptoms of patriotic and progressive sentiments. Their growth can be traced to a number of factors: [illegible] corruption at the top, domination of US officers and [illegible] the dismal results of the aggression in Dofahr

and the massacre there of unarmed civilians. Every now and then reports appear in the press of plots among officers and arrests, courts martial and executions.

In short, though the army is the power base of the ruling classes, we can count, on favourable conditions, on part of the armed forces siding with the working class.

Still another reserve force of the revolution are the national movements of oppressed groups in Iran. The working class has always sincerely supported their fight for national autonomy and will make every effort to achieve that goal.

Cooperation between these national movements and the working class has its glorious traditions. In 1946 this cooperation was the basis of the struggle in Iranian Azerbaijan and Kurdistan. It culminated in victory and the establishment of autonomous national governments. Now, too, there are real possibilities for mobilising a new front against reaction and imperialism. At the same time, however, the experience of the Kurdish movement in Iraq indicates that retention of the alliance with national autonomy movements can, in a definite historical setting, encounter serious difficulties. This imposes great responsibility on the working class and its party.

These remarks are not in any way intended to belittle the role the middle strata play in the national-liberation movement of our times. On the contrary, I believe they represent a serious political force with a considerable revolutionary potential.

The role of the middle strata in countries with underdeveloped economies raises a number of theoretical problems. It is important, for instance, to define the socio-economic essence and political role of the various groups that make up the middle strata, assess their relative independence and autonomy vis-à-vis other classes, and bring out the causes of their inconsistent and contradictory social, political and ideological positions, which make them a potential reserve both of revolution and counter-revolution. It seems to me that in our discussion we have not paid sufficient attention to these characteristics of the middle strata.

The Communist stand with regard to small businessmen and producers derives primarily from their place in the national economy. [illegible] only at the beginning of its industrial development [illegible] a substantial economic force [illegible]

of consumer goods from imperialist countries,[7] which in no way protects the interests of small businessmen, is a cause of bitter discontent. This stratum, with its traditions of cooperation with the working class, can be an ally in preparing for the anti-imperialist, democratic revolution.

The small traders, who market the bulk of the consumer goods, are also subjected to pressures and threats from local and international monopoly capital, which has set up a network of supermarkets. The regime is blaming small traders for the crisis, inflation and high prices, which are of its own making. Small traders took an active part in the struggle for the nationalisation of the oil industry in 1948-53. Now they are supposing the democratic struggles of left-wing groups against the regime.

The discontent of small businessmen and traders with the regime's policies can be linked with the struggles of the working class, and we accept the view of French economist Jean Chatain that the conditions for this do not differ essentially from those promoting the alliance of the working class and working peasants.[8] We have in mind, of course, mainly self-employed businessmen and traders.

Worthy of special scrutiny as a group are privately employed white-collar workers, civil servants, intellectuals and students, whose numbers have been expanding rapidly in the last few years. Living conditions are especially difficult for the overwhelming majority of small and medium salary earners, whose only income, as long as they do not steal or receive kickbacks, is their salaries. Resultant discontent, despite threats of dismissal and other pressures, has in recent months been the cause of several mass strikes, some involving clashes with the police. The upper white-collar stratum, on the other hand, draws increasingly closer to big capital.

There is mounting, and faster, polarisation between the majority of white-collar workers and those linked with the ruling classes. Although the regime strives for their support, most Iranian intellectuals demand fundamental social change. Many were arrested in recent years, and many died under torture or were executed. At present most political prisoners are intellectuals, among them some outstanding Iranian men of letters.

As for the students, it should be noted that neither pressure nor misleading propaganda, promises nor administrative measures, have been able to halt the process of mounting direct participation in open confrontation with the regime, which almost always has ended in clashes with the police. Closing down of universities and colleges for several months, mass dismissals of students and mass arrests are commonplace. Thanks to partici-

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[7] [illegible] take off as much as 20 to 25 per cent of the cost of these imports, which in 1976 exceeded one billion dollars.

[8] See Jean Chatain, "The Anti-Monopoly Alliance and Small and Medium Business". [illegible]

[illegible] pation in the struggle a section of the [illegible] shackles and turned to Marxism-Leninism. [illegible] to view socialist ideals within the limits of [illegible]

The intermediate strata, as pointed out in the [illegible] whole unstable, their moods and views fluctuate widely [illegible] and reaction readily exploit to fan differences [illegible] tions and groups opposing the regime and keep [illegible] ther. In the sixties Iranian reaction was greatly [illegible] in this by [illegible]. The anti-communist views of the Mao Tse-tung group, propaganda of which was from the outset supported by Iran's reactionary circles—first covertly and later openly—misled considerable sections of the militant national forces for several years, a number of feuding groups appeared, some of them among the students. However, the revolutionary forces, students in the first place, are now turning increasingly towards the scientific outlook. This creates favourable conditions for alliance with the working class as the revolutionary struggles gain in scope. Vigilance, however, is essential. Although Maoism has suffered crushing blows in Iran in the last few years anti-communism, directed primarily against the People's Party, the party of the working class, reluctance to cooperate with it, still remains.

The tasks of the anti-imperialist and democratic revolution, starting with the overthrow of the dictatorship can be carried out only if all the forces dissatisfied with the regime are united. Iran's working-class party guided by Lenin's teaching, must carefully reckon with every opportunity and strive for the creation of a united front regardless of the roads its participants may opt for after the regime is overthrown.

The creation of a united national front depends on the development and maturing of both objective and subjective factors. First and foremost, of these is growth of the numbers of the working class and enhancement of its political consciousness and readiness to fight for its economic and political rights. An analysis of Iranian realities confirms the Marxist-Leninist conclusion regarding the growing role of the working class. Our country is experiencing processes and structural changes [illegible] the working class' revolutionary potential and enhancing its role as the [illegible] for uniting all revolutionary and democratic forces, that were [illegible] by participants in the discussion with reference to other countries.

In our view, the following circumstances are working for the [illegible] tion of Iran's working class into the main political force and [illegible] of the people's revolutionary struggle. As a result of [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] and industry the working class has grown significantly.[5] The [illegible] the number of workers and other wage and salary [illegible] million, with more than two million in industry, one million in [illegible], one million in trade and services and one million in agriculture. Concentration of the working class has also increased substantially.[6] Twenty per cent of the industrial work force is engaged in oil, iron and steel, chemicals, mining, engineering, electric engineering and transport means; more than 35 per cent are in textiles, rugs, foodstuffs and consumer goods. The influx of large masses of peasants into the working class briefly reduced the acuteness and militancy of class struggles. This, however, is a passing phenomenon. The class consciousness of the new workers is rapidly influenced by social contradictions, fierce exploitation, and by workers steeled in revolutionary struggles.

Although almost all major strikes are crushed by force, in spite of killings, arrests of activists and organisers, and long prison sentences, the number of strikes in 1974-75 and their militancy are vivid testimony of the growth of class consciousness among the workers and their readiness to fight. Indicative was a ten-day strike of 3,500 workers of the Shahi textile mills in 1975. It was brutally suppressed, with six workers killed, 300 wounded and hundreds arrested.

There can be no doubt that as internal contradictions grow more acute the working class will become increasingly active in both the economic and political fields.

In the present situation, with the movement emerging from a long period of hibernation and now gathering momentum, splits and differences between political organisations are a serious obstacle to national unity. Imperialism and reaction are doing all they can to widen the gaps between groups opposed to the regime. And yet, despite all difficulties and obstacles, there is an apparent growing consciousness and fighting spirit of the revolutionary forces; and the People's Party prestige, influence and appeal are mounting. This has been facilitated by the improvements in Party

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[5] In the past [illegible] years a number of large, medium and small enterprises have been built, and the new industries include iron and steel, engineering, chemicals and electronics. However, the growth of industrial output has been due to the vast expansion of foreign monopoly investments in the Iranian economy. In fact, with the exception of part of the [illegible] sector, there is hardly a major industrial or agricultural enterprise in which foreign monopoly capital is not involved. Oil is still controlled by an [illegible] which, besides extracting oil, extracts billions every year from [illegible].

[6] Out of [illegible] industrial workers, more than [illegible],000 are employed at factories [illegible] as against [illegible],000 out of a total of 1,036,000 in 1963.

work carried out since the beginning of the movement, [illegible] new programme, and a correct policy of unity.

With the revolutionary struggle expanding, it is safe to [illegible] hostility of sections of the revolutionary forces and [illegible] towards the working class and its party will be overcome. The rise of the national-liberation movement, the organisational and political growth of the working-class party, its sustained correct policy of unity, its choice of appropriate methods of struggle at each historical stage, will increasingly prepare the objective and subjective basis for the establishment of a united national front.

Overlooked in the Bicentennial Celebrations

George Meyers

Observances of the 200th anniversary of the bourgeois democratic revolution which founded the United States of America are disseminating patently false claims in the USA and abroad. It is said that in the course of these two centuries the US political system has proved to be a model of implementing the principle that the masses, who are preponderantly working men and women, are the sources and beneficiaries of power. According to these claims, the living standards and political liberties of the masses are the gifts of a benevolent capitalist state and the philanthropy of super-rich families and giant corporations.

Little or nothing is said about the titanic and continuous struggles of the US working class and its allies to translate the promises of the bourgeois democratic revolution into reality. The unpaid labour of generations of workers, the incalculable price they paid and are still paying in blood, sweat and hardship to secure decent livelihoods and to defend their constitutional liberties—these are not mentioned in the fanfare and oratory of the bicentennial celebrations. On the contrary, official and semi-official propaganda [illegible] ignores the class struggle and derogates the role of the working class in US life. A conspicuous feature of the bicentennial observances, [illegible], is the workers' indifference and critical attitude to the official celebrations. And for good reason, as a review of what is happening today in the US struggle of the classes makes evident.

The [illegible] role of the working class as the leading force in the political and [illegible] struggles of the working people in the United States was [illegible] by the 21st Convention of the Communist Party USA. In the [illegible] to the Convention, the Party's General Secretary, Gus

Co[illegible] from the USA on the bicentennial of the revolution in North America [illegible] 1975.

Hall, placed it as follows: "On a world scale ... the working class is moving more forcefully to assume the leading role history has assigned it. Corresponding to the level of development of the US our working class is in step with this historic trend. During the past crisis year it has been the working-class front that has been the most active. Strikes have continued on a high level. Most of the initiatives, most of the participants have come from the shops and from the trade union movement. The main source of stimulation for struggle has come from the organised rank-and-file movements. But there is a broad, deep ferment in the rank-and-file base of the working class that keeps surfacing and influencing events."*

Big business spokesmen and the Ford Administration are continually trying to give the impression that the crisis has peaked and we are on the verge of an economic upturn. Actually, unemployment continues at a depression level while prices continue to spiral. Regardless of any shifts in the economy mass unemployment and high prices are going to be major problems for a long time to come.

Since January 1975, unemployment has been higher than at any time since 1941. In August, it reached the shocking rate of 8.4 per cent of the work force, and there is widespread agreement that these figures issued by the US Department of Labour are grossly understated. Nearly another million and a half workers are not even counted as unemployed because they have stopped searching for nonexistant jobs. Add to that at least three million workers who are on part-time schedules due to no fault of their own. Even by government admission, this adds up to over 12 million workers—13 per cent of the work force. Due to racist hiring practices, the unemployment rate among young Black and other young minority workers is a disastrous 37.4 per cent.

According to trade union economists, US industry is working at only 66.5 per cent of its productive capacity. Such key industries as home-building and auto are particularly hard hit, with no revival in sight. Millions of young people graduating from schools and colleges have been bluntly told there are no jobs available.

Workers are especially hard hit by the constantly rising cost of food, housing, medicine, transportation and the other necessities of life. In spite of weak government attempts to control inflation, it continues to spiral, fed by an enormous military budget now running at [illegible] billion dollars per year, and monopoly control of the [illegible] corporations to "administer" prices regardless of supply and [illegible]. For example, the sale of cars has dropped by several [illegible] of cars keep rising. For the current model [illegible] by 35 per cent over 1974.

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* Gus Hall, *The Crisis of US Capitalism and* [illegible]

This deep economic crisis is having a profound effect on the working class and the trade union movement. The militancy of the workers grows as the struggle intensifies. The year 1974 saw the biggest strike wave in the nation's history. The US Labour Department recorded over 6,000 official strikes for the year. This does not include the countless rank-and-file stoppages lasting from a few hours to several weeks over such burning issues as speed-up and unsafe working conditions.

These strike struggles continued into 1975. During the first three months, relatively few labour contracts were up for negotiations. Yet, 1,200 official strikes were recorded. And they grew in length from an average of 8.7 days in 1974 to nearly 15 days in early 1975. The latest statistics on strike figures have not been released, but strikes are on the increase.

The struggle in the public sector has shot up dramatically. State and municipal workers, teachers in the public schools and colleges have been especially hard hit by the crisis. The ruling class has decided to drastically cut working-class living standards. A vicious attack has been unleased on public institutions and services. Using the financial problems of New York and other cities, tens of thousands of teachers have been fired. Schools have been closed; class sizes swollen beyond manageable proportions; school libraries, gymnasiums, sports, art and music classes either eliminated or drastically reduced. Many teachers have had their wages either frozen or reduced. Hundreds of thousands of teachers are unable to get jobs in their chosen profession.

The situation is very similar among public workers. Numerous municipal hospitals have been closed; aid to the aged, the young and the destitute has been drastically reduced or even eliminated: firehouses have been closed, particularly in the Black ghettos where danger from firetrap housing is the greatest. Garbage collectors are laid off; public transportation services cut. On the Federal front, authorities are constantly attacking social gains won by workers as far back as Roosevelt Administration in the great working-class upsurge of the 1930s.

As a result of these attacks, hundreds of thousands of public workers have been forced to strike in cities ranging from New York to San Francisco. Tens of thousands struck in the State of Pennsylvania alone. With the reopening of the school year in September, hundreds of thousands of school-teachers in every part of the country were also forced to strike. Many of the strikes in the public sector are long and hard-fought, and frequently take place in the face of numerous jailings and outrageous fines levied on the unions and individual workers.

There are many bitter strikes in coal, steel, auto and the other basic industries, as attacks on the wages and rights of workers in the mines, mills and factories are mounting. A brutal, nationwide speed-up campaign has

been in progress, initiated by the Federal government in the name of "increasing productivity". The intensification of labour is keeping [illegible] workers in a state of permanent exhaustion and ill health. Using the threat of unemployment, intense pressure is exerted upon those still working to give up work and safety standards existing for many years.

In this period of curtailed production, many big corporations have closed factories where the union is strong and shifted production to their facilities where the workers are still unorganized or the union is weak. With the way opened by anti-labour rulings of a reactionary Supreme Court, the corporations are able to secure strike-breaking injunctions almost for the asking. Unions refusing to give in are hit by heavy fines and their leaders jailed. In a recent strike over the refusal of the coal magnates to settle piled-up grievances, the United Mine Workers Union was fined over $1 million by a Federal judge, with the money going to the coal operators to compensate for alleged lost profits. Workers are often fired for the most minor infractions. In steel, auto and a number of other industries, workers are vigorously fighting the frame-up and firing of numerous militant trade unionists who give leadership to on the job struggles at the point of production.

The impact of the class struggle and the mounting pressure from the membership is affecting the trade union movement in a number of ways. First of all, there is a marked growth in the strength and influence of militant rank-and-file movements that reject class collaboration as union policy. There is a marked increase in militancy at lower levels of trade union leadership, particularly in the local unions and central labour councils.

Rank-and-file pressure is having a powerful impact at higher levels of union leadership as well. A job rally of 10,000 members of the independent United Auto Workers held in Washington, D.C., early last year as a result of pressure from the membership was of great importance. Its special significance was in the fact that a union of workers from a key basic industry took a leading place in the struggle for jobs. Several other unions have also held similar demonstrations. At a recent [illegible] meeting of 700 Teamster Union officials, a number of [illegible] were [illegible] down by President Fitzsimmons because their [illegible] went beyond his conservative [illegible]. [illegible] golf tournament in which the discredited [illegible] [illegible] with underworld [illegible].

A powerful [illegible] demonstration [illegible] by the [illegible] of the AFL-CIO in Washington, D.C., in April [illegible] opposition from AFL-CIO President [illegible] brought a very important [illegible]

Solidarity of the struggle for the needs of all working people. Nearly 25,000 workers from the East and Central states took part. Workers from the AFL-CIO affiliates in steel, rubber, electrical, textiles, chemical, teachers, municipal and other unions were joined by members of the independent United Auto Workers and United Mine Workers unions. In a number of cities, the unions worked with the progressive-led National Coalition Against Inflation and Unemployment, an organisation based primarily in the working-class communities, in mobilising for the rally.

The major impact on the trade unions is the powerful political thrust of a rank and file that is increasingly being radicalised. Attempts by the ruling class to shift the burden of the crisis on to their backs has created a deep mood of anger and resentment among the workers, a growing class-conscious understanding of the role of state-monopoly capitalism, and a willingness to fight.

A Left is again emerging in union leadership which gains strength from the rank-and-file upsurge. The election of rank-and-file candidates Arnold Miller as president of the United Mine Workers, and Edward Sadlowski as director of the United Steel Workers Union's largest component, has severely shaken the ruling class and those opportunist union officials who have been content to coast on a policy of no-struggle collaboration with the corporations. These company-minded officials see militant leaders springing up all about them. They are now forced to contend with the militant demands of the rank and file. They face an angry body of Black workers organised into the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. This body was formed in 1972 to challenge the racist, reactionary policies of the Meany leadership in the AFL-CIO. It is a force to be reckoned with. Add to this the Coalition of Labour Union Women, which emerged out of the struggle for women's equality. It fights for equal pay and job opportunities in industry, and the recognition of the role of women workers in the trade unions. Trade Unions for Action and Democracy, an organisation of union members devoted to a policy of class struggle trade unionism, continues to grow in influence. The circulation of its affiliated publication, *Labour Today*, has more than doubled in the past year.

While the more advanced trends in the trade unions continue to grow, there are some forces of union leadership that would prefer to retreat. Some would adopt a position of allowing free rein to the corporations to cut wages and work standards in the name of "saving the industry". But the economic crisis has spotlighted the complete bankruptcy of class collaboration in the trade unions. It is true this has not prevented the Meany leadership in the AFL-CIO Executive Council from clinging to its disastrous policies. But it has put a number of union officials "between the devil and the deep blue sea". These officials find themselves caught between the conflicting pressures of the top labour bureaucracy and the

militant grass roots pressure of a rank and file demanding action on the urgent problems it faces. The powerful pressure of the rank-and-file movement is beginning to penetrate even top AFL-CIO ranks. This explains why Meany was defeated in his attempt to prevent the April 26 rally for jobs.

The big corporations and class collaborationist trade union officials have recently embraced right-wing social democracy in a vain effort to escape the predicament in which the rising tide of working-class militancy has placed them. Meany, himself, was deeply involved in creating the conditions out of which right-wing social democracy could consolidate its forces into "Social Democrat, USA". Immediately upon its formation in 1972, the leadership of this organisation declared it to be "in the vanguard of the fight against Communism". The top leadership of the AFL-CIO has been actively pushing rightwing social democrats to the forefront in a scheme to cover their class collaboration with empty, "radical" phrase-mongering. Hundreds of these elements have been appointed to sensitive policy-making positions in the AFL-CIO and a number of its affiliates. They have been literally handed control of the AFL-CIO International Department notorious for its connections with CIA machinations. Stalwart champions of "the free enterprise system" in labour have now become champions of Right-wing social democracy. Right-wing social democrats were prominently involved in the organisation of AFL-CIO banquets "honouring" the anti-labour, anti-Semitic, anti-democratic multimillionaire, Solzhenitsyn. What a sickening sight to see trade union officials loudly cheering a cheap anti-Sovieteer who bitterly complains that the US should have fought on the side of Hitler fascism in World War II.

The top leadership of the AFL-CIO, Right-wing social democracy and Zionism inevitably unite in their hatred of the Soviet Union and relentless opposition to detente. They also unite in opposition to India and other nations who resist the penetration of the CIA, the Pentagon and the US transnational corporations. It was by no accident that the US Ambassador to the United Nations, Daniel P. Moynihan, made his viciously racist attack on the Organisation of African Unity from the platform of the AFL-CIO Convention.

These same forces are at one in support of Israeli aggression. Each is loud in spreading the false charge of "Soviet anti-Semitism". Each one is attacking the UN, UNESCO and the International [illegible]. Each one blames "the Arabs" for the high [illegible] and the "wheat deal" with socialist countries [illegible]

A host of Maoist, Trotskyite and other [illegible] radical sects have spawned under the [illegible] CIA. They are widely used in an attempt to [illegible] are used to diffuse their growing militancy [illegible]

[illegible] the *Wall Street Journal* and *Business Week* [illegible] always referring to them as "Communists". [illegible] Labour Committees gets special attention. It is an [illegible] language to cover fascist-like attacks on [illegible] Party and progressive trade unionists. It is [illegible] international ties. These sects all have [illegible] around which they can unite. First of all [illegible] hatred of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party, [illegible] to the core. Their *only* targets in the trade union [illegible] who take a more advanced position than that of [illegible] and Right-wing social democracy.

[illegible] of the class struggle has led to greater working-class unity [illegible] by the growing number of Black, Mexican-Am[illegible] Puerto Rican and other specially oppressed minority wo[illegible] to union office, frequently by a membership whose majority [illegible] major rank-and-file movements have taken up the fight [illegible] in a vigorous manner. In turn, the monopolies have inten[illegible] racism in an effort to create and deepen false division [illegible] Minority workers and women workers have historically [illegible] of discriminatory policies in hiring and promotion. This has led to the long-standing evil of their being the "last hired—first fired". Presi[illegible] policies are as racist as his predecessor, Richard Nixon. He openly [illegible] that Black citizens are responsible for the decay of the cities, [illegible] same time seeks to rob them of the gains made in decades of [illegible] struggle. The anti-labour, racist Governor George Wallace is [illegible] full honours of a bona fide presidential candidate.

The [illegible] movements are advancing united programmes to end unemployment. [illegible] their demands are: the six-hour day with no cut in pay; a [illegible] programme; reduction in the military budget; a roll back in [illegible]lisation, particularly of industries related to energy and tra[illegible] become a respectable demand in labour's ranks. However, [illegible] against plant closings and arbitrary lay-offs by the corporat[illegible] reached the level of such struggles in other countries. H[illegible] number of strikes and sit-ins opposing lay-offs of New [illegible] workers, brewers, and several others are a significant i[illegible] challenge to self-styled "company prerogatives".

More [illegible] workers now realise that the struggle against unemploy[illegible] be won except in unity with their Black and other [illegible]. This is leading to a growing challenge to [illegible]ry hiring policies of the corporations.

The [illegible] working class in the socialist countries, the new [illegible] in other capitalist countries, are a

reflection of the new stage in the [illegible] the giant monopolies. The struggles of US [illegible] and inflation, against class collaboration and for [illegible] ism are an integral component of the [illegible] working class in all countries.

Thus it will be seen that the deliberate [illegible] nial observances of the facts of the 200 years of [illegible] today's features of this struggle so [illegible] grievously to distort the basic truth of US history, [illegible] For it is the outcome of this struggle, in which the [illegible] the workers and their allies are decisive, that will determine [illegible] the USA in the remaining decades of this century and [illegible]

Triumph of Revolutionary Strategy

Victory of the National-Democratic Revolution in Laos

Abolition of the monarchy and inauguration of the Laotian People's Democratic Republic (LPDR) were the crowning act of a bitter struggle by the patriotic forces to put the people of Laos in true possession of their country. Espousing progressive national ideals, the revolutionaries displayed an indomitable spirit in battle and far-sighted wisdom in negotiations.

The Laotian revolution has added significantly to the experience of revolution in other countries. A closer look is warranted, therefore, at some of the central aspects of the long and uphill battle.

First of all, about the revolutionary strategy of the Laotian patriots. The revolution triumphed under slogans for a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic and united Laos. These were forceful and effective slogans in a war-ravaged country, the object of US imperialist aggression and neo-colonialist expansion, divided into zones with socially opposite systems of power, a country where a quarter of the population were refugees driven from their homes by the imperialist intervention and barbarous bombing. They were a concentrated expression of the Laotians' yearning for a just and democratic peace, paving the way to the achievement of all the other national ideals.

In the battle against imperialism and local reaction the patriots [illegible] ability typical only of advanced revolutionaries to com- [illegible] forms of struggle, making effective use of those that [illegible] with the interests of the people and the country's [illegible] is a striking example of how profoundly a truly popu- [illegible] is dedicated to the ideas of peace and construction. It [illegible] forces that took the lead in the movement for a [illegible] Laos, and for political solutions to its pro- [illegible] y, the Vientiane agreement on the restoration [illegible] concord (1973) was based on Patriotic Front

All possible means are employed, including gangs of cutthroats like the Patria y Libertad (Chile), the Death Squadrons (Brazil), and the Triple A (Argentina). These and similar gangs in other countries are modelled on the same pattern, comprising groups of mercenaries for the execution of "semi-official" repressions. They are formed and supplied arms by the CIA in collaboration with transnational monopolies and the local oligarchy. This is less "costly" for Yankee imperialism in the political sense than direct intervention, such as a Marine landing (as in the Dominican Republic), though the latter course of action is by no means ruled out.

As in the case of Chile, Argentina is an object of "destabilisation" tactics. There have been strikes of an obviously putschist nature by cattle-breeders and truck-owners. Alongside the reactionary terror, a far-flung McCarthy-type mud-slinging campaign has been mounted against democratic, anti-imperialist, left elements in the government, trade unions and universities, and in all social, political and cultural areas.

Comrade Jeronimo Arnedo Alvarez said in his report to the Eighth National CPA Congress that two wings of ultra-right reaction are active in inciting destabilisation: its proteges in the government directed backstage by Lopez Rega and the non-Peronist gorillas. The former are clearing the way for the latter, for conspirators awaiting the suitable moment to perform a Pinochet putsch. Behind both are representatives of the "invisible empire"—the CIA, the Pentagon, and the US State Department.

What has happened in the country since May 1973, when prison doors opened under mass pressure and political prisoners were released, and when legislation that had justified repression and ideological persecution was, in effect, abolished? Here is the answer: the government that had polled 60 per cent of the votes in the 1973 elections, began swinging right due to oligarchy and imperialist prompting (especially after Peron's death). Pro-imperialist rightist elements in the government promoted gradual rejection of democratic principles in home and foreign policy. Public freedoms were curtailed, and repressive laws reapplied. A state of siege was introduced indefinitely without the approval of the National Congress.

As in other Latin American countries where imperialism is trying to impose repressive legislation, this tends to strengthen executive power and gives it unconstitutional prerogatives uncontrollable by the legislature and judiciary. The police repressions tend to turn into military actions, and the civilian authorities come under the control of repressive organs. Civilians

down the line. It is the progenitor of fascism. Yankee imperialism and Latin American oligarchies are liquidating the democratic rights of the working class and the people, are using troops against the labour movement, and installing brutal dictatorships—*all in the effort to retain their domination over the continent.*

are tried by military tribunals which are liable to pass down death sentences.

The motive for this "rule of law" is given as "national security". In fact, however, the repressions are directed against the working class, against democratic, anti-imperialist forces.[2]

Communists and other defenders of the constitution and democracy, including some Peronists, are persecuted. Some have been under detention for over a year. Moved from prison to prison, their whereabouts are often unknown. Women are apprehended with their children. Infants are known to have been born in prison. Torture is in again, often ending in the death of the victims.

Some 3,000 political prisoners are being held without charges since November 1974. The law is abused and the legislature and judiciary are circumvented.

The class nature of the repressions and terrorism is accentuated by the brutality of the reactionaries during the heroic 60-day strike of the Villa Constitution steelworkers and the miners' strike in Sierra Grande (the country's biggest iron ore mines), the kidnapping and murder of activists and leaders of the united militant class trade unions, and mainly, by fact that the repressions are heaped chiefly on the working class and the Communists.

The reactionary element of the ruling Peronist party and the gorrila opposition are acting hand in hand, and are supported by Maoist splinter groups. These show the ultimate degree of political depravity, taking the cue from reactionary Lopez Rega and backing his absurd charges of an attempted "pro-Russian putsch". Nothing could provide clearer evidence of Maoism's total degradation than this acquiescence with fascists and reactionary imperialist elements.

The struggle against terror and repression has assumed a variety of forms, including militant mass actions. On the ideological plane the Communists are also fighting against all manifestations of anti-Communism, for the least tolerance of anti-Soviet provocations weakens the general democratic struggle. We also expose the divisive activity of the enemy, who seeks to oapitalise on the impatience of members of certain political trends. These are unable to see the way out of the present situation and are easily

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The gigantic repressive apparatus has, in fact, occupied all the provinces. There is increasing danger of "dual power", that is, of military-police rule alongside the civilian. The line between terrorist actions and repression by the authorities is growing fainter. The terror is being "internationalised". Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay and Chile citizens residing in Argentina are killed or turned over to the authorities of their respective countries. This is added evidence that the terror is "cooidinated" by the CIA.

[illegible]

... the will of the ... position ... ical terror and ... class struggle.

"The irony of [illegible] history," Engels wrote, "[illegible] down. We, the 'revolutionists,' the 'overthrowers' [illegible] better on legal methods than on illegal methods and [illegible]

This is why the CP of Argentina is working successfully [illegible] legal activity of Communists and other democratic forces.

It is our experience that reaction can be made to retreat [illegible] *tially new feature of the situation is that the masses react* [illegible] *tantly, and in unison to fascist crimes. Strikes, mass meetings, marches, and actions against the army and the authorities help* [illegible] *ing the release of political prisoners, staying the hand of execution* [illegible] *saving the lives of many "missing" persons.*

It should be kept in mind that these days it is no longer the [illegible] *forces and reaction that determine the situation in the world, and* [illegible] *Argentina. We therefore repeat that action by the masses and the increas-ingly determining role of the proletariat are the prevalent feature of wh*[illegible] is happening in our country as the class struggle sharpens. This is borne out by the battles of June-July 1975. Actions against terror and putschism are backed by the peasants, the broad middle strata, and the strikes and demonstrations are joined by lawyers, doctors, artists, cooperators, etc. The clerical element is taking an increasingly firm stand. There are even strikes for the release of arrested priests. Furthermore, democratic elements have surfaced in the armed forces.

Despite the putschist atmosphere, a section of the army has come out against the violations of constitutional rule, the abuse of law and the re-

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[3] The mass movement against the terror and repression is expanding. It includes such forms as self-defence. But, objectively, terrorist acts and separate guerrilla actions are liable to help reaction in curbing the growth of the mass movement. Though the motives of the right and "left" ultras are different, their terrorism works for the same end, for, in effect, it benefits the putschist designs of the Yankee imperialists.

[4] K. Marx and F. Engels. *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 202.

...men are aware that a chasm may open between the army

...armed forces, the CPA holds that where [illegible] of ...ms is concerned, professionalism is a positive prin-...alism should not, and cannot, be identified with neu-... no such things as neutrality in the historic confrontation ...cracy and fascism, between the forces of liberation and

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The Communists must extend the united action front in two direc- ...n the plane of struggle against a fascist coup, and, on the other [illegible] ...n the plane of struggle for revolutionary, anti-imperialist and anti- ...ian transformations in order to win true democracy based on [illegible] effective strength of the masses and opening the way to socialism. [illegible] for democracy is part of the struggle for power. Unity in the democratic struggle is broader in scale than revolutionary anti imperialist unity. But they are dialectically interconnected.[5]

In view of the emergency, the CPA is calling for *national democratic concord*, excluding just the anti-national elements, the latifundian oligarchy and the local partners of foreign monopoly capital. A broad military-civilian coalition government could be formed on the basis of a mutually acceptable programme to run the country until the next elections.

Fighting the threat of a fascist putsch is an internationalist duty. International solidarity of all progressive forces, coupled with active resistance and mass struggle in various countries, is an old but insuperable barrier to fascist attempts at seizing power. It has shown its strength by achieving the international isolation of the military junta in Chile, and is helping to prevent further crimes, to save Comrade Luis Corvalan's life, and to win his release along with that of many other Latin American patriots. The release of Comrade Rodney Arismendi was another significant victory.

The situation in the southern cone of the continent, the crimes of Yankee imperialism, are a constant reminder that anti-fascist action brooks no

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[5] In Argentina the mass struggle for democracy, involving the progressive [illegible] and movements, has a long history. Along with other large democratic organisations Argentina has had a League of defence of human rights for nearly 40 years. Supported by the masses it fights for the release of political prisoners, mounts solidarity campaigns and protests against abuses of power and the crimes of reaction.

provoked to commit reckless actions, whose consequences are the very opposite to what was intended.[3]

The terror, Comrade Alvarez stressed, is incontestably directed by the rightists. It is argued that the guerrilla struggle is a response to the fascist terror. But this view is false and dangerous, because it brings grist to the putschists' mill. Nowhere and at no time has guerrillaism, a form of voluntarism, been a mover of the revolution. We have always opposed the infantile conceptions of the ultraleftists. We oppose their reckless adventures, and the idea that national and social emancipation can result from force and violence in isolation from the will of the people.

In sum, we uphold the Marxist-Leninist position on the question of political terror and the importance of mass struggle.

"The irony of world history," Engels wrote, "turns everything upside down. We, the 'revolutionists, the 'overthrowers'—we are thriving far better on legal methods than on illegal methods and overthrow".[4]

This is why the CP of Argentina is working successfully to broaden the legal activity of Communists and other democratic forces.

It is our experience that reaction can be made to retreat. For the essentially new feature of the situation is that the masses react instantly, militantly, and in unison to fascist crimes. Strikes, mass meetings, protest marches, and actions against thet army and the authorities help in obtaining the release of political prisoners, staying the hand of executioners, and saving the lives of many "missing" persons.

It should be kept in mind that these days it is no longer the imperialist forces and reaction that determine the situation in the world, and in Argentina. We therefore repeat that action by the masses and the increasingly determining role of the proletariat are the prevalent feature of what is happening in our country as the class struggle sharpens. This is borne out by the battles of June-July 1975. Actions against terror and putschism are backed by the peasants, the broad middle strata, and the strikes and demonstrations are joined by lawyers, doctors, artists, cooperators, etc. The clerical element is taking an increasingly firm stand. There are even strikes for the release of arrested priests Furthermore, democratic elements have surfaced in the armed forces.

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pressions. Servicemen are aware that a chasm may open between the army and the people.

In regard to the armed forces, the CPA holds that where defence of constitutional freedoms is concerned, professionalism is a positive principle. But professionalism should not, and cannot, be identified with neutralism. There is no such things as neutrality in the historic confrontation between democracy and fascism, between the forces of liberation and dependence.

A coup d'etat can still be averted, or squashed if it does occur. But the conciliatory postures and vacillation of some of the democratic leaders whose attitudes stem from narrow class interests, are impairing this ability and harming the unity of the popular forces.

The Communists must extend the united action front in two directions: on the plane of struggle against a fascist coup, and, on the other hand, on the plane of struggle for revolutionary, anti-imperialist and anti-latifundian transformations in order to win true democracy based on the real and effective strength of the masses and opening the way to socialism. Struggle for democracy is part of the struggle for power. Unity in the democratic struggle is broader in scale than revolutionary anti-imperialist unity. But they are dialectically interconnected.[5]

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delay. Fascism must be prevented from gathering and deploying strength, and seizing power. The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties stressed that manifestations of fascism are encountering increasing popular resistance. To make this resistance effective there must be united action by all anti-fascist forces, coupled with greater international support by the Communist and Workers' parties and the democratic and progressive movements of all countries.

In sum, solidarity is the order of the day. We need mutual support, Comrade Alvarez said, in order to achieve victory over US imperialism and its local partners.

December 31, 1975.

Our Will Cannot Be Broken

A Letter from Chile

Dear Comrades:

For two years (729 days) I was a prisoner of the fascist junta. Daily we political prisoners were subjected to barbaric torture and indignities. But my letter is not about that. I want to tell of our struggle.

In all the concentration camps I was thrown into I saw brave people of unshakable spirit. The dictatorship resorts to every device to break their will, but without success. The prisoners are strengthening their organisation, thereby contributing to the Chilean patriots' broad front of struggle to overthrow fascism. Here is one example.

In the morning of April 30, 1975, the eve of May Day, the commandant of the Tres Alamos concentration camp issued an order: "All activities* are banned for one week, violators will be severely punished."

Despite the ban and threats we were resolved to celebrate May Day which is of such significance to the peoples of the whole world. We thought of our comrades struggling in the underground, of our wives subjected daily to mortal risks. We knew that our compatriots and comrades in the struggle would gather on May Day wherever possible, that anti-fascist slogans would appear on the walls of buildings, that the voice of truth would rise in all parts of the country . . .

That day the camp guards were reinforced. But we took every precaution to keep our plans secret.

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* While carrying out underground work, political prisoners in many concentration camps have also won the right to engage in educational, cultural and sport activities not regarded by the jailers as being of a political nature. [illegible] on *WMR*.

At eight o'clock that evening we gathered in the largest cell, where there were 90 of our comrades. Two hundred prisoners came from barrack No. 2. We stood pressed tightly together in solemn silence. Then one of our comrades spoke.

"Today", he said, "the day of international solidarity of working people, our people, our struggle will be spoken of all over the planet. We are not alone. The solidarity of progressive mankind gives us strength. Chilean workers and democrats will also gather to reaffirm their unswerving faith that our country will soon win freedom. The memory of the fallen is alive in our hearts. The sacrifices have not been in vain. For us political prisoners this May Day is a day of hope, of faith in our working class, in the anti-fascist front."

I glanced at Comrade M., who had been transferred to us from the Villa Grimaldi camp, where he had been tortured by electric shock.[2] Dragging a paralysed leg, he walked up to the speaker and embraced him. Someone recited poetry by the immortal Pablo Neruda. Then a worker, a peasant, and a student spoke.

The meeting ended with the signing of the *Internationale*. We were deeply moved, some to tears.

Despite our precautions the guards learned of our meeting. Reprisals began. Comrades suspected of organising the meeting were transferred to a prison block with especially harsh conditions.

But they could not break our will. We continued our resistance. Being a Communist imposes many obligations. We set up a Council of Elders, which included the most respected and politically mature comrades. I was transferred to Tres Alamos from the Puchuncavi concentration camp one month before Christmas. We spent the time preparing gifts for women political prisoners confined in a neighbouring block. Using wire and tin cans as tools, we carved little sea-horses from wood and simple artefacts from stone. The women reciprocated with presents for us. At the beginning of 1975 we organised a school to teach some of our comrades to read and write. We also set up technical and language courses.

We marked all memorable dates. I took part in celebrating the anniversaries of the Communist and Socialist parties, the united trade union centre (CUT), the Popular Unity victory and other events.

For all this we were punished, subjected to searches, provocations w

[2] Most political prisoners in Tres Alamos and other concentration camps have been through the torture camps.—*Representative of Chilean CP on WMR.*

staged against our families, we were locked up in "chuchos"—underground punishment cells. But you can stand everything if your heart is inspired with the great truth of a heroic people fighting the fascist tyranny. The example of thousands of heroes of daily struggles supports Chile's political prisoners.

Guillermo Torres Gaona
Former inmate of Chile Stadium, National Stadium, Chacabuco, Puchuncavi, and Tres Alamos concentration camps

November 1975

"Detente"—Vorster Style

Since the autumn of 1974, the racist rulers of South Africa have been engaged in a diplomatic and propaganda campaign aimed at making world public opinion believe that they have embarked on a road of "detente". Pretoria has been emitting calls for "peaceful coexistence". They are directed primarily at independent African nations and are accompanied by promises of "economic and technical assistance". The racist Vorster regime is taking advantage of the popularity of detente to seek "understanding" on the continent and continue to promote military, political, ideological and economic expansion under the camouflage of "peace". That demagogy obviously suits the regime's imperialist allies and patrons, and neocolonialist circles now hope that South Africa's "outward-looking" strategy will consolidate its positions in Africa.

To gain a better understanding of the reasons that have compelled the wolf to don the sheep's skin, let us recall some events of the recent past. For example, in 1973, 12 per cent of the 151 resolutions adopted by the UN General Assembly in one way or another censored or attacked the racist ideology and policies of South Africa.[1] In 1974, Britain, the USA and France, vetoed a Security Council resolution calling for the immediate expulsion of racist South Africa from the world body.

In 1971, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), by an overwhelming majority rejected the idea of a "dialogue" with African countries floated by the South African rulers.[2] Its Declaration on the Dialogue opposed

[1] Going farther back, mention should be made of the Afro-Asian sponsored resolution on sanctions against South Africa passed by the General Assembly in [illegible]. The Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, as well as most African states, are consistently carrying it out; its violators are the imperialist powers as well as Maoist China.

[2] *In violation of the OAU decisions, the President of Malawi established diplomatic relations with South Africa.*

any separate negotiations between OAU members and racist regimes by-passing national-liberation movements. In 1973, the OAU's 10th jubilee session reaffirmed the anti-imperialist principles of continental policies.

The situation in Southern Africa is changing rapidly. This is in many ways a consequence of the overthrow of the fascist regime in Portugal, which had sought to keep the peoples of Mozambique and Angola in colonial bondage, the winning of national independence by Mozambique, the birth of the People's Republic of Angola, currently engaged in armed struggle against foreign invaders and their underlings. Gaps have been pierced in the "cordon sanitaire" thrown up by the South African ruling clique in an effort to fence itself off from the rest of the continent. The counting struggles of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe for national liberation are undermining the two remaining links of the "cordon". The weakening of the positions of imperialism and neocolonialism in that part of the continent creates new and favourable conditions for the struggles of the working masses of South Africa. Our people see that revolutionary devotion, discipline and fortitude can inflict defeat on the seemingly invincible enemy supported by world imperialism.

This development of events has caused anger and disarray in Pretoria's corridors of power, and embarrassment among imperialist circles that have become used to regarding the colonial status quo in Southern Africa as something immutable. At the same time they do not want to lose South Africa, the richest and most highly developed country in Africa, which offers one of the highest rates of return on investments because of the super-exploitation of Black labour power. This investors' paradise and its strategic location, viewed by Western military leaders as a staging post in the South Atlantic and a platform for expansion in the Indian Ocean, explain why the imperialist powers will do their utmost to protect and defend white-minority rule.

In the face of mounting international isolation of the regime and weakening of the positions of imperialism in Africa, the racists increasing seek to camouflage their misanthropic doctrine behind a mask of "reason". This is most clearly expressed in the racist Bantustan policy with its ideological justification of the "natural" and "inevitable" division and conflict of races. In foreign policy the South African rulers are attempting to impose their concept of "detente" on African countries.

The monopoly-owned mass media spare no effort in praising Vorster's "detente". This subtle campaign has been going on for the last 18 months and is highly appreciated in Pretoria. None other than Defence Minister P. W. Botha declared in Parliament that South Africa's "real value to the

free world" is increasingly appreciated, and its "policy of evolution" on detente and social issue is eliciting "more respect".[3]

But no effort is made to conceal the true objectives if the tactic. "For over a year", wrote *Time* magazine in August 1975, "Vorster has been trying to achieve detente between South Africa and Black Africa. The black states, he hoped, would countenance continued white rule in South Africa in return for his country's aid and technology."[4] Two weeks later the magazine noted that Vroster hoped to achieve "racial detente" in the southern part of the continent.[5] Finally, with reference to diplomatic circles in Pretoria, France Presse reported a new "argument" in favour of "detente", Vorster style: a balance in the South of Africa had to be created. That is the cynical motivation used to justify South Africa's armed intervention in Angola.

Behind the facade of "peace" and "reason" one can readily discern two strategic goals of imperialism and its strike force—the fascist regime of Vorster. The first is to isolate and neutralise African national-liberation movements, deprive them of the support of independent African states, hold back the revolutionary process on the continent. The second is to sow discord among African nations, disrupt their anti-imperialist unity, impose a one-sided Westward orientation, overthrow progressive regimes, and create an anti-communist front in Southern and Central Africa. Realisation of these plans meets with the support if the Maoist leadership in Peking, which is striving to subordinate the interests of African peoples to its great-power chauvinist policies.

What does South African imperialism count upon in appealing to African countries for "peaceful coexistence"? It should not be forgotten that there have always been conciliatory elements within the OAU hoping for South African "generosity". Last year ministers from the Central African Republic and the Ivory Coast visited South Africa to discuss the development of political, economic and financial cooperation.

Quite a different type of problem has been created by the legacy of colonial rule in Southern Africa. The economies of those countries are connected with Johannesburg, which claims the role of financial and economic centre of the whole region, and which has, in addition to major banks, the headquarters of numerous overseas enterprises. A substantial amount of the labour force of these countries can so far be employed only as migrant workers on South African mines.

The development of monopoly capitalism in South Africa forces it to seek new markets for investment and marketing industrial goods. These

[3] *Los Angeles Times*, March 31, 1975.
[4] *Time*, August 25, 1975.
[5] *Time*, September 8, 1975

searches have been stepped up lately in view of the worsening economic situation in the country and the aggravation of inter-imperialist competition. Only about one-eighth of South African exports in 1974 went to African countries, above all to Southern Rhodesia. One of the reasons for the "Black Africa safari" of Vorster and his ministers is that they would like to increase exports. From what they say, they have held talks with statesmen of over twenty African countries. Almost all these talks were shrouded in secrecy, which gave African opinion all the greater cause for concern.

South Africa's revolutionary forces do not in principle reject contacts with their opponents. As the *African Communist* pointed out, "the crucial question is . . . not so much whether one talks settlement with the enemy, but whether in any given situation negotiations will in practice advance or retard the aims of the revolution."[6] Now that the South African regime has lost some key positions in the region and is scared by the mounting struggle of the country's Black population, to establish contacts with it would mean "acting contrary to the moral and political obligations" assumed by the OAU countries. This is stated by the African National Congress of South Africa, the leading national-liberation movement of the African population in our country.

Some African leaders explain their contacts with the Vorster regime, as well as with the Smith regime of Southern Rhodesia, by a desire to force them through political pressure into direct talks with spokesmen of the oppressed African peoples. This merely shows that the complex and at times contradictory revolutionary process in South Africa and the true nature and aims of South African monopoly capital and world imperialism are not properly understood.

Using demagogy about "detente", Vorster now poses as an "honest" broker "helping" to find a "solution" to the Rhodesian problem. To demonstrate his "good intentions", he persuaded Ian Smith to set some Rhodesian African leaders free and conduct preliminary talks with the African National Council (Zimbabwe). But even the Western press did not deny that the aim of mediation was to avoid an escalation of guerrilla warfare in Rhodesia that would have far-reaching repercussions in and outside South Africa.

Free Africa as a whole refuses to take the Vorster call for "detente" seriously. W. Eteki Mboumoua, Secretary General of the OAU, interpreted detente as establishing a majority rule in Rhodesia, granting political freedom to the people of Namibia without partitioning it into Bantustans, and abolishing apartheid and Bantustans in South Africa.

The Ninth Extraordinary Session of the OAU Council of Ministers (Dar es Salaam, April 1975) reaffirmed the policies adopted earlier, the total

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[6] *The African Communist*, No. 6[illegible] Second Quarter, 19[illegible]

isolation and economic, political, cultural and diplomatic boycott of racist South Africa; the liberation movements are the only spokesmen of the oppressed people of South Africa; and the oppressed Black people of South Africa are the only force capable of bringing about radical change in racist South Africa. These points were subsequently ratified at the OAU heads of states meeting in Kampala. To be sure, the imperialists were defeated but they did not give up hope of splitting the OAU. This is why Pretoria now says it wishes to join the OAU. The South African revolutionary forces and progressive mankind must be vigilant and prepared to counter new plots of the enemies of a free Africa.

Despite the outward calm, there is a real panic in the ranks of the Vorster regime, for the racists fear that armed actions may be initiated in South Africa itself. The army is on permanent alert, troops are concentrated in secret camps and bases on the borders and in the towns near the border with Mozambique. White South Africans are being trained for the "terrorist invasion". The militarist hysteria within the South African ruling circles is also demonstrated by the increased military budget for the 1975-76 fiscal year, which shot up from R702m (rand) to R948m.[7] Western powers supply South Africa with aircraft, tanks and submarines. It is fast expanding and modernising its war industry, increasing the strength of its armed forces and furthering overt and covert links with NATO. African opinion is seriously concerned about growing cooperation between South Africa and West Germany in the nuclear field. After all, Defence Minister Botha himself made the ominous admission last year that South Africa knows how to make the nuclear bomb. A pamphlet published by the World Peace Council in 1975 rightly stresses that "the South African regime is the most dangerous enemy in the southern region of Africa . . . a serious and grave danger to the peace and security of Africa and the world."[8]

These words were confirmed, as it were, by the intervention in Angola, an action that angered the whole of far-minded Africa. The world, said Yusuf Mohammed Dadoo, Chairman of the South African Communist Party, will condemn this blatant act of aggression on the part of the racist regime of South Africa against independent Angola. It is an undisguised attempt to abolish the Angolan people's newly-won freedom and bring to power a regime subservient to South Africa. Acting in collusion with imperialist powers, Dadoo added, the South African government is trying to recolonise Angola and continue the ruthless exploitation of the

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[7] This figure does not include resources for various organisations which carry work on behalf of the Ministry of Defence. One rand equalled $1.40 before devaluation in October 1974 and $1.15 afterwards.

[8] *Imperialist Military Collaboration with South Africa*. Helsinki, 1975, pp. 7-8.

manpower and material resources of that country which the Portuguese imperialists carried on for almost 500 years.

By discarding the mask of "peace-lovers", South Africa's rulers showed in Angola what their policy of "detente" stands for. But no amount of armed action, blackmail or terror can turn back the wheel of history. The South African regime cannot destroy the African National Council and the Communist Party; the initiative is slowly but inexorably passing into the hands of the revolutionary forces. Our escalating struggle receives ever wider support from progressive mankind.

Racist intrigues will never mislead the Soviet Union, other countries of the socialist community or the world communist movement. But any breach in the position of the OAU will strengthen the entrenched position of the imperialist countries and put obstacles in the path of the anti-apartheid, anti-racist, anti-fascist forces.

The revolutionary forces of South Africa are totally committed to the destruction of racism and fascism. No amount if demagogy and political manoeuvring can conceal the glaring inequality of the socio-economic position of the whites, on the one hand, and of the oppressed Blacks, on the other.

Now more than ever, the international campaign for the total isolation of racist South Africa must be intensified.

A. Azad

The Nobel Prizes

Editor, *World Marxist Review*.

There has been much talk here recently, and much controversy, about the Nobel prizes. Some support the decision of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, others say that it is often biased and politically motivated. Still others maintain that the Soviet Union has not been entirely impartial towards the Nobel prizes.

What really are these prizes, and why does their award often arouse political passions?

Sven Isgard
Oslo

The Nobel prizes are one of the world's oldest institutions of its kind. The first prizes were awarded in 1901, the fifth anniversary of the death of their founder, the Swedish chemist and inventor Alfred Bernhard Nobel (1833-1896). In compliance with his will the bulk of his capital (31 million Swedish crowns) was invested in a foundation, the interest and other income from which is used for the annual award of five equal prizes, in physics, chemistry, physiology or medicine, literature and for the contribution to the "fraternisation of the peoples" and peace among them. The institution of this special peace prize was, in a way, an act of atonement, for Nobel had made his fortune (in addition to his investments in the Baku oil fields) by inventing and patenting dynamite, smokeless gunpowder and bomb detonators, all means of war.

In 1968 another Nobel prize was instituted by the National Bank of Sweden for achievements in economics, to mark the bank's 300th anniversary.

In accordance with Nobel's testament, the prizes are awarded according to the following procedure: the physics and chemistry prizes are awarded by the Swedish Royal Academy, the medicine prize by the Stockholm

Faculty of Medicine, and the peace prize by a committee of the Norwegian Parliament.

What judgement could one pass concerning the Nobel prizes awarded over the past three-quarters of the century? As far as the science prizes are concerned, they have undoubtedly enjoyed a high degree of international prestige. Despite the obvious difficulty in selecting candidates for the three science prizes, the Swedish adjudicators have, on the whole, been objective, and errors have been few and far between. No wonder the list of Nobel laureates in science reads like a more or less full register of the greatest discoveries and their authors over the past 75 years.

However, that cannot be said of the literature and peace prizes. Here we have a clear confirmation that in ideology there can be no neutrality, no "supraclass" policy. The men entrusted with awarding the "ideological" prizes have been largely influenced by their class sympathies and antipathies, by their limited bourgeois taste.

That does not, of course, mean that the Nobel literature laureates over the past 75 years do not include names of which mankind is truly proud. Nobel medals were awarded to Rabindranath Tagore, Romain Rolland, Thomas Mann, Anatole France, Bernard Shaw, William Faulkner, Ernest Hemingway and others. But there are also names of long forgotten writers that have crept in by sheer accident. And, of course, the Swedish Academy will always be reproached for not awarding its prize to such titans of world and Russian classical literature as Leo Tolstoi and Anton Chekhov.

But if pre-revolutionary Russian literature was, to put it mildly, unlucky, Soviet literature has been simply boycotted. Maxim Gorky, Vladimir Mayakovsky, Alexei Tolstoi and other outstanding writers and poets are read and respected throughout the world, but not in the ivory tower of the Swedish Academy. In the first 40 years after the October Revolution only one Russian name appeared in the list of literature awards. And it was not the name of a Soviet writer, but of the emigre Ivan Bunin, whose talent, in 1933, was near its nadir, and far from the country he had left years before.

It might be said that in the latter half of the fifties everything changed and the Soviet Union became the object of heightened interest in the Nobel prize committees. However, not counting the much belated prize to Mikhail Sholokhov, the renowned author of "And Quiet Flows the Don" and "Virgin Soil Upturned", the Swedish Academy's interest in other Soviet writers was of a very specific and avowedly anti-Soviet character. Its selections were obviously motivated by a desire to challenge the Soviet writing community, the Soviet people, and aggravate the cold war.

Such was the case, for instance, of Pasternak in 1958. This prominent poet and gifted translator was for many years active in Soviet literature

without attracting the slightest attention of the Stockholm judges. But it was enough for him to write a book, "Doctor Zhivago", that had no literary merits, was naive in its thinking, but had a strong anti-revolutionary bias, and Pasternak was immediately awarded the Nobel prize for literature (which he refused to receive).

An even more flagrant piece of literary and political anti-Soviet diversion was the award of the prize to Solzhenitsyn, that record-breaker in counter-revolutionary lying and slander. His foreign protectors hoped that the Nobel Prize would be something in the nature of insurance. No wonder Solzhenitsyn has been played up as if he were a new Dostoyevsky and Albert Schweitzer all in one.[1]

International reaction was interested in having Solzhenitsyn fight the Soviet system for as long as possible from the Soviet Union itself. That is why he was given all the trappings of a Nobel Laureate. And it is not important whether the initiative came from the Swedish Academy, or whether the Academy was brought into this shabby affair by the imperialists, who staked so heavily on Solzhenitsyn.

Now the Nobel peace prizes. It is no exaggeration to say that they have been the most disappointing of the lot. Looking over the list of recipients, one is forced to the conclusion that the money was just wasted. What had Joseph Austen Chamberlain, the British diehard leader of the twenties, to cite one example, done to promote peace? And what kind of "peace maker" was Theodore Roosevelt, with his "big stick"? The Nobel prize went to many other imperialist politicians. Rarely does one find the names of world-known humanists and champions of peace and friendship among the peoples, names like Fridtjof Nansen, Albert Schweitzer, Martin Luther King.... No wonder the Swedish magazine *Pax* has come to the conclusion that the Nobel prize for peace now does more harm than good.

One might get the impression that real peace fighters had become extinct. But that is not the case. The fight for detente, for peaceful coexistence and disarmament, has never been more active than in the past decades. The choice was big enough. And Nobel's famous "Testament" contains a clear definition of the criteria. It says the peace prize should go to "him who has striven most or best for the fraternisation of the peoples and for the abolition or diminution of standing armies as also for the inception and promotion of peace congresses."[2]

However, the Storting's Nobel Committee ignored this instruction, especially its latter part. For one thing, it chose not to notice the existence of

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[1] US journalist William Safire, in an article titled "Solzhenitsyn Without Tears", frankly says that the purpose of the campaign was the "Schweitzerisation of Solzhenitsyn" (*International Herald Tribune*, Feb. 20, 1974).

[2] *The Nobel Prize-Winners and the Nobel Foundation. 1901-1937.* Zurich, 1938, p. 13

the World Peace Movement—the most massive of our time (while peace prizes went to two incomparably smaller Quaker organisations), and totally overlooked the work of the World Peace Council. It did not notice the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow, and displayed complete indifference to the historic summer 1975 European Security and Cooperation Conference in Helsinki, in which top statesmen of 35 countries participated.[3]

As if that were not enough, the Oslo Committee defied the sincere fighters for peace and detente in the year of the European Conference by awarding the Nobel peace prize to, of all people. Academician Sakharov, who described that Conference initiated by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as "a cynical political ploy". The record of this man, now virtually Solzhenitsyn's deputy in Moscow, is all too well known. His anti-Soviet calumnies are exploited by the reactionary press to attack the Soviet Union and the policy of detente. He is, in fact, one of the chief suppliers on the anti-Communist news mart, a purveyor of statements against the Soviet system and the foreign and home policy of the Soviet Union.

Soviet scientists have tried appealing to Sakharov's conscience. In an open letter in August 1973, for example, forty members of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, including five holders of the Nobel prize for physics and chemistry, warned him that, abandoning science, he had, in effect, become an instrument of propaganda hostile to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Condemning Sakharov's statements, the scientists said they hoped he would reconsider his behaviour.[4]

But driven by ambitions not even remotely related to science, and encouraged by the flattery of various radio "voices", Sakharov refused to see reason. All the more so, since, evidently at that very time, the small coterie of his ideological hangers-on was nursing the idea of the Academician's "Schweitzerisation". Take the following several facts of two years ago.

On September 9, 1973 *New York Times* correspondent Theodore Shabad, one of the bourgeois journalists virtually accredited to Sakharov's Moscow apartment, reported that "three of his friends" proposed him as a candidate for the Nobel peace prize.[5] On September 10, the Associated Press reported that a similar proposal was made by Solzhenitsyn (by then a laureate of international reaction) in a letter to the *Aftenposten*, the

[3] Among the nominees for the 1975 peace prize was Finnish President Urkho Kekkonen, who had striven prodigiously for the inception and promotion of the Conference in Helsinki.

[4] *Pravda*, August 29, 1973.

[5] Appropriately, two of these "friends" have since emigrated to capitalist Europe and were given a rousing welcome by the CIA radio stations in Munich, and the anti-Soviet press.

paper of Norway's conservatives. Sakharov made no pretence at modesty. He hotly approved his friends' initiative, undoubtedly prompted by the foreign patrons of the handful of "dissidents". "It would be very good," the Academician told foreign correspondents. "...It is the best reply to the Soviet press campaign against me... It would have humanitarian importance (AP, Sept. 10, 1973). For appearances sake he added that other "prisoners of conscience" in the Soviet Union would also benefit if he, Sakharov, got the prize.

Knowing the influence of his imperialist promoters, Sakharov thought the Nobel peace prize was as good as his. In a telephone interview to the *Algemeen Dagblad,* paper of the Dutch oil monopolies, he replied to expressions of sympathy over the "pressure" exerted on him, that "my condition is not bad... But I also hope my condition will become better than it presently is" (*United Press International,* Rotterdam, Sept. 7. 1973). This betrayed the jubilation he felt over his nomination for the so ardently desired prize.[6]

If it had been someone else, the reasons for such confidence would have been meagre indeed. To begin with, none of Sakharov's backers had any formal title to propose him for the peace prize. And a spokesman of the Nobel Committee had originally noted this fact. According to the rules, only former winners of the prize, members of governments and parliaments, university professors in philosophy, law and political science, and members of the Norwegian Parliament's Nobel Committee, are qualified to nominate peace prize candidates.

The friends of the Academician who had abandoned science for the dubious repute of an anti-Soviet political figure, belonged to none of these categories. Yet out of the fifty nominations for the 1975 Nobel peace prize. the choice did fall on him. And the first thing the newly-fledged laureate did was to claim a hunk of the glory attached to the illustrious name of Albert Schweitzer.

The fact remains that the Nobel peace prize was once again used for nefarious anti-Soviet purposes to impair the struggle for peace and mutual understanding of the peoples. That Sakharov is miscast in the role of peace laureate is sinking in among most thoughtful people in the capitalist world, where his latest piece of writing, a book facetiously entitled, "My Country and the World", is being widely circulated. It produces the image of anything but a humanist, democrat or advocate of progress. The image is of a retrograde, a convinced enemy of socialism, a proponent of capitalist restoration (he is willing to settle for partial restoration for a start),

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[6] All quotations are from the *International Herald Tribune* of September 8 9, 10 and 11, 1973.

a man who thinks nothing of vilifying his own country and who bows in worship before the United States. Sakharov implores the "West" to rally round the USA and protect "civilisation" against the "Soviet menace", and to delay disarmament. He describes the defeat of the US aggression in Vietnam as a "tragedy", denounces the "left progressive forces" and the "liberal intelligentsia", pleads with the workers "to tighten their belts" and help the capitalists cope with the crisis, whitewashes the Pinochet regime in Chile, and maligns the Communists defending the Portuguese revolution. Not surprisingly, some former Sakharov admirers are having second thoughts about him.

The members of the Norwegian Nobel Committee must have known they were awarding the peace prize to a man who is, objectively, aggravating contradictions between states, adding to mutual suspicion, and impeding concrete disarmament measures. This is why the scandalous selection made in Oslo is applauded by none but convinced anti-Sovieteers and enemies of detente, or people who have fallen for reactionary propaganda and do not yet see the true meaning of this latest "Schweitzerisation".

Lev Sheidin
Soviet journalist

Credibility Crisis in the News Industry

Albert Vlasov
Dr. Hist. (USSR)

"The Mind Managers", "The Newspaper Game'," "Packaging the News", "The Underground Press in America", "The Information Machines, Their Impact on Men and the Media", "The Reluctant Reformation", "Roots of War", "Newspaper Money", "How True", "Paper Tigers", "Television, the Victim of Authority"...[1] The titles of these and many other books appearing over the last three or four years in Western Europe and the USA, bring the reader into the complex, and often closed, world of the press, television and radio, which is now attracting so much attention, and not only from the experts.

Treatment of the news by the bourgeois press and television, from the US imperialist war in Vietnam to sensational revelations of crime in high quarters, has heightened public interest in the mass media and the role they play in bourgeois society.

Significantly, early hopes of change, which all but rekindled the legend of the bourgeois press being a fearless critic of social maladies soon gave way to still greater disappointment. For even a simple comparison of

[1] H. Schiller. The Mind Managers. Boston, 1973; P. Hoch. The Newspaper Game. The political Sociology of the Press. London, 1974; J. Aronson. Packaging the News. A Crtical Survey of Press, Radio, TV. New York, 1971; R. Glessing. The Underground Press in America. Indiana University Press, 1971; Ben Bagdikian. The Information Machine. Their impact on Men and the Media. New York, 1971; L. Brown. The Reluctant Reformation. On Criticizing the Press in America. New York, 1974; R. Barnet. Roots of War, New York, 1972; F. Hirsch and D. Gordon. Newspaper Money. Fleet Street and the Search for the Affluent Reader. London, 1975; T. Griffith How True. A Skeptic's Guide to Believing the News. Boston-Toronto, 1974; C. Boris. Les tigres de papier. Crise de la presse et autocritique du journalisme. Paris, 1975; J. Rocchi. La television malade du pouvoir. Paris, 1975.

events and their reflection on the pages of the press and the televisior screen revealed the widening gap between the constantly repeated profes- sions of service to society, freedom and justice and the technique of half- truths and half-lies, subtle falsification and one-sided information.

Again, researchers and the public are asking the old questions:

— How fearless is the bourgeois press in criticising social ills, and wha is it doing to cure them?

— Does it tell the "truth and nothing but the truth", or does it mani pulate public opinion?

— Is it free in its actions, or is it simply a servant of the monopolies?

In replying to these questions some authors maintain, on the basis c public opinion, that in every society "journalism is destructive and accent the bad out of cynicism, prejudice or desire for sensationalism".[2] Othei have tried to make out that the bourgeois press is a free press. Still othei maintain that the orientation and character the media are determined b social conditions.

Washington journalist Ben Bagdikian, in a book compiled with the hel of the Rand Corporation, and Lee Brown of Maryland University in h book, admit that for the bourgeois media news has become a product ‹ private enterprise and that the media are closely linked with business ii terests.[3] At the same time they argue that in a "free society" the med provide opportunities for expressing a wide range of opinions.

That view is not shared by Herbert Schiller, an expert on US prop ganda techniques. "America's media managers", he writes, "create, pr cess, refine, and preside over the circulation of images and informatic which determine our beliefs and attitudes and, ultimately, our behaviour' Having analysed the bourgeois press, television and radio broadcastin Schiller concludes that their method is one of manipulating people minds.[5]

It is no accident that the character of bourgeois propaganda, the medi: dependence on big business, should be the central theme of many studi‹

The world is changing at an amazing speed. The accelerated pace social development, the economic and social instability of capitalist socie the changed international balance of forces in favour of socialism, ha destroyed many bourgeois ideological dogmas. And more and more peoţ

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[2] T. Griffith. How True. p. 200.

[3] L. Brown. The Reluctant Reformation, p. 95. Ben Bagdikian. The Inforn tion Machines. pp. 224, 262, 298 299.

[4] H. Schiller. The Mind Managers, p. 1.

[5] Manipulation can be described as a special propaganda technique to instill in public mind the private-property cult and illusion, and combat the Communist id logy and world outlook Manipulation is based on fostering and inculcating ideo gical myths.

are coming to see that a society dominated by private property cannot assure a decent life, that by virtue of its position the bourgeoisie cannot give honest, straight-forward answers to the fundamental questions of our time. That is why it resorts so freely to falsification, deception and self-deception.

Significantly, a number of authors who probably would not fully accept that judgment, trenchantly criticise anti-communist hysteria as one of the most unscrupulous methods of manipulating people's minds.

Discussing the recent US imperialist aggression in Vietnam, and rightly emphasising that precisely in periods of sharp international conflicts manipulation is more frequently and vigorously employed, Richard Barnet recalls how the "red scare" stereotype was imposed on the public.[6] He compares the methods used to spread it with those of Hitler propaganda, saying that the anti-Communist stereotype played a sinister role in the United States.[7] "Every leader," he writes, "tries to present events to the public in such a way as to elicit what he thinks is the right response".[8]

The author of another book, James Aronson of New York University, a journalist of many years' experience, gives a detailed account of how the publishers sent out to Vietnam a corps of correspondents who could be counted on to send back "glowing reports of progress".[9] He touches on this "sensitive" question: How courageous were the press and television in exposing the criminal war? But only a few journalists, he says, especially in the initial period of the war, had the courage to call for a withdrawal from Vietnam. In 1968 the *Boston Globe* undertook a survey of editorial opinion among 39 major American newspapers, with a total circulation of 22 million, to determine their views on the Vietnam war. Only several newspapers had become critical of the war, but not one advocated US withdrawal.[10] It was only the realisation that the Vietnam gamble was doomed to failure that led many to reconsider their attitude, "withdraw from this front",[11] and criticise the US aggression—an act of belated courage.

The aggression in Vietnam, which divided America and showed up its maladies, the reactionary nature and hypocrisy of its institutions, was not the only cause of the credibility crisis. Robert Glessing has examined the factors that went into the emergence of such a "new phenomenon" as the "underground press",[12] its scope and implications.[13] It has a circulation of

[6] R. Barnet. Roots of War. [7] Ibid. p 253. [8] Ibid. p. 271.

[9] J. Aronson, Packaging the News. p. 73 [10] Ibid. p. 75.

[11] P. Hoch. The Newspaper Game, p. 47.

[12] Most bourgeois authors use the term "underground press" to designate publications not put out by the big press trusts.

[13] R. Glessing. The Underground Press in America, p. 12.

more than five million and, according to Glessing, speaks for the "rebel sections" of US society, from organisations of youth, Black militants and intellectuals to sex and pornography groups. But he feels compelled to admit that the rise of most of these underground publications is due to their distrust of the traditional media, the gap between proclaimed ideals and American realities, opposition to sluggish cultural and bureaucratic political institutions, a desire to "create a new coalition of readers for the alternative medium".[14]

Some authors dwell on a more complex question: the theory behind the propaganda methods of concealing the truth and turning the media into a myth-producing industry.

The bourgeois theory of influencing people's minds and feelings througl the media was first outlined by Walter Lippmann.[15] His "secret" was giv- ing the reader stereotypes that "govern the whole process of perception' (p. 59). These stereotypes, Lippmann said, would "help us to imagin most things before we experience them" (p. 59).

Since it was not the facts, themselves incomplete and nebulous, but th generalised stereotype that helped one see his way through the "chaos" o reality, Lippmann maintained that the media should create stereotypes tha would explain all facts and events.

Paradoxically, the author of this theory of stereotypes, which in prac tice led to outright mind-manipulation, was widely respected for his crit cism of the aggressive aspects of US foreign policy. Lippmann exposed th more blatant lies of the bourgeois press, the "routine of life" in capitali society. Readers were attracted by his lucid manner and independer thinking. The liberal-minded bourgeoisie found in Lippmann's articl their "own" thoughts. Publishers appreciated their value as circulatio builders. Politicians appreciated his critical columns as a means of testir reaction to contentious issues of home and foreign policy.

At the same time—and apparently this was central to the whole idea— Lippmann never encroached on the foundations of bourgeois societ Rather the contrary: he designed and tested new forms of defendi capitalism. And this attracted the owners of newspapers, magazines a television, who used Lippmann's critical remarks to "channelise" publ discontent: "regulated" criticism became a method of ideological control

The bourgeois mass media theory, let alone practice, has made substa tial "advances". Brainwashing techniques are more refined, and a syste of myths is in circulation to disguise the manipulation of public opini H. Schiller anatomises them one by one

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[14] Ibid., pp. 6, 10, 66, 12.

[15] W. Lippmann. Public Opinion. New York, 1966.

Myth One: "the myth of neutrality", maintaining that the mass media are neutral and uninvolved in "the clash of conflicting social interests".[16]

Myth Two: "immutable human nature". This is supposed to persuade people that nothing changes, neither the world nor human nature. "As for those parts of the world that have undergone far-reaching social rearrangements, reports of these transformations, if there are any, emphasise the defects, problems and crises, which are seized upon with relish by domestic consciousness manipulators".[17]

Myth Three: "the myth of media pluralism". Its purpose is to create an illusion of choice, to make people mistake the abundance of media for diversity of content. "Most Americans," Schiller notes, "are basically, though unconsciously, trapped in what amounts to a no choice informational bind... This results essentially from the "identity of interests, material and ideological, of the private owners of the communications media" and from "the monopolistic character of the communications industry in general."[18]

Myth Four: "freedom of choice", implying that information media give the public only what it wants. Paul Hoch, Professor of Humanities at Dawson College in Montreal, observed on this score that "if one is only giving the public what it wants, is it not reasonable to try and arrange things so that the public wants the same things you want to give?"[19] Hoch cites examples to confirm this argument. Myth-making, he says, produces "a certain stereotyped view of reality".[20] This is achieved by specific news presentation techniques that conceal the social connection between different events. The idea is to create "a hysterical and frenzied atmosphere", obscuring or perverting the meaning of events. Consequently, the ability to discriminate between different degrees of significance is impaired.[21] Another ploy is the specially devised vocabulary whereby, say, barbarian bombing of peaceful towns and villages and expansion of aggression is wrapped up in the nebulous term "escalation".

Conscious of the manipulation of public opinion, many authors ask if "press freedom", the "independent editor" and the "incorruptible journalist" are at all possible. Fred Hirsch and David Gordon, for one, observe sarcastically, that "the editors have full editorial freedom, but they are also expected to bring home the bacon".[22]

They quote a press magnate who asked why "the 206,000 people in business earning less than £3,000 can be viewed as being of much impor-

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[16] H. Schiller. The Mind Managers, p. 11.

[17] Ibid. p. 16.

[18] Ibid. p. 19.

[19] P. Hoch. The Newspaper Game, p. 127.

[20] Ibid. pp. 138-139.

[21] See H. Schiller, op. cit., pp. 26, 28, 29.

[22] F. Hirsch and D. Gordon. Newspaper Money, p. 43.

tance",[23] since "newspapers are among the few products for which one buyer's money is not as good as another's in the eyes of the seller: 8p a day from a reader earning £5,000 a year is worth much more than 8p from a reader earning £2,000 a year, because a newspaper is not just selling its editorial product to its readers but is selling its readers' incomes to advertisers".[24]

All in all, the more perceptive authors note, everything is "dependent on the economic organisation of the press itself, and of society generally".[25] And the analysis of the state of affairs leaves no room for optimism. Taking over newspapers, magazines, radio stations and publishing houses, the big corporations control dissemination and the content of news and are able to manipulate public opinion on a continuously growing scale. The growth of international monopoly and state-monopoly conglomerates extends this process beyond national frontiers, leading to uniform and tight control over the content of information media.

Commercial advertising, most authors emphasise, is the strongest lever of such control. "Every day in a hundred different ways," Hoch writes, "we are bombarded with a steady stream of propaganda on a wide variety of subjects, commercial or political. Some of it—the smaller part—we recognise as gaudy advertising or political bilge, and do our best to ignore. However, a good deal more (especially the commercial-political propaganda for a consumerist definition of happiness) we've been taught to think completely 'normal' and unchallengable. So it tends to slip by unnoticed."[26]

Other authors concur. James Aronson, for example, notes that advertising of the American way of life is propaganda of "uniformity", whereby any other way of life is portrayed wrong and iniquitous. As long as publishers, editors, commentators and reporters stay within limits defined by the owners of the newspaper industry, they "enjoy perfect freedom" and can say anything they like. But monopoly leads to a "standardisation" of news and public opinion. Even "national interests" are interpreted to the public by owners of press syndicates, "who identify themselves, because of their conglomerate financial concerns, with national policies which protect these financial concerns".[27]

Certainly, the critical view and penetrating social analysis of such authors as Aronson do not mean that most researchers favour a radical

[23] Ibid. p. 39.
[24] Ibid. p. 40.
[25] P. Hoch. op. cit., p. 149.
[26] Ibid. p. 175.
[27] See J. Aronson. Packaging the News, p. 15.

revision of the fundamentals of bourgeois propaganda, let alone of bourgeois society. In many cases, researchers refer at best to the necessity of remedying the state of affairs, and assign this task to individuals with sophisticated engineering and administrative training, who are critical of the system.[28]

All the same, disapproval and criticism of the character and techniques of bourgeois propaganda reflect the continuously growing differentiation among bourgeois scholars and ideologues.

Objectively, the new world situation, the progress of international detente, and the Final Act signed in Helsinki emphasise the incompatibility of manipulative propaganda techniques and the principles of peaceful coexistence.

But there is also this: to make up for the weakness of their positions, many organs of the "free and independent" press have mounted a strident and, as the facts show, closely coordinated anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaign. In so doing they rely on old psycholigical warfare techniques, make extensive use of "stolen slogans", and claim title to the ideals of freedom and democracy, to which so many generations of revolutionaries had dedicated their lives.

The manipulative techniques are arousing concern and resistance among the democratic public. Not surprisingly, and, in effect, for the first time in years, the bourgeois press is compelled to discuss which of the two—the socialist or the monopoly media—are doing a better and more truthful job of news reporting. Only recently, this question did not even arise among bourgeois propagandists. The *Financial Times* (Nov. 27, 1975) writes, for example, "Communists maintain that instead of encouraging people to take an interest in East Europe, the western press does the opposite. Coverage of the communist world tends to be one-sided, critical, scanty, and, especially in the popular press, coloured by primitive ideas of what East Europe is all about... There is some justice in these claims. Many first-time visitors to East Europe are surprised and impressed by what they see. Some even write to their newspapers complaining about misleading coverage".

Attempts to mislead public opinion and the growing manipulative practices, coupled with the rising public concern and criticism of bourgeois propaganda, reflect different, but ultimately interconnected, tendencies and are evidence of the depth and permanence of the credibility crisis of bourgeois information media.

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[28] H. Schiller, op. cit., p. 187.

Vietnam in Construction

A historic landmark of the 70s, the victory of the Vietnamese people over the forces of imperialist aggression and reaction created the conditions for reuniting the country in peace and democracy and building socialism. The new stage of the Vietnam revolution poses new problems for the Party and people. They are discussed, together with the strategy and tactics of resolving them, in the recently published Russian edition of selected articles and speeches by Le Duan, First Secretary of the Working People's Party of Vietnam.[1]

Le Duan emphasises: "The course our Party has charted reflects and embodies the objective laws discovered by Marxism-Leninism. Socialism can be built only by applying these laws, only on the principles of Marxism-Leninism" (p. 71). And it is from these positions that the author analyses the present situation in Vietnam, the character and tasks of socialist construction in the North, and the objective and subjective difficulties in the country's continued progress.

North Vietnam's hard road from a colonial semi-feudal society to socialism, by-passing the capitalist stage, was further complicated by the war and its aftermath. Analysing the situation after the Paris Agreement, he writes: "The situation is still not normal and we cannot freely move ahead. We say that our economy is socialist, but actually it is basically of an agrarian character, with the predominance of small-scale production. We say that new relations of production exist, but we cannot say that we have the socialist mode of production. It can be said that we have, and at the same time do not have, full socialism. Such is the contradiction of growth" (pp. 179-180). There is only one way to overcome that contradiction, through a high rate of socialist industrialisation to give the country large-

[1] Le Duan. Selected Articles and Speeches (1970-75), Moscow, Politizdat 1975, 74 pp.

scale production, stimulate the creative initiative and activity of the masses, combat idlers, passivity, parasitism, etc.

Le Duan examines the concrete tasks that await accomplishment. He urges reorganisation of agriculture. Comparing how this was done in the socialist countries with conditions in Vietnam, he concludes that the new social relations, by their very nature the "product of heavy industry", in Vietnam, "are the natural result of the national democratic revolution and the initial stage of socialist transformations in conditions in which heavy industry has yet to be built" (pp. 292-293). However, considering the way things are shaping up in Vietnam and the world, Le Duan makes this important observation: "We cannot wait for heavy industry to be built and only then devise a new pattern of social relations. History allows us, indeed is forcing us, to begin shaping these relations now" (p. 293). Amplifying that, he writes that it is both possible and advisable to "reorganise agriculture along the lines of large-scale socialist production, though heavy industry is still in the formative stage; more, we can use agriculture as a basis for developing industry" (p. 294).

Central to all Le Duan's speeches and articles is emphasis on the need to strengthen the Party and its leading role in every area of national life. In the article, "Some Cadre and Organisation Problems in the Socialist Revolution", he writes: "The victories won by our people are truly tremendous, and the outlook ahead is excellent. *But let us not be carried away by these victories, and let us not forget that the road to our ultimate goal is a long, tortuous and difficult one*" (p. 133). If we are successfully to advance along that road, the author says, every cadre, every Party member, must clearly understand his own role and contribution. More intensive educational work, more efficient and scientifically-based selection and allocation of cadres, a higher standard of organisational work in every area—such Le Duan says, are the Party's urgent tasks. He especially stresses better organisation. For, he writes, it is not a matter "of one or two gifted individuals, but of an efficient organisation in the economic, political and social structure based on socialist principles. It is imperative that we create such an organisation" (p. 97).

The Party's international ties hold an important place in Le Duan's articles and speeches. Close ties with other contingents of the international Communist and Workers' movement, and unfaltering adherence to the principles of proletarian internationalism, he writes, is the paramount factor in the Vietnam Communists' successful struggle for justice, independence and socialism. Conscious of its responsibility to the people and the international Communist movement, the Working People's Party of Vietnam has always regarded unity with the revolutionary forces of the world, and above all with the fraternal socialist countries and the international Communist movement, as the main content of its international policy (p. 356).

Forty-six years ago, Ho Chi Minh, the great Vietnamese revolutionary and the first follower of Lenin in Vietnam, founded agenuine revolutionary workers party. It led the people in their fight for a brighter future. Today, the continuers of Ho Chi Minh, the leaders of the Working People's Party, true to the eternally valid principles of Marxism-Leninism, are leading the Party and people to socialism, to fulfilment of the behests of President Ho Chi Minh.

The publication in the USSR of this collection of articles and speeches by Le Duan is further evidence of the respect Soviet Communists have for the Communists of heroic Vietnam and their struggle. It is a manifestation of proletarian solidarity with the Vietnamese people, now accomplishing new, important tasks—reunification and the building of socialism.

I. Osotov

On Materialist Dialectics

The Dialectics of the Present Epoch[1] is an important work by Academician P. N. Fedoseyev, the eminent Soviet scholar. Readers interested in the Marxist-Leninist approach to the philosophical aspects of contemporary development and scientific knowledge will welcome the wide range of problems dealt with and the information on Soviet research in philosophy and its results.

The author describes in detail Lenin's contribution to materialist dialectics and probes into theoretical and methodological problems of its application in analysing the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. He reveals some features of the dialectics of the contemporary social process and shows the importance of dialectical and historical materialism in proving the validity of scientific communism and in understanding social progress in general and the evolution of the individual in particular. The book also examines the growing role of the dialectical method in cognising nature. Expounding various processes and phenomena in terms of theory, the author joins issue with bourgeois opponents of Marxism-Leninism and takes a stand against right and "left" revisionism.

The book is also noteworthy in that the author states his views on some problems under discussion among Marxist philosophers. This applies to his investigation of the operation of dialectical laws in objective reality, the results of philosophical generalisation of the economic, political and spiritual processes taking place in modern society, and the elaboration of problems of world outlook and methodology which now play a key role in the progress of the social sciences and in the ideological struggle.

Written from an explicit Party position, the book gives a comprehensive idea of the nature of the present development stage of materialist dialectics.

K. Jorgen

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[1] P. N. Fedoseyev, *Dialektika sovremennoi epokhi*. Moscow, Nauka, 1975, 576 pp.

Communist Integrity

Recently Comrade Moses Kotane, General Secretary of the South African Communist Party since 1939, celebrated his 70th birthday. This jubilee was marked by the publication of his political biography[1] written by Brian Bunting. The author shows that the life and political history of Comrade Kotane symbolises the glorious revolutionary and progressive traditions of the South African working-class and national-liberation movements.

A peasant, agricultural labourer and later a worker, Kotane rose to become one of the leading theoreticians and practical revolutionaries of the African continent. He played an instrumental role in ridding the SACP of the disease of sectarianism which infected the Party in the thirties. Both in theory and practice he consistently and with vigour and determination fought for a principled Marxist approach to the development of the revolutionary process in South Africa. He understood clearly and fought unceasingly for the development of a broad united front which included all the main anti-racist and anti-colonialist revolutionary forces.

By the time the SACP was banned in 1950 Kotane had already established himself as a leading revolutionary in South Africa. As General Secretary of the Communist Party, he was simultaneously a member of the executive of the African National Congress. Describing that period, Bunting notes that Comrade Kotane's work in both organisations brought them closer to one another than they had ever been before. "The decade to come was to see the full benefit of this cooperation in the mobilisation of hundreds of thousands of South Africans of all races in campaigns directed against the apartheid policies of the Nationalist Government" (p. 175). Needless to say, there were objective reasons for this. But as Bunting shows, there was also the subjective factor: "There was a personal element which also won Kotane the confidence of those who worked with him, and that was his integrity, his solidity as an individual, his stubbornness in fight-

[1] Brian Bunting. *Moses Kotane—South African Revolutionary. A Political Biography*, London, Inkululeko Publications, 1975, 309 pp.

ing for what he believed to be right... He proved a first-rate administrator, keeping in regular touch with the Party districts and branches, meticulous in keeping records and checking on the implementation of decisions, in exchanging correspondence" (p. 176).

Although banned in 1952 by the racist regime from all political activities, Kotane continued to play a vital role in the reconstituting of the illegal structures of the SACP and in building the ANC as a genuine mass movement. Scrupulously observing the rules of Party security, Kotane and other members gradually strengthened the illegal apparatus of the Party and thereby built the SACP into a powerful united force which became an indispensable and integral part of the revolutionary forces in racist South Africa and throughout the African continent.

Following the serious reverses and setbacks suffered by the liberation movements in the mid-sixties the Party and the ANC have been engaged in a life and death struggle to strengthen and develop the underground machinery at all levels, to organise effective secret links between the illegal structures and to prepare the necessary basis for the initiation and development of armed revolutionary struggle inside racist South Africa. The successes achieved in this work are in no small measure due to the untiring efforts and contribution of Comrade Kotane.

Dedicated to the cause of strengthening the unity of the international Communist movement, Comrade Kotane has always been and remains a good friend of the Soviet Union. In recognition of his untiring efforts, infinite devotion and dedication to the cause of anti-racist, anti-fascist, and anti-colonial, anti-imperialist struggle in South Africa and internationally, Comrade Kotane was awarded the Isithwalandwe (the ANC's highest distinction) and the Order of Friendship Among Nations by the Soviet Union.

A few words about the author of the book under review. Brian Bunting, a leading South African revolutionary, was for many years a member of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party, and was awarded the prize of the International Organisation of Journalists in 1960. Bunting's biography is not just about Kotane's life and contribution, but is also a significant contribution to the Marxist historiography of the revolutionary movements in South Africa. With honesty and partisanship Bunting elucidates and clarifies some of the most difficult periods in the Party's history, such as the period of sectarianism, the struggle to arrive at a correct Marxist-Leninist understanding of the national-colonial question and the relationship between the struggle for national liberation and the struggle for socialism.

Bunting's book will undoubtedly prove to be of immense value to Marxist scholars and all fighters for a truly non-racial democratic South Africa.

E. P.

Land to the Tiller

"From Atlixco Prison. The Life and Struggles of a Peasant Leader" is the life-story of Ramon Danzos Palomino, prominent leader of Mexico's peasant movement, jailed on trumped-up charges. Recalling how the book came into being, journalist Gerardo Pelaez writes in the foreword: "In recognition of the tremendous role Danzos Palomino played in organising and educating the peasant masses, and the monstrous injustice perpetrated against him, Ediciones de cultura popular asked me to interview him and help him produce a book that would portray the life of a dedicated revolutionary. Thus, I travelled to Atlixco, where in ten interviews of varying duration we produced this book" (p 8).

Palomino's narrative takes the reader back to the spring of 1972, when Mexican peasant staged an "agrarian march" on the capital city to commemorate the 53rd anniversary of the death of peasant leader Emiliano Zapata. Danzos Palomino was one of the organisers of that march. The government brought out troops against the peaceful demonstration. In response the incensed peasants began to occupy landlord lands. Mass reprisals ensued. In the summer of 1973 Palomino's house in Mexico City was surrounded by police armed with submachine guns and tear gas. Palomino was arrested and accused of incitement to rebellion.

Palomino's arrest sparked a wave of angry protest, not only in Mexico but all over the world. During the Mexican President's visits to Latin America and Europe he received thousands of letters and statements demanding freedom for Palomino. Under pressure of public opinion, and because there was nothing to confirm the charges against Palomino, he was released on bail of 50,000 pesos. And although the case against him has

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Ramon Danzos, *Desde la carcel de Atlixco* (vida y lucha de un dirigente compesino). Entrevista y prologo Gerardo Pelaez. Mexico, Ediciones de cultura popular, 175 pp.

not been closed, after eighteen months in jail Palomino was released and the book he wrote in jail has won wide popularity.

The reason for its popularity is that it offers a deep insight into Mexico's agrarian problems, gives an idea of the naure of the peasants' struggle and the fate of its leaders, Emiliano Zapata, Pancho Villa and Ruben Jaramillo, who were the victims of repression. In the simple rural idiom of Northern Mexico, Palomino speaks of his life, alternating socio-political analyses with vivid descriptions of events. His narrative is an expose of the traditional anti-peasant policies of the government and the big Mexican bourgeoisie, which have resulted in a profound agrarian crisis and poverty for millions of peasants.

Since 1937 the name of Danzos Palomino has been linked with the struggles of the working people of the state of Sorora, where he headed the Worker and Peasant Federation and Alliance of Cooperative Societies. When the Independent Peasant Centre was set up, heralding a new upsurge in the mass peasant struggle, Palomino became a member of its leadership and subsequently its head. In 1963 Palomino was nominated presidential candidate of the Popular Electoral Front. Possessing the remarkable quality of a popular tribune, Palomino travelled all over the country, setting forth the Front's election platform which, as he notes in the book, exposed the demagogy of the ruling bourgeoisie and the government's fraudulent policies and corruption. The campaign, he writes, "helped reveal the bourgeois character of the Mexican revolution[1], as well as to outline the prospects for the new revolution Mexico needs so badly" (p. 97).

"In April 1936, while a student at a school for rural teachers," Palomino recalls, "I joined the Communist Party, and I am a member to this day" (p. 67). It was in the ranks of the vanguard party of the working class, peasantry and progressive intellectuals that Palomino was able to reveal to the fullest of his abilities and organisational talent in the struggle against imperialism. "The Mexican Communist Party," he writes, "is a firm and reliable bulwark of the anti-imperialist struggle. In upholding national interests, we also fight against bourgeois nationalism, i.e., the nationalism of the big bourgeoisie and reaction. In times of crisis Mexico's rulers, the oligarchy in power, demagogically raise to the banner of nationalism" (p. 78).

Danzos Palomino is a member of the Communist Party leadership and heads the Independent Centre of Agrarian Workers and Peasants. He is a member of the Leadership Committee and Bureau of the International Union of Agricultural, Forestry and Fishery workers trade unions (UISTABP) affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions.

[1] I.e., the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1917-1919.—*Ed.*

Ramon Danzos Palomino is one of Mexico's best loved and esteemed peasant and popular leaders, a model of firmness, selflessness and loyalty to the cause of the working people. "From Atlixco Prison" is Polemino's first book, though his speeches and writings on rural problems could fill several volumes. He is now planning a continuation of this book in which he will deal in greater detail with Mexicos agrarian problems and the position of rural workers. He hopes that it will help in the struggle against the reprisals from which fighters for a solution of Mexico's agrarian problems suffer. One can only wish Palomino success and look forward to the appearance of his new book.

Samuel Melendrez

For A Free and Democratic Lebanon

The *Al-Akhbar* weekly on the political crisis in Lebanon and the position of its national minorities.

The world has been anxiously watching the events in Lebanon, whi have claimed thousands of lives. The bourgeois press ascribes them to flare-up of strife between the Moslem and Christian communities. Actual they are due to a skein of contradictions; besides imperialist and Zion subversion, there has been a sharpening of class antagonisms, scheming a actions by internal reaction, which is using violence and repressions und the aegis of a regime bent on maintaining obsolete anti-democratic instit tions. The Lebanese Communists have repeatedly drawn attention to th in their analyses of the present crisis, which has also been the subject articles in the world progressive and Communist press.[2]

The crisis is predominantly of a political and social character, and t Communists have examined all the many issues involved, including t nationalities' problem which, though a partial one, reflects the social, ı ligious and national inequality that is part of Lebanese life.

"The political forces that have traditionally held power, particularly t Maronites,"[3] *Al-Akhbar* wrote, "want to make the national minorities su port their fratricidal war and thus obscure the very real social war in Let non and achieve overall 'Christian unity' around the Kata'eb Party."[4]

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[1] See decision of Lebanese Communist Party Central Committee Plenum publi ed in a supplement to *Al-Akhbar* of August 23, 1975.

[2] See *WMR*, Sept. 1975.

[3] Maronites, adherents of the Maronite Christian Church. Due to a number historical reasons they enjoy a privileged position in the confessionist system, whi provides for representation in government according to religion.

[4] *Al-Akhbar*, August 16, 1975. The Kata'eb Party, or Phalangists, was founded 1936 and is associated with big capital, local and foreign. It has repeatedly provok armed clashes and crisis situations.

In describing the position of the Vadi-haaled Arabs, the Kurds, Chaldeans and Assyrians, the so-called "silent minorities", *Al-Akhbar* (Aug. 16, 1975) notes that their silence suggests "calm before the storm". They settled in Lebanon long ago for many years "gave it all their strength, their children and their blood". Economically, politically and spiritually they are closely tied with their new homeland. Yet they are considered "aliens', only because most of them have no certificates of Lebanese origin. And *Al-Akhbar* describes the status of a person without such a certificate: "His family, home and job are never secure; there is the ever-present danger of expulsion and harassment."

The magazine explains that in this way thousands of Lebanese are deprived of elementary civil rights. This can be traced to the evolution of Lebanese legislation from the 1924 decision granting Lebanese citizenship to all inhabitants of Greater Lebanon who had been subjects of the Ottoman Empire, to the legislative acts of 1925, 1937-39 which made the granting of citizenship to "foreigners" dependent on "definite conditions": citizenship was thus "conferred" at the discretion of the authorities.

The maze of contradictory citizenship acts leaves ample room for bureaucratic arbitrariness. In addition, there is a system of stampings on identity cards, some of which restrict the holder's rights,[5] others practically deprive him of all rights.[6]

The sharp reaction to the journal's revelations can be measured in the large number of letters from all parts of the country.[7] *Al-Akhbar* publishes replies to them and has initiated a discussion on how to resolve the "granting of citizenship" problem, suggesting that the first step should be "a drastic change of political and constitutional procedures".

The crisis events of last year have confirmed the importance of the questions raised by the Communists and also their principled approach to a solution.

The reactionary forces, exploiting the religious sentiments of the population, are inciting strife and discord between the communities. The nationalist hysteria has also activated the isolationists who want to partition Lebanon into several independent states along confessionist lines. The Communists expose these attempts to solve the problem of dividing up the country. That policy, *Al-Akhbar* wrote in one of its October issues, would only help the US and Israel push through their imperialist plans. The separatists' escalation of military provocation, the Communist *Al-Nida* (Nov.

[5] An identity card stamped "Javaz murur" allows its owner a short visit to Lebanon, and yet this stamp appears on the identity cards of many Lebanese who for many years have never left the country.

[6] The "maktum" stamp means the holder of the identity card is not a citizen and does not enjoy civil rights.

[7] *Al-Akhbar*, August 15, 1975.

21, 1975) wrote, is meant to justify foreign interference, again [illegible] question of relations between Lebanon and the Palestinians and [illegible] public and political parties from discussing reforms.

The Lebanese Communists' principled, class position, both on [illegible] situation and on the problem of national minorities, is attracting [illegible] support and extending the ranks of those who want a free and de[illegible] Lebanon.

A. I. [illegible]

The Party Press

NIGERIAN HORIZONS

The editorial in the first issue of the Nigerian monthly *New Horizon* says that the journal "will serve as a forum for Nigerian Marxist-Leninists to teach and expound the exact and authentic meaning of scientific socialism . . . It will be a fighting ally of the Nigerian working class, farmers, youths and students in their struggle for social justice."

The first issue contains an article by Marien Ngouabi, Chairman of the Congolese Party of Labour, "Scientific Socialism in Africa", and articles on the 58th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the situation in Angola, and the problems and prospects of industrialisation in Nigeria.

N. K.

EVIDENCE OF SUCCESS

The *Daily World* notes the public interest aroused by General Secretary Gus Hall's report to the Party's 21st Convention, "The Crisis of US Capitalism and the Fight-Backs". Two printings of the report have been followed by a third of 150,000 copies, bringing the total to around 250,000.

In a *Daily World* interview Gus Hall said millions of Americans had read about the CP USA Convention in over 500 national and local newspapers and magazines. "Now," he added, "they are getting the most of it and that is strength to the struggle".

Distribution of Hall's report is carried out in the Party's best tradition that every Communist helps in the sale and distribution of important Party documents under the slogan: "One copy in the hand to read and one copy in the pocket for a friend."

K. Nikolson

CLANDESTINE JOURNAL

The Communist Party of Uruguay has added a well illustrated 40-page journal, *Ensayos*, to its list of publications: *Carta Semanal*, its main paper, and many pamphlets and leaflets. The latest issue (offset printing) contains a variety of material—diary of current events, an economic survey, report on the wages situation, parts of Rodney Arismendi's article on the situation in Latin America, an item on Uruguay's national hero Jose Artigas, excerpts from Lenin's book "The State and Revolution", and an interview with Alvaro Cunhal.

Putting out the journal called for courage and devotion, for the Communist Party is the target of savage terror. Hundreds of its members have been arrested. The fascist repression is being intensified. But the Uruguayan Communists are fighting on, and taking their cause to the masses. They have the support of the democratic forces of the world.

Sergio Sierra

CARTAGO MARKS 20TH ANNIVERSARY

An exhibition was held recently to mark the 20th anniversary of Cartago, which ranks among the best-known publishers in Latin America.

This Argentine publishing house continued to function even in the years of political persecution. A special achievement was the publication of Marx's *Capital* and *The Theory of Surplus Value*, two editions of the complete works of Lenin (the only one in Spanish), and selections from the Marxist classics. In its twenty years Cartago published some 600 titles in a total printing of several million copies.

Mariana Martin

COMMUNIST PRESS FUND

The recent *Land og Folk* fund-raising campaign brought in 2,346,493 kroner—moer than twice the original million-kroner target.

A mass meeting at the *Land og Folk* building on the closing day of the campaign was addressed by Knud Jespersen, the Chairman of the Communist Party of Denmark.

"It is good to know," he said, "that our Party, which some would gladly have liquidated, was successful in its membership and *Land og Folk* circulation drives, and that in this time of crisis it collected more than twice the target sum in the fund-raising campaign."

B. S.

ore than 1.7 million schillings were collected in a fund-raising cam-
n for *Volksstimme*, the journal *Weg und Ziel* and other CP of Austria publications. The biggest sums were raised in Vienna, Lower Austria and Styria.

The successful campaign speaks of the growing prestige of the Communist press. Thanking participants in the fund-raising drive, the CPA Central Committee pointed out that *contributions to the Party's funds helped it expand its political and organisational activity.*

E. I.

BOOKS AND TELEVISION

Antoine Spier, Commercial director of Editions sociales, the French Communist Party's publishers, discussed the role of television in a recent issue of *L'Humanite*.

Television, he said, could inform its huge audiences about new books, reviving the declining interest in serious reading. Yet the medium is hardly ever used for this purpose.

Spier examined the problem of distributing Marxist literature. Television has helped in propagating some Marxist books. The most recent example is that of the volume of Marx and Engels correspondence put out by Editions sociales. Television, he said, could review books recommended for students of Marxism-Leninism. Regrettably, it does so very reluctantly. There is only one way out: democratisation of television—something the Communists and all French progressives are fighting for.

D. Vital

New Books

Giorgio Amendola, *Fascismo e movimento operaio* (Fascism and the Working-Class Movement). Rome, Editori Riuniti, 1975, 258 pp.

A member of the Italian Communist Party Leadership looks into the anti-fascist struggles of the working class of Italy and other West European countries over the past fifty years. Emphasis on vigilance and the need to bear the fascist danger in mind and resist the menace of neofascism are the keynote of the book.

Hvitboka om 1940. Utgitt av Norges Kommunistiske Parti (The White Book on 1940, Prepared by the Communist Party of Norway). Oslo, Forlaget Ny Dag, 1975. 160 pp.

A book about a tragic period in Norwegian history. On April 9, 1940, neutral Norway was attacked by fascist Germany and occupied after two months' fighting. A wealth of factual evidence—passages from statements by politicians and trade union leaders, Communist Party leaflets and statements—revives events of the period. It helps to refute the conjectures and outright falsifications of present-day bourgeois ideologists and show the role of Norway's Communist Party and working class, who fought in the forefront of the anti-fascist Resistance.

Ladislav Hrzal, Jakub Netopilik, *Ideologicky boj ve vyvoji ceske filozofie* (The Ideological Struggle in the Development of Czech Philosophy). Prague, Svoboda, 1975, 377 pp.

Showing the development of philosophical thought from 1945 to this day, the authors devote special attention to the fight against frankly bourgeois ideology, as well as against revisionist and anti-socialist trends and manifestations. They critically analyse existentialist-anthropological and scientistic-positivist views on the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and reveal the meaning of the romantic petty-bourgeois interpretation of socialism. The monograph includes an ample bibliography.

Para la renovacion democratica de la educacion. Bases para la ley general de educacion (For a Democratic Reform of Education: Principles of a General Law on Education). Buenos Aires, Editorial Anteo, 1975. 48 pp.

The Communist Party of Argentina states its position and sets out its proposals for reorganising and democratising the education system. It notes that reforms could put education as a whole in the service of a democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution and help to form a genuinely national consciousness expressing the ideas of the struggle for the economic, political and cultural independence of Argentina.

Marksistsko-Leninskoye uchenie o sotsializme i sovremennost' (The Marxist-Leninist Doctrine of Socialism and the Present Time), Moscow, Politizdat, 1975.

A collection of writings by Soviet scholars showing how the fundamentals of the theory of scientific socialism, brilliantly formulated by Marx and Engels, were carried forward in Lenin's programme for building a new society and how the collective thought and experience of the CPSU and the fraternal parties of other countries contribute to it.

My—internatsionalisty. Vospominania sovetskikh dobrovol'-tsev-uchastnikov natsional'no-revolyutsionnoi voiny v Ispanii (We Are Internationalists. Recollections of Soviet Volunteers Who Fought in the Spanish National Revolutionary War). Moscow, Politizdat, 1975. 287 pp.

A collective account of the Spanish war of 1936-39 by veteran internationalists. Many of the recollections are published for the first time. There are extracts from Soviet and foreign press reports of the time, and statements by prominent spokesmen of the world Communist movement.

Ruch robotniczy w Polsce Ludowej (The Working-Class Movement in People's Poland). Edited by J. W. Golebiowski and W. Gora. Warsaw, Wiedza Powszechna, 1975. 449 pp.

This collective treatise by Polish historians covering almost 30 years (1944-72) describes the political activity of the two immediate predecessors of the Polish United Workers' Party—the Polish Workers' Party and Polish Socialist Party—and spells out the Marxist-Leninist principles on which they merged in 1948. The second part of the treatise deals with the organisational development of the PUWP and its home and foreign policy.

Michel Redjan, Jean Rodrigue, *Pourquoi nous payons trop d'impots, La fiscalite giscardienne* (Why We Pay Too Many Taxes: Giscard's Tax System) Paris, Editions Sociales, 1975. 150 pp.

The authors are well versed in the French tax system and aware of its effect on the people's standard of life. J. Rodrigue is on the tax commission of the financial federation of the General Confederation of Labour and M. Redjan heads the economic section of *La Vie Ouvriere*, the GCL newspaper. Drawing on numerous facts, they reveal the intricate taxation

machinery to the general reader, who comes to realise how the bourgeois state protects and encourages big capital while putting a heavy financial burden on the working people and small proprietors.

Dimityr Tishev, *Pod Znameto na tvorcheskiya marksizym-leninizym* (Under the Banner of Creative Marxism-Leninism). Sofia, Partizdat, 1975. 360 pp.

This book by a Bulgarian philosopher is concerned with the fight for democracy and socialism, Leninist united front tactics, the Bulgarian Communist Party's approach to the formation of the worker-peasant alliance, and some aspects of people's democracy in Bulgaria as a form of proletarian dictatorship. He shows how the BCP applies Lenin's plan of building socialism in Bulgarian conditions, and investigates the main characteristics of developed socialism.

Henry Winston, *The Moynihan-Kissinger Doctrine and the "Third" World"*. New York, New Outlook Publishers, 1975. 63 pp.

The National Chairman of the CPUSA discloses the US imperialists' effort to extend to developing countries their policy of economic and social oppression of the working people, especially of the national minorities. American reactionaries now have an ally, the Maoists, he writes. Analysis of the Peking leaders' statements leads the author to the conclusion that in regard to key issues of today, such as detente, disarmament and the struggle against militarism, racism and fascism, the Peking leaders virtually make common cause with the right wing of American and world imperialism.

Reiner Eckert, *Das ist "demokratischer Sozialismus"*. Eine Antwort auf Johano Strassers Frage: "Was ist demokratischer Sozialismus?" ("This Is "Democratic Socialism": An Answer to Johano Strasser's Question, "What Is Democratic Socialism?"). Frankfort on Main, Verlag Marxistische Blatter, 1975, 72 pp.

The author examines the debate in the Social Democratic Party of Germany on the outlook for SDP activity, a debate promoted by the position of the party's left wing as expressed by Strasser, Oertzen and Steffen. He reveals the reasons for the rise of a "left-wing variant" of right-wing social democracy and presents its current views on the economic conditions of the workers, democracy and the struggle against monopoly. After a detailed analysis he draws the conclusion that Strasser's "democratic socialism" is a variety of bourgeois ideology.

Strikes and Trade Union Struggle in Italy

Michele Rossi

The last quarter of 1975 in Italy saw a powerful wave of strikes over the renegotiation of the three-year collective agreements. The collective bargaining involved 7,530,700 employees of the state and private sectors, including 3,062,000 industrial workers, 517,000 in the service industries 3,871,700 civil servants and 80,000 in forestry. The strikes took place against the background of an aggravated economic crisis and further attempts by the big industrialists and the government to put the burden of the crisis on the people's shoulders, attempts which have been made ever since the crisis began. In the first eight months of 1975, strikes resulted in the loss of 128 million working hours against 63,500,000 hours in the same period of 1974.

In drafting its programme of demands, the unitary Federation of the Italian General Confederation of Labour, Italian Confederation of Labour Unions and Italian Labour Union proceeded from such realities of the current crisis as a 12 per cent drop in industrial production, 1.2 million unemployed, 800,000 people living on relief from compensation banks,[1] unemployment among university and college graduates of the past two years, dismissals and the threat of thousands more.

The trade unions evolved a strategy taking into account the whole range of the working people's problems and linking the struggle for new collective agreements with the general demand for a new economic policy orientation. This policy attaches decisive importance to the problems of employment and control over investments, giving them precedence over the problem of wages. In other words, the unions demand a wage increase that

[1] Factory compensation bank guarantee on a country-wide scale payment of wages to those working people who are compelled, against their will to stop work completely or partially for a period of up to six months.

would preserve the purchasing capacity of wages without leading to greater inflation. They regard it as their duty to go beyond narrow trade-unionism by helping decisively to overcome the crisis.

To end the crisis, whose effects the workers and other working people cannot be expected to pay for, the unions propose a new economic policy. The economy can be improved only if industrial production is aimed at ensuring public consumption, and if an effort is made to expand construction, public transport, the health services, the power industry and farming, with democratic control over both public and private investments. The amount and utilisation of investments should be carefully discussed with the working people. The unions also insist on establishing control over the restructuring of enterprises. They are willing to negotiate certain shifts of labour power in the event of a real restructuring and to reach agreement with the employers on transferring workers from one job to another, ruling out dismissals.

Of course, these problems agitate both the working class and society as a whole. Among those who discuss them are economic and socio-political forces, parties, the government, parliament, regional and local self-government bodies. The unions have had a series of relevant meetings with the government and the democratic parties. The meetings were followed by numerous dialogues, interviews, exchanges of opinion and debates which gradually led to the discussion of new economic and social policies. Various quarters insist that the government submit its economic plan to public discussion. It is over the substance of this plan and the urgency of economic measures that social and political struggles are developing.

Confindustria, the association of big Italian manufacturers, has rejected these measures. The manufacturers believe that the unions' demands encroach on the "employers' role" and on the constitutional order. They want "freedom of enterprise", claiming that no enterprise can meet the demands of the unions without seriously risking the employer's initiative. It follows that Confindustria is meeting the unions head on, trying to preserve the existing mechanism of economic development, the principal cause of the crisis. Its attitude conflicts with the interests of the country, the growing army of unemployed, the working people of the South and all social strata, who want the crisis to be overcome and the economy to advance along new lines.

By alleging that the unions are out to "destroy production", Confindustria wants to form an anti-union front, including small and medium enterprises. However, the unions anticipated this manoeuvre and prepared to counter it. Their programmes stress the necessity for a differentiated approach to enterprises. The unions point out that it was their intention from the first not to discuss investment plans with small employers, but exclusively with big manufacturers and government agencies.

Despite numerous meetings with the unions, the government stalls on an explicit reply and does its utmost to delay talks between the unions and the organisation representing the state sector of industry. In spite of pressure on all sides, promises, assurances and commitments, the government has not yet presented an economic plan for the period ahead and continues to procrastinate. Faced with choosing between investment and wages, it cannot make up its mind. It hints that by persisting in their demands, the unions may cause a cabinet crisis followed by the dissolution of parliament and new elections. That, it warns, would force the government to discontinue all constructive activity for at least six months.

To support the unitary unions' platform in this situation, the working people in autumn 1975 began a powerful mass movement against lay-offs, for guaranteed jobs, control over industry and the renegotiation of collective agreements. General strikes by industries on both a regional and a provincial scale, as well as local strikes, action days and weeks, street demonstrations and rallies, swept the country. They involved about 10 million people—workers and unemployed, schoolchildren and students, towns-people and villagers.

Here is a list of the more important.

Big enterprises: strike by 190,000 workers in all Fiat plants; strike by 60,000 employees of the biggest chemical, steel and tyre plants of Milan; stoppage by a million working people of the Milan industrial area in protest against the threat of dismissing 4,500 workers at the Innocenti plant owned by the British Leyland firm, and occupation of the plant by the workers to prevent its closing; strike by 34,000 employees of the Pirelli plants.

General strikes by industries: a million building workers; 600,000 chemical industry workers; 320,000 ministerial employees; industrial workers of Sardinia; strikes, negotiations and the signing of a minimum agreement between the government and 193,000 postal and telegraph employees; transport reform action day.

General strikes in provinces, regions and towns: Piedmont (900,000); Taranto and Catania; Avellino and Lamezia Terme; Palermo; Pistoia; Sicily and Vercelli; Naples and Genoa; Calabria.

Many strikes were accompanied by demonstrations—300,000 building workers, backed by other working people and students, organised a demonstration in Rome involving members of 295 municipal councils, demanding homes and jobs; the national action day in support of agriculture was accompanied by mass marches in towns, especially impressive in Bologna, Bari and Catania; following a conference on problems of the South, a large demonstration took place in Naples and simultaneously strikes were called in numerous enterprises.

To fight for a new economic policy means both formulating working people's demands and specifying for every industry practicable measures in regard to investments, reconstruction and restructuring. The transport, building and metalworkers' unions, the country's biggest, held national conferences. The first two decided on a new policy in transport and housing construction.

To illustrate, here is how the metalworkers' union held its national conference to adopt an action programme. Large numbers of workers were involved in the preparations. In Milan Province alone there were 16 meetings of zone delegates attended by 5,600 workers, 225 factory council meetings, 1,930 factory assemblies in which 259,000 metalworkers took part, and shop meetings in 125 enterprises. The conference was attended by 1,200 delegates from all over the country. Also present were delegations from the Communist, Socialist, Christian Democratic and Proletarian Unity parties, the Christian Association of Italian Working People and leaders of industrial unions. An extensive and lively debate revealed, in particular, the position of the so-called narrow syndicalists, who demand higher wages and better working conditions above all for their particular crafts and dissociate collective bargaining from the highly important need for new economic development lines. This approach was rejected. The conference was dominated by the motto: "Collective bargaining, power and employment are most important aspects of united strategy."

The programme and document approved by the conference show that in addition to the demand for a 30,000 lire pay increase, the problem of job security and problems of the South are central to the struggle. The metalworkers' union makes the signing of a collecive agreement conditional on tangible progress in solving the problems of the South. The conference took a negative view of the government's proposed economic programme. The document adopted by it rejects the government's constant blackmailing, by holding up the threat of a cabinet crisis. It specifies for discussion with the government tasks relating to construction, agriculture, power, public transport, electronics, credits. It reaffirms the right to negotiate on conditions resulting from technological innovations, on participation in decision-making in the enterprises, on decentralisation of production, home work, a shorter working day, and so on.

The problems of guaranteed employment, democratic control over investments, the South and agriculture call for an overall approach and a variety of measures to ensure contacts, unity and coordination between industries, various social strata and groups, industry and agriculture, South and North, economy and policy. In short, they require a renovation and reform of the mechanism of economic development. This is no easy task. It would be easier for the working people and their unions to simply stick to the usual demand for higher wages. In fact, the autonomous unions are

doing just that. These are mostly of workers and other employees of government agencies. Many of their strikes are provocative, and have a divisive effect. The unitary trade unions realise that it is much easier to secure even a considerable pay rise, subsequently nullified by inflation. This eminently suits the big manufacturers, because they can cut their debts on credits and follow their policy of dismissals.

It is quite another thing to demand a new economic policy orientation, and extension of the right of control and workers' participation in decision-making. The unions' strategy is a decisive advance. The working people know that their condition can improve only as a result of steady economic progress and the solution of the urgent problems facing the whole of society. In this way the Italian working class demonstrates its maturity and its ability to cope with the leading function on a nation-wide scale.

By pressing forward their attack against the unions, the big manufacturers show that they have no intention of renouncing their "freedom of enterprise", a source of uncontrolled profit. The working people's aim is no longer to restrict freedom of enterprise, but to prevent production cuts or the closing of enterprises with resultant layoffs. Furthermore, the working people, defending public against private interests, strive to extend the basis of production and gear enterprises to a line of production guaranteeing both employment and the satisfaction of social requirements.

It will obviously be a long and difficult struggle, and the working people know it. They also know that there is no alternative to the strategy they have chosen.

Accordingly, the unions, which realise that they cannot win this battle singlehanded, are campaigning for the broadest possible unity and co-operation of all workers and democratic forces. A useful step in this direction were the conferences organised by local councils in Piedmont and Liguria and the municipal council of Milan, attended by representatives of the main economic, political and mass organisations. Their purpose was to support the effort to ensure further economic progress and solve the problem of employment—in short, to promote the new economic policy orientation proposed by the unions.

The struggle of the working people and their unions is increasingly supported by numerous initiatives and actions on the part of local elected bodies, mass organisations and various associations, which are mindful of their own particular interests and objectives. The Italian Communist Party, for its part, has committed all its forces to this important campaign. In addition to action in parliament and other elected bodies, it is trying hard to unite the working people and democrats. Last November its Central Committee discussed "Communist Initiative and Struggle for the Cooperation of all Democratic and Popular Forces to Lead the Country out of the Crisis".

There have also been other important initiatives. The Party's Centre for Economic Policy Studies held a conference in Palermo on "The South in Crisis Conditions". Leaders of Party factory organisations held a national conference in Milan. It was preceded by a series of conferences in Party federations. In the discussions Communists strive to formulate an explicit policy so as to mobilise all working people for struggle in face of numerous difficulties and obstacles, for it is a question of changing the mechanism of economic development in the situation of an extremely severe crisis.

Price Growth in Capitalist Countries

The postwar period in capitalist countries has been characterised by a notable intensification of inflationary trends and steadily growing prices. The seventies have seen an unprecedented growth of prices, especially for consumer goods, in almost all capitalist countries.

Table 1

This uncommonly sharp increase in prices leaps to the eye against the background of the world crisis of overproduction that set in by the mid-seventies. In the nineteenth century and, indeed, as late as the thirties, crises of this nature were accompanied by a marked drop in commodity prices. By contrast, the crises of the fifties and sixties merely slowed down price growth to some extent and when the 1974-75 crisis came, price growth far from stopping, quickened in most countries. In developed countries, increases ranged between four and six per cent in 1966-70 and between six and eight per cent in 1971-73. In the crisis years 1974-75, however, annual price growth exceeded 10 to 12 per cent.

There is also an inflationary explosion in countries whose economic development is average or low. This is largely a result of upheavals on the capitalist market.

Table 2

In some countries, inflation is also a consequence of a counter-offensive of international capital against the revolutionary movement, a product and

Prepared by the Department of Economic Situation and Strike Movement, Soviet Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Working-Class Movement, according to official capitalist statistics. Although these statistics are admittedly biassed, they give some insight into the essential aspects of the phenomenon. The figures for 1975 are estimates based on data for the first three quarters of the year.

Table 1

Retail Price Growth (per cent)

	Annual Increase					Average annual increase by periods			Index of price growth	
	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1961-1965	1966-1970	1971-1975	1966-1970[1]	1971-1975[2]
USA	4.3	3.3	6.2	11.0	9.8	1.3	4.25	6.5	123.1	137.4
Britain	9.4	7.1	9.2	15.9	24.5	3.5	4.6	12.5	125.0	180.1
France	5.5	6.2	7.3	13.7	12.3	3.6[3]	4.4	8.5	123.6	150.5
Italy	4.8	5.7	10.8	19.1	18.9	4.9	2.2	11.1	111.6	168.9
FRG	5.3	5.5	6.9	7.0	6.1	2.9	2.5	6.0	112.8	134.0
Japan	6.1	4.5	11.7	24.5	13.1	6.0	5.4	11.3	130.4	170.6
Canada	2.9	4.8	7.6	10.9	11.1	1.6	3.8	7.1	120.7	140.7
Australia	6.1	5.8	9.4	15.1	14.5	1.8	3.1	9.7	116.7	158.6
Sweden	7.4	6.0	6.8	10.7	10.0	3.6	4.5	7.7	124.4	144.6
Switzerland	6.6	6.7	8.7	9.8	7.6	3.2	3.5	7.6	118.5	144.2
Netherlands	7.6	7.8	7.9	9.8	10.5	3.4	4.8	8.4	126.6	149.5
Belgium	4.3	5.5	7.0	12.6	13.4	2.5	3.5	8.2	118.8	147.5
Denmark	5.8	6.6	9.3	15.0	11.4	4.5	6.6	9.2	137.7	155.3
Austria	4.7	6.3	7.5	9.5	8.9	3.8	3.3	7.1	117.5	141.2
Spain	8.2	8.3	11.4	15.7	17.6	8.6[4]	5.1	11.7	128.0	173.9

[1] 1965 = 100. [2] 1970 = 100. [3] 1963—1965. [4] 1962—1965.

Sources: *Year Book of Labour Statistics. ILO* 1965, 1974; *Bulletin of Labour Statistics.* 3rd quarter 1975; *Main Economic Indicators.* November 1975.

Retail Price Trends in Countries at Average or Low Development Level

	1965 = 100					1970 = 100				
	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Argentina (Buenos Aires)	132.0	170.5	198.1	213.1	242.1	134.7	213.5	342.2	425.0	617.0
Greece	105.0	106.8	107.1	109.8	113.0	103.0	107.5	124.2	157.6	174.9
Iran	99.6	101.2	101.9	105.5	107.3	104.2	110.9	121.8	138.9	156.6
India (Delhi area)	109.8	124.5	132.9	135.8	145.6	107.2	111.8	128.2	166.2	173.1
Indonesia (Jakarta)	1,136.4	3,054.5	6,890.9	8,090.9	9,090.9	104.3	111.1	145.6	204.8	232.8
Mexico (Mexico City)	104.3	107.4	110.0	113.1	118.9	103.2	109.8	127.9	167.8	188.2
Nigeria (Lagos)	108.5	104.5	105.5	116.0	131.4	113.5	116.6	121.0	141.4	161.4
Portugal (Lisbon)	105.0	110.7	117.6	127.9	136.1	111.9	123.9	139.9	175.0	195.7

Computed according to *Bulletin of Labour Statistics*, 3rd quarter 1975, and *Year Book of Labour Statistics*, 1974.

instrument of outright economic subversion by home reaction and the big bourgeoisie, as in Chile or Portugal. Monopoly capital takes advantage of inflation to put the hardships of the crisis and the bulk of industrial expenditures on the working people. The exploiting, imperialist activity of multinational monopolies plays a similar part in inflation trends. The working people must therefore fight unrelentingly against monopoly, as well as against the unequal international division of labour, if they want prices in these countries to be stabilised.

The growing cost of living means that monopoly capital tries to cope with its economic difficulties at the working people's expense. The paramount idea of the governments' economic plans is drastically to limit mass consumption, and hence to lower the standard of life, through state-monopoly measures. Britain was the first to set out on this road in November 1972 by announcing an immediate income wage and price freeze. It was followed by Italy, Australia and Japan, and in 1974-75 by all the other developed countries.

Higher prices are becoming the most typical factor in the monopoly counterattack on the social gains of the working class, a factor worsening the plight of other less organised categories of working people, such as clerks in private or public employ, teachers or pensioners, to name only a few. A growing proportion of the increase in nominal wages and salaries is nullified by the rising prices, and less and less of it is spent on meeting the socially indispensable requirements of workers' families.

In the United States, official statistics sets the annual average of the workers' nominal per hour wage increase in 1974-75 at 7.6 per cent. Actually, due to price increases in the same period, average annual wages dropped by 2.7 per cent. In Japan nominal monthly wages and salaries, including extra earnings, went up in 1974-75 by 21.3 per cent on the average. In reality, price growth whittled down the annual pay increase in the same years to a meagre 1.7 per cent.

To be sure, growing prices are not the only means of pressure on the working people. In 1974-75, for instance, the monopolies of some capitalist countries virtually nullified increases in per hour pay rates and, moreover, secured a direct drop of monthly average pay by reducing working time. Besides, rising prices in many countries were supplemented with higher taxes and cuts in appropriations for social needs. This confuted bourgeois theorists blaming greater consumption for higher prices. Actually, real wages hardly go up—in some cases they even go down—while prices keep on mounting. Unlike the fifties and sixties, when fees for various services increased faster, the cost of living today is rising due primarily to higher prices of food, fuel, including highly taxed liquid fuel, and

other necessities. This has hit above all the less affluent population groups. Higher prices for consumer goods have also affected the working people and the urban and rural middle strata in developing countries.

As a result, class conflicts are gaining in intensity, the interests of all wage workers are drawing closer together and the strike movement is surging higher than ever. The demand for stable prices and a sliding wage and pension scale is coming to play an important part in uniting all working people against monopoly capitalist power, for far-reaching democratic change.

The state-monopoly policy of controlling the economy and incomes has failed. The monopolies, which are "riding" the upward price trend and are whipping it up, could not care less for the public interest. The growth of prices is a further serious sign of the deepening general crisis of a declining social formation.

Workers' Commissions in Spain

Editor, *WMR*

Commenting on events following Franco's death, the press and radio often mention the Spanish Workers' commissions and their leaders, in particular Marcelino Camacho.

Could you tell me how the commissions came into being and what role they play today?

Carlos Sosa
Railwayman, union leader,
Villa Constitucion, Argentina

Pedro Arenas,
a Spanish journalist,
answers our reader at the editors' request.

On coming to power, the fascist dictatorship under Franco banned all democratic organisations, including the General Union of Working People and the National Confederation of Labour. It ruled that strikes were a crime tantamount to rebellion. The regime replaced the traditional labour organisations by so-called vertical unions affiliated to the National Syndicalist Confederation, a corporative fascist organisation membership in which was made binding on every worker. The Confederation includes the employers, who control it along with Falange leaders.

The Communist Party of Spain centred its mass work on these vertical unions. The anti-fascist movement gathered strength as opposition to the regime spread. Economic difficulties and an increasing budget deficit aggravated the internal antagonisms of the bourgeoisie. The dictatorship, whose strength had begun to decline, was compelled to make some concessions. In 1959 it abandoned its autarkic policy of rigid economic controls and foreign trade curbs. The year before, it had agreed to enact a collective bargaining law ending a system under which the government had dictated wage levels.

It was in those conditions that the workers' commissions were formed. Workers would meet to discuss their needs and delegate fellow-workers to present their demands to management. Originally, these commissions were dissolved after each meeting. But subsequently the workers decided to preserve them so as to fight on should their demands be rejected and to assure that management honoured its commitments.

In 1962 delegates of labour union opposition of the Asturias, Madrid, Catalonia, the Basque Country and Andalusia met for the first time to analyse and sum up their experience. An important event occurred in Madrid in 1964. During the discussion of a collective agreement by members of the regional union of steelworkers, 8,000 people demonstrated outside the vertical unions' headquarters in support of their demands. Seeing that they were losing control of the action, the union bosses decided to bolster their shaken positions by taking advantage of the new mass movement. This resulted in forming for the first time ever—a regional steelworkers' commission of 13, which was elected in the presence of top vertical union leaders and about 500 union delegates and enterprise committee members.

The workers' commissions upheld their independence against pressure from the vertical unions and the regime. They forced de facto recognition and became permanent organisations. In 1969, commission delegates from Catalonia, Andalusia, Aragon, the Asturias, Galicia, the Basque Country, Navarra and Castile, meeting in Madrid, set up a National Coordinating Committee under Marcelino Camacho, a metalworker. This gave the commissions national stature. "The workers' commissions," the Committee stated, "are a form of united opposition by all working people (irrespective of political or religous convictions) to the official trade union structures, which do not serve the working people's interests. They have been brought into existence by the need to defend our everyday demands and pave the way for our free future, the future of labour unity. The commissions are not a trade union, nor do they aspire to become one, let alone a political alignment. They are an autonomous movement whose object is to defend working-class interests."[1]

The activity of the commissions, which often led to strikes and street demonstrations, was met with brutal repressions. Workers particularly active in demonstrations or strikes were victimised, and many were jailed. Equally harsh measures were taken against union officials who helped the commissions. To curb the movement, the Franco government arrested Marcelino Camacho and another nine members of the National Committee and sentenced them to long prison terms in December 1973.

[1] Marcelino Camacho, *Charles en la prision*. Paris, 1974, p. 80.

Nevertheless, the commissions carried on. In recent years they initiated and led numerous strikes and other nation-wide actions. Following is a list of the more noteworthy of these:

1971. Strike by 70,000 building workers in Madrid during which Pedro Patino, a worker, lost his life. Strike by 28,000 workers at the SEAT automobile plant in Barcelona; the workers occupied the shops and there were clashes with police, resulting in the death of Antonio Ruiz and the wounding of another three workers. Solidarity strikes in 120 enterprises involving over 100,000 employees and accompanied by a demonstration of 10,000 working people. General strike by Asturia miners.

1972. Strike by 100,000 bank employees throughout the country. Stoppage by 4,000 workers at the Astilleros Bazán shipyards in El Ferrol, backed by a demonstration during which two workers were killed and 30 wounded.

1973. Long strike at the Motor Iberica plant in Pamplona; it led to a general solidarity strike by more than 50,000 workers. Strike of 24,000 Asturia miners.

1974. New strike of 23,000 SEAT workers in Barcelona, supported by a solidarity demonstration of 30,000 workers.

1975. Stoppage by 14,000 FASA-Renault automobile workers of Valladolid, backed by the town's working population.

The commissions have become an effective form of struggle for the workers' interests and a notable factor in the growth and consolidation of forces opposing Francoism. The popularity and confidence they enjoy enabled them to score important gains in the recent trade union elections and greatly to extend their activity. "At the stage we are passing through after the union elections," said Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, speaking to a Party conference of labour leaders, "the workers' commissions constitute a movement complete in itself and encompassing factory meetings, legally elected delegates and illegal structures."[2]

Following Franco's death the commissions and all working people face new and important tasks. Added to economic demands today are pressing political demands. Realising this, the commissions have urged a general mobilisation, open expression of demands, mass demonstrations for freedom and democracy, the use of every form of action and struggle against unemployment and the high cost of living, for higher wages, a general amnesty for prisoners and exiles, the right to strike, trade union freedoms, political and national liberties, democracy for all the peoples of Spain.[3]

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[2] Nuestra Bandera, No. 82 especial, November 1975, p. 24.

[3] See *Mundo Obrero*, No. 35, November 4, 1975, p. 7.

The working people responded promptly to the appeal of the commissions, the Democratic Junta of Spain[4] and other opposition forces. A powerful strike wave swept the country in December 1975. More and more frequently, economic struggles develop into political ones. In Madrid there was a strike of over 60,000 workers, mostly steel and construction workers, who demanded an amnesty and repeal of the wage freeze. Working people of Catalonia, the Basque Country, the Asturias, Navarra and other regions joined in the strike movement. At the close of the year, the total number of strikers exceeded 100,000.

Hard pressed by the working-class and democratic forces, the new government is compelled to manoeuvre and concede ground. Marcelino Camacho and his comrades, amnestied under a recent decree, are back in action.

Spain is on its way to abolishing the fascist dictatorship and establishing a democratic system. Its working class, which is politically mature, has tremendous experence of class struggle and has devised so effective and original a form of organisation as the workers' commissions. It now furnishes proof of its ability to ensure the country's rapid progress along this path.

[4] The DJS, founded in the summer of 1974, is a nation-wide alignment for joint struggle against Francoism. It comprises Communists, Socialists and spokesmen of workers' commissions, as well as some monarchists and businessmen. The Junta will function until a lawful regime is brought to power through general universal-franchise elections.—*Ed.*

The Interparliamentary Union

In 1889 MPs of nine countries conferred on problems of international arbitration and agreed to meet at regular intervals. This was how the Interparliamentary Union came into being. It has been a permanent organisation ever since 1894 and comprises 74 national Parliamentary Groups. Under its statutes, each Group is formed by a parliament constituted in accordance with the laws of a sovereign state whose population it represents and in whose territory it functions.

The Union has the following organs: *Interparliamentary Conference,* the highest organ whose resolutions express the Union's view on international problems; being in the nature of recommendations, they are not legally binding on the states concerned; *Interparliamentary Council,* the directing organ in between conferences; *Executive Committee,* the administrative organ; five *Standing Commissions* which are composed of delegates from every Parliamentary Group and carry on research and draft Conference resolutions; *Interparliamentary Bureau,* in effect the Secretariat.

The effort of all these organs is directed towards achieving the fundamental objectives of the Union as formulated in Article 1 of the statutes approved in 1922: encouraging contacts among the MPs of various countries, promoting peace and international cooperation, strengthening and advancing representative institutions. The Conference is convened once a year and the other Union organs meet twice a year, in spring and autumn.

Lately the Union has also dealt with various aspects of international and regional problems. In the spring of 1974, it held a Conference of maritime countries against pollution of the Mediterranean. The Conference set up a special committee for a term of four years to study ways and means of controlling pollution. The committee has become a coordinating centre for every action taken at parliamentary level to save the sea. An interparliamentary colloquium on the new system of international economic

relations was held in 1975 in the framework of research initiated by the Interparliamentary Conference.

The Union has held two conferences on security and cooperation in Europe (Helsinki, 1973, and Belgrade, 1975). These forums, which aroused keen public interest, demonstrated the important role of parliaments in this sphere.

In 1965 the Interparliamentary Bureau established a special organ, the International Centre for Parliamentary Documentation, which periodically holds symposiums to compare notes on current problems of parliamentary activity. The symposiums are attended by parliamentary and administrative officials, university lecturers and experts.

The Union has announced two technological aid programmes. One of them includes major projects, such as the establishment of a review and documentation service in the National Assembly of Cameroon, a project put into effect in 1975. The other programme is designed to improve the refresher and extension training of parliamentary officials.

Lastly, under its 1976 programme, the Interparliamentary Union intends to study such problems as world detente and international control over sales of conventional arms; parliament as an expression of the social structure of society; cooperation in education, science and culture, and further steps to improve international relations.

Pio-Carlo TERENZIO
Secretary General,
Interparliamentary Union

Everlasting Youth of the Revolution

The world's democrats recently observed the 80th birthday of Dolores Ibarruri, a noted veteran leader of the Spanish and international Communist movement, Chairman of the Communist Party of Spain. Communists know Dolores Ibarruri as a leader of the Spanish people's heroic fight against the combined forces of international and domestic reaction and fascism during the national revolutionary war of 1936-39 and in subsequent years, a fiery champion of the revolution, a staunch fighter for the vital interests of the working class and other working people, for a free and democratic Spain.

A public meeting was held on the occasion in Moscow. Seated on the speakers' platform with Dolores Ibarruri were A. J. Pelse, Political Bureau member of the CC CPSU, B. N. Ponomaryov, alternate member of the Political Bureau, CC CPSU, and leaders of public organisations. Among the guests on the platform were Luis Carlos Prestes, General Secretary of the Brazilian Communist Party, Manuel Mora, General Secretary, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, Ruben Dario Souza, General Secretary, People's Party of Panama, Ignacio Gallego, member of the Executive Committee, Communist Party of Spain, and representatives of other Communist parties.

After reading a message of greetings from the CC CPSU, B. N. Ponomaryov said that Dolores Ibarruri's entire activity is inseparable from the struggle of the Spanish working class. For more than 60 years, she had been a fighter unshakably devoted to the great Marxist-Leninist cause. She embodies the everlasting youth of the revolution, of the moral beauty of a woman Communist striving for her people's freedom and radiant future. B. N. Ponomaryov also read a decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet awarding Dolores Ibarruri the Order of the October Revolution and presented her with the decoration amid applause. On behalf of the

'entral Committee of the CPSU, its General Secretary, L. I. Brezhnev, nd all Soviet people, he wished Dolores Ibarruri good health and inxhaustible energy in her noble effort for the welfare of the Spanish peole, for the triumph of the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist parties of Italy and Spain held a meeting in Rome at hich Enrico Berlinguer, General Secretary of the ICP, and Santiago arrillo, General Secretary of the CPS, congratulated Dolores Ibarruri on half of their parties. Dolores Ibarruri's 80th birthday was also observed the Communists and anti-fascists of other countries, who identified emselves with the Spanish people fighting for the abolition of the last scist regime in Europe and for a free and democratic Spain.

Diary

Martin Gunnar Knutsen, Chairman of the Communist Party of Norway, paid a visit to the journal's office. During an interview which proceeded in a warm, friendly atmosphere, he pointed out the important role of *WMR* in presenting the experience of brother parties and in studying and publicising current problems of Marxism-Leninism. There was a discussion of how to extend mutual cooperation.

* * *

Representatives of the journal took part in brother Party congresses. At the invitation of the parties concerned, K. I. Zarodov, Chief Editor of *WMR*, attended the Seventh Congress of the PUWP, V. M. Shundeyev, Executive Editor of *WMR*, and Essop Pahad, the South African CP representative on the journal, were present at the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba.

* * *

Athos Fava and Ariel Mariani, members of the EC, CC CP Argentina, and Alfredo L. Dratman, member of the CC CPA, spoke during a stopover in Prague to an enlarged meeting of the *WMR* Commission on Problems of the National-Liberation Movement in Latin America. They spoke about the alignment of class forces and Communist policy at this stage of the struggle and answered questions.

* * *

N. A. Samad, Political Bureau member and Secretary, CC Lebanese CP, addressed an enlarged meeting of the *WMR* Commission on Problems of the National-Liberation Movement in Asia and Africa. He described the fighting between profascist and progressive forces in Lebanon and their class background, and answered questions.

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Formation of a Socialist Nation in the GDR

Hermann Axen

A new treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the USSR and the GDR going beyond the year 2000 was signed in Moscow on October 7, 1975, the 26th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic.

Bearing the signatures of Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the CC SUPG, and L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, the treaty is evidence that the fraternal alliance of the two countries rests on the indestructible foundation of their devotion to the great cause of socialism and communism, Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, on the political unity of the CPSU and SUPG, the closer intertwining of their economies, a coordinated foreign policy aimed at defending and strengthening socialism and world peace, and on closer all-round relations between their peoples. The contracting parties were animated by the conviction that "the all-round strengthening of unity and friendship between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the German Democratic Republic accords with the vital interests of their peoples and of the community of socialist states and facilitates still closer relations between socialist nations".

The objective process of closer union of socialist nations is, for the first time, formalised in treaties between socialist states. The historic process which found expression in the new theoretical and political conclusions drawn by the Eighth SUPG Congress as a result of creative application of Marxism-Leninism, namely, the formation of a socialist nation in the GDR, is thus backed by international law. Its future should be seen in the context of the continuous develop-

ment of the family of socialist nations, above all the world's greatest and most progressive state, the Soviet Union. The treaty stresses the irreversibility of socialism's victory in the GDR.

Obviously, we are not dealing with a purely theoretical problem or one of importance only for the GDR, but with a political problem of very practical importance to the socialist world system and the world Communist movement.

The Judgment of History

The Eighth SUPG Congress made it clear that the national question in the GDR had long been solved by history itself. This is borne out by even a terse summary of the past.

We know that nations did not always exist. They emerged with the rise of capitalism, as a product of the economic, political and ideological struggle of the masses, led by the bourgeoisie, against the feudal aristocracy. The emergence of the capitalist mode of production required a single national market, unity within the framework of a national state. Naturally, these processes greatly accelerated the development of national languges and cultures.

Not every country followed the classical pattern of Britain, Holland and France, where nations were formed after successful national bourgeois-democratic liberation struggles. In Germany the process was especially protracted and complicated, and a national capitalist market appeared relatively late. Even the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848-49 did not overcome the weakness of the German bourgeoisie, for feudalism still held strong positions, and with the working class already knocking on the door, the bourgeoisie concluded far-reaching compromises with the feudal-militarist forces. It betrayed the revolution and thereby forfeited the opportunity to create the unified, democratic German republic advocated by Marx and Engels and by the revolutionary democrats.

The German national state arose, at long last, with the proclamation of the Empire in 1871. It was an anti-democratic state dominated by Prussian reaction. Whether the Kaiser monarchy, the Weimar Republic or the nazi dictatorship, it always bore the predatory features of German capitalism and, later, imperialism. In the 19th century the capitalists and Junkers, guided solely by their selfish class interests, favoured a "small-Germany solution".[1] But in the 20th century German monopoly capital twice made a bid for world dominion through a "greater German Reich". Europe and the world were plunged into two devastating wars. Imperialist po-

[1] A Germany united around Prussia, without Austria.—*Ed.*

licy, especially brutal and savage under the nazis, jeopardised not only world peace, but the very existence of the nation. This reactionary and aggresive policy ended with the collapse, in May 1945, of the German Reich, forged "by iron and blood", and reduced to ashes and blood.

The consequences of the catastrophe brought on by imperialist policy, so glaringly exposed in 1945, are irrefutable proof that the big bourgeoisie neither could, nor wanted, to promote the interests of the nation, or to bring the people peace and security.

The revolutionary German working-class party presented a socialist alternative to the ruinous policy of the exploiting classes, and that alternative extended to the national question. As a contingent of the international workers' movement, it consistently fought for the class aims of the proletariat, but also upheld the genuine interests of the nation. "The Communists have always been patriots, have always sought to direct the nation along a path that would have averted the catastrophes brought on by capitalism and war; a path that would have directly led to a brighter future," Comrade Honecker declared at a Central Committee meeting in 1974.

The German Communists always devoted much attention to the national question. Theirs was the attitude of genuine patriots. They consistently rejected both national nihilism and cosmopolitan, notably bourgeois-nationalistic, chauvinist views.

In 1945, following Germany's liberation from Hitler fascism, they maintained that the role of the nation in history had not been exhausted. But the German Communist Party, and later the SUPG, never forgot that Marxism-Leninism understands history as the history of the class struggle and that the national question is not the decisive factor in setting the course of social development. This means that a scientific approach to the national question, in Germany as elsewhere, requires that it be examined through the prism of the class struggle.

The Great October Revolution in Russia provided practical corroboration of the teaching of Marx and Engels that social revolution, performed by the proletariat and its allies, is essential for the renewal of all forms of the existence of human society. One such important form, though not the most important, is the nation. In the Soviet Union solution of the social problem led, for the first time in history, to an effective and consistent solution of the national question. That is vividly evidenced by the flourishing state of the socialist nations and nationalities and by the appearance of a new social community, the Soviet people.

The national question took on a new meaning in Germany in 1945. Liberation by the Soviet Union and the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition in World War II, presented the German people with an historic opportunity to change the course of social development and cast off, for all time, the fetters of exploitation, oppression and war.

For a very long time—actually up to the very last possibility—our Party worked for democratic and progressive development of the whole of Germany. This would have foiled the imperialist policy of partitioning the country. The class character of the imperialist occupying powers' policy was clear from the very outset, and so was their compact with German monopoly capital which, after total defeat, for a time submitted to them. Our Party—and this is one of its greatest services—consistently worked togther with all anti-fascist and democratic forces against the emergence of a separate West German state, for a united anti-fascist and democratic republic.

This was not achieved: the relation of forces, nationally and internationally, blocked solution of this problem. World imperialism fully realised what was at stake. A united, democratic, anti-fascist state between the Oder and the Rhine would have fundamentally altered the alignment of forces in Europe, with very grave conseqences for the entire imperialist system. Immediately after the October Revolution in Russia world imperialism made it its policy to prevent any change in favour of socialism in the alignment of forces in the centre of Europe. After the defeat of Hitler fascism, fearing the loss of imperialism's key positions in Germany, the Western imperialist powers took upon themselves the role of patrons of German monopoly capital and grossly interfered in the class confrontation in Germany. In pursuance of their imperialist class aims, they immediately jettisoned the democratic and anti-monopoly provisions of the Potsdam Agreement, inserted in it chiefly due to the prestige and international influence of the Soviet Union which had made the decisive contribution to the victory. The German monopolists, branded in the Potsdam Agreement as the perpetrators of the war, became allies of the imperialist victor powers. In collusion with the right-wing Social-Democratic leaders, the imperialist forces prevented unity of the working class in the Western zones. The war criminals and Junkers were not deprived of their economic and political power in flagrant contradiction to the will of the masses. This was a decisive step towards resurrecting the power of German imperialism. Again pursuing its egoistic class interests, German monopoly capital had no hesitation in betraying the national interest. That was the culmination of its long years of betrayal. The proclamation of the FRG in September 1949, its aggressive policy as the Eu-

ropean outpost of world imperialism directed against world socialism, led to the partition of Germany and, in the end, to destruction of the unity of the German nation. Responsibility for that lies with the German monopoly bourgeoisie. From the very outset they employed every available means against the GDR, the new German state in which the people, using their right to free national and social self-determination, drew the necessary lessons and carried out the historically necessary process of national renewal.

One of the main aims of the cold war instigated by Churchill, Truman, Dulles, Adenauer and Schumacher, was to undermine and "liquidate" the GDR and re-establish a united imperialist Germany.

It is now openly admitted in the FRG that Adenauer wanted reunification only on the condition that the "reunited Germany would have a free, Western social system. Reunification on a socialist basis was thus ruled out."[2] The "rollback" policy of the Eisenhower-Dulles administration eminently suited the class interests of the revived and strengthened West German monopoly bourgeoisie. They hoped that, complemented by 'positions of strength' tactics, this would sooner or later bring on the collapse of communism, and the victory of the Western system in East Germany would automatically lead to reunification".[3]

And so, the march of history, particularly after the war, makes it amply clear that the so-called German question, the question of the nation occupying the territory of the Germany that collapsed in 1945, must above all be considered from class positions.

As a result of the socialist revolution and the building of socialist society, a new type of nation, a socialist nation, has taken shape and is developing in the GDR. Now, after 30 years of continuous progress, it differs fundamentally, in its main features, from the bourgeois nation of the FRG. As in other socialist countries, the nation in the GDR is the logical result of social development. The socialist revolution and the socialist mode of production have given it an entirely new content.

The decisive political prerequisite for the rise and formation of a socialist nation in the GDR was and remains the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of our worker-peasant state.

The main features of the socialist nation stand out in increasing clarity as we build a developed socialist society. The Eighth Party

[2] Wolfgang Pfeiler, "Deutschland-Deutschland". Eine historische Standortbestimmung. In "Deutschland-Archiv", Koln, Heft 10, 1975, p. 1,059.

[3] Ibid. p. 1,060.

Congress emphasised that this "finds expression in worker-peasant power, its sovereign rule over its own territory, the frontiers of which are reliably safeguarded. Socialisation of the basic means of production and the victory of socialist production relations have produced an entirely new, socialist economic basis. Capitalist anarchy and rivalry have given way to socialist economic planning. GDR socialist society has a fundamentally new class structure: led by the working class are friendly classes and strata with distinct socialist features. Socialist construction has made for the dominance of socialist ideology and of the new, socialist national culture which has absorbed all the humanist traditions of the past. The GDR has for all time joined the socialist world system and is becoming more closely integrated in the community of socialist states."

Our worker-peasant state and the developing socialist nation in the GDR are the result of the heroic and dedicated struggle of the revolutionary German working class. They are proof that the transition from capitalism to socialism, the main content of our epoch, is successfully being carried out on German soil. Ours is a flourishing socialist nation, and socialist internationalism is promoting its coöperation with other socialist nations.

To those who doubt that a new, socialist nation can be formed in so short an historical span, we should point out that the epochal transition from capitalism to socialism and the increasingly decisive influence socialism exerts on world affairs, have everywhere accelerated the process of formation of progressive nations which began with the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia and is now continuing in Asia and Africa.

The One and Only Scientific Basis

The conclusions drawn on the national question by our Eighth Congress are based on a scientific, Marxist-Leninist analysis of the historical reality on German soil. The Marxist-Leninist classics have always regarded the national as a dialectical unity of social-economic, class, historical and ethnic factors—in which, however, the dominant role belongs to economic and class relations. Marx, Engels and Lenin gave priority to the social-economic basis as the main property of a nation. Lenin gave precedence to determining the social essence of a nation, to defining the relation of the social to the ethnic. "The national question," he wrote, "must be viewed historically and economically" (**Coll. Works**, Vol. 41, p. 313). For Lenin the economic was always the key to the essential content of a nation. The fundamental law discovered by Marx that the deci-

sive role belongs to the productive activity of people is the starting point in the study of the essence of all social phenomena, naturally including nations and national relations. "Marx had no doubt," Lenin wrote, "as to the subordinate position of the national question as compared with the 'labour question" (Vol. 20, p. 436).

In short, the nation is a historical category. It must not be seen as immutable, and on no account as existing in a vacuum. History shows that nations arise and change depending on the concrete historical conditions. Take the history of the United States, where the American nation was formed from representatives of different nations in the relatively recent past. We could also cite the history of Austria or the emergence of nations in Africa and Asia.

The Marxist-Leninist classics have singled out two types of national communities: capitalist and socialist nations.

In substance, national relations are always social relations, that is, economic, social-political, ideological, and, consequently, class relations; they arise in a definite territory with a definite language and a definite cultural medium and way of life. These relations condition the unification of people into a national community. The aggregate of social factors, however, determines the class character of the nation and the trend of its development.

The Marxist-Leninist theory on the national question does not, of course, deny the significance of ethnic features—language, customs, ethics and habits, everything, in other words, that belongs to the national. It takes into account that ethnic factors, in most cases shaped long before the emergence of a nation, play an important role in its formation and life. Often dating to the inception of class society, ethnic factors possess great stability. At the same time, they are highly adaptable to economic, social and political processes, to the change of social-economic formation, that is, to social revolutions.

Thus, nations are not only and even not primarily, a product of ethnic processes and communities. These play a derivative role, and are socially conditioned. The nation is the result chiefly of the basic processes of economic and social development, and of historical class battles. A clear example is the different and opposite development of the two German states.

Nations and Nationalities

The aggregate of ethnic properties, features and qualities are termed a nationality. The concept "nationality" is thus more narrow than the concept "nation", and has no definitive significance

because it does not encompass the decisive socio-economic factors. It is important to bear this in mind. In our case, arbitary identification of nation and nationality is designed to obscure the fundamental and irreversible antithesis between the socialist nation in the German Democratic Republic and the capitalist nation in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The social type of a nation changes entirely with the victory of socialism. Yet it retains many of its history-shaped ethnic properties, though these may gradually undergo progressive modification. Since the socialist nation in the GDR grew out of the centuries-long history of the German people, absorbing everything progressive, humanitarian and revolutionary, the ethnic qualities and properties of the GDR people, that is, their German nationality, legitimely comprise a unity with the properties of the shaping socialist nation.

The socialist nation in the GDR is, of course, of German nationality. But not this is its essence. Socialist statehood and the unfolding construction of a developed socialist society make a distinct imprint on the national community taking shape in GDR territory. The socialist way of life, the socialist mentality of GDR citizens, are becoming more and more pronounced. Their socialist political and civic consciousness is growing. Those of the inherited ethnic forms that are contrary to socialism are dying out or acquiring new content. Habits, ethics, customs, even the content of many concepts (e.g., democracy, freedom, social justice) are changing. Many concepts unknown in the FRG have taken firm root in the consciousness of GDR citizens, in their behaviour, such as worker-peasant power, socialist property, socialist collective, socialist emulation, socialist personality, socialist morality, internationalism, socialist economic integration, and the like. On the other hand, our younger citizens know nothing of many of the concepts current in the capitalist world. The psychological disparities between citizens of the GDR and those of the FRG are becoming more and more substantial. And when developed socialism grows over into communism, the socialist nations will no doubt undergo new qualitative changes.

Socialist Internationalism is Determinative

The SUPG policy offers broad scope for the flowering of the socialist nation in the GDR. But the Party firmly rejects national exclusiveness and national conceit. GDR citizens know that what they have achieved would be inconceivable without the October Revolution in Russia and the emergence of the socialist world system,

without fraternal alliance with the USSR and other socialist countries or the solidarity of the international working-class movement and all anti-imperialist democratic forces. They know that they will not attain their goals without solidarity. In the conditions of the irreversible objective process of separation between the socialist nation in the GDR and the capitalist nation in the FRG, our Party and state support everything that favours the coming-together of socialist nations. That is a law of the international class struggle, an unalterable historical necessity.

It is evident from the aforesaid that the decisive economic, class and political basis for the development of the socialist nation in the GDR rules out all "coming together" or "community" with the socially-opposite capitalist nation in the FRG. The relations between the GDR and FRG are not characterised by any "communities", but by insurmountable and irreconcilable contradictions between socialism and capitalism. Normal relations between the two German states can repose only on the principles of peaceful coexistence, as recorded in the treaty on the fundamental principles of relations between the FRG and GDR and in subsequent agreements.

The Struggle Against Revanchism

For our Party the national question is not an abstract or academic matter. It is part of the struggle for peace and security in Europe. The series of treaties concluded by socialist countries with the FRG, as well as the Final Act signed in Helsinki, are expressive of the considerable progress made along the road of detente. Consolidation of the detente and implementation of the principles of inter-state relations inscribed in the Final Act, presuppose elimination of revenge-seeking views and activities. The Hallstein and Scheel doctrines of imperialist blockade have been scrapped. But the revenge-seeking "reunification concept" is still espoused in principle by all the FRG Bundestag parties. They are more cautious now, and have—since the collapse of the Hallstein doctrine—adopted a longer time-table and a special vocabulary to disguise their revanchism. This is not surprising: since the situation in Europe and the world has changed, one is compelled to adapt to it. The official Bonn **Deutschland-Archiv,** wrote recently, for example, that "the FRG is as interested as ever in German reunification, but there is no policy to this effect that would not collide with its own essential interests and the interests of all the other states present in Europe".[4]

[4] Wolfgang Pfeiler, Op. cit, p. 1,068.

Quite true. The numbers of those who would risk an atomic world war for the revenge-seeking aspirations of the FRG are dwindling in Western Europe. With unusual frankness, **Deutschland-Archiv** refers to what had prevented open, head-on action to further the aims of the FRG, that is, absorption of the GDR: "The conventional policy of strength towards the USSR is no longer possible; a policy against the territorial and political status quo collides with the... interests of our Western allies".[5] Now, the revanchists pursue their old aim in the framework of "all-European transformations". Bonn Foreign Minister Genscher, for example, stressed at the 30th UN General Assembly: "The kind of peace we want in Europe is where the German people could recover unity through free self-determination... The nation's will for unity will retain its historic impact."[6]

As for the "scientific basis" of the nationalist propaganda certain forces conduct in the FRG, the "Materials Relating to the Report on the State of the Nation, 1974" contain the following: "The concept nation is just as multiform and ambiguous as the political forms and ethnic basis of the systems in which people known as a 'nation' live. From the scientific-theoretical standpoint, therefore, there is no universally valid definition of the concept nation".[7]

This is an admission of the monopoly bourgeoisie's ideological bankruptcy in matters concerning the national question. On the other hand, it gives encouragement to demagogical nationalist propaganda The bourgeoisie has never had an articulate and scientific concept of nation, and will not forge one today. Some maintain that the German nation as one is eternal. Others that the existence of one Garman nation flows from the common historical past, from a "sense of unity". Still others lay the emphasis on ethnic features, the common language, the "specifically German psyche".

These concepts peddled by FRG politicians are not novel. The two opposite class lines in the national question are matched by two opposite theories of nations: one is materialistic and historico-economic, and the other idealistic and ethnico-psychological. On analysing the national question theory of Otto Bauer, the "Austro-Marxist", Lenin tore to bits the idealistic views now advocated by prestigious FRG leaders. Since it is impossible to write off the existence of opposite social systems, some FRG ideologists try to salvage the spurious "unity of the nation" by references to "community of culture and destiny". These words, "community of culture

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[5] Ibid.

[6] Bulletin des Presse—und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, No. 117, Bonn, September 25, 1975, p. 1,164.

[7] *Deutschland-Archiv*, Koln, Heft 10, 1974, p. 1,083.

and destiny", are borrowed from the ideological scrapheap of Otto Bauer, who defined nations as a simple set of properties and rejected their historical character.

Lenin showed the fallacy of Bauer's conceptions, which dissociated the emergence and consolidation of nations from the concrete social-economic and historical premises. Bauer obscured the class character of nations and national states. Besides, he arbitrarily proclaimed language and psychological elements as decisive in the essence of nations, and identified the culture of the exploiters with that of the exploited. Lenin showed that Bauer's "psychological" theory of nations was shot through with nationalism and totally eclipsed internationalism, boiling down in practice to outright national opportunism (see Lenin, **Coll. Works**, Vol. 41, p. 315).

The same applies to the FRG imperialist (maily Social Democratic) ideologues' references to the fact that people in the GDR and FRG speak the same German language, that there are more extensive family ties between their citizens than between citizens of other states, and that the population of both had in the past belonged to one and the same German capitalist nation. This may look convincing to some. Yet it is not decisive for the emergence of a nation. It would not occur to anyone to consider the peoples of certain countries speaking the same language, possessing identical ethnic properties and a common past, one nation. Take the peoples of the FRG and Austria, or those of Britain and the United States, or of Spain and some of the Latin American states.

FRG groups isolated on the international scene because of their revenge-seeking aims, are supported and comforted by the Peking leaders. Driven by hatred of the Soviet Union and the GDR the Maoists are going farther and farther in thir policy. Having abandoned class positions, they brandish spurious slogans of "a single German nation" and "German reunification", and support the mortal enemies of the socialist German state. Their political and diplomatic campaign is clearly directed against the security and sovereignty of the German worker peasant state, which is part of the community of socialist countries and thus an important gain of the world revolutionary process. We do not underrate the damage done by the Peking leaders' chauvinist great-power ambitions. But we know that neither the imperialists nor the Maoists will succeed in retarding, let alone reversing, the natural course of social development. The wheels of history keep turning, rolling on and on, as Georgi Dimitrov said to the fascist judges at the Reichstag arson trial in Leipzig

United round the Marxist-Leninist Party and the socialist state, our people are preparing for the Ninth Congress of the SUPG. The Congress will take our society to a new stage along the road of social progress. "By virtue of the historic gains achieved by the working class, all working people, under the leadership of the SUPG, and in accordance with the new social requirements," says the draft of the new SUPG Programme (**Neues Deutschland,** January 14, 1976), "the Party has set the immediate aim of continuing the formation of a developed socialist society in the GDR and thus creating the basic preconditions for gradual passage to communism."

And, certainly, our people's progress along this correct path will give further impetus to the development of the characteristic features of the socialist nation in the GDR, leading to its full flowering and gradual coming together with the other fraternal socialist nations of our community.

On the Approaches to Developed Socialism

Gyorgy Aczel

In common with the Communist and Workers' parties of other socialist-community countries, the HSWP is making an in-depth study of theoretical problems in the building of socialism and its gradual evolution into communist society That was emphasised by our 11th Party Congress (March 1975), which declared: "The fundamental aim of socialist society is scientific elucidation and practical application of the laws governing development in nature and society." The importance of such research is obvious. The accumulated experience of the socialist world system shows that the absence of a correct theoretical concept, of a scientifically grounded development programme, is a serious impediment to progress. For instance, a wrong assessment of the current stage of socialist construction can lead to setting unrealistic goals that bypass objectively necessary phases, or, conversely, to retaining obsolete patterns. In both cases the adverse results can damage socialism's prestige.

In working out the blueprints for a developed socialist society in Hungary, our Party is guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialism, an analysis of results achieved and available potentialities, and draws on the theoretical and practical experience of the USSR and other fraternal countries.

The 8th Party Congress (1962) recorded that the country had completed the building of the foundations of socialism. This implies, above all, that we have overcome the multi-structural character of our economy. Today state and cooperative enterprises account for 95 per cent of the work-force and 98 per cent of the national income.

Working-class power, established by the socialist revolution, has been consolidated; the main goals of the Leninist cultural revolution

have been achieved and its further development assured. Hungary's experience, as that of other fraternal countris, has fully confirmed the Marxist-Leninist tenet that the capture of power by the proletariat must be followed by a whole period of transition from capitalism to socialism. Experience has also shown that completing the foundations of socialism is not enough to launch out on the building of communism.

Led by the HSWP, the Hungarian people have made significant progress in consolidating and expanding the basis of socialism. This enabled the Party to set new targets for the continued development of our society. "In the coming 15-20 years," the 11th Congress Programme Statement says, "our task will be to continue socialist construction, create a developed socialist society, thereby taking a long step towards our historical goal, communism."

The Party has always maintained that our present efforts continue the building of socialism begun in the period before the abortive counter-revolution of 1956, and we are firmly determined to abide by this continuity. But while continuing and developing our socialist policy, we have put an end to the dogmatic, sectarian and revisionist views and practices of the past. Our policy has stood the test of practice. And the Central Committee had every right, in its report to the 11th Congress, to propose "continuation of our general line, which has been justified in practice both in home and foreign affairs, in economic and cultural development and in raising the living standards of the people."

The stability of our policy does not mean that we are clinging to ossified dogmas. Ability harmoniously to combine stability and continuity with dynamism, and to set new, realistic goals, has always been an essential feature of Marxist-Leninist parties in guiding the building of socialism. Stability and continuity are necessary for calm creative activity by the people, and dynamism and revolutionary change are important conditions for such stability.

In analysing social phenomena, our Party consistently applies the principles of Marxism-Leninism. It rejects all the subjectivist distortions of the Marxist understanding of society inherent both in revisionist and left-sectarian interpretations of reality. It is guided in all its work not by the wish, but by the fact, by the objective laws of social development. One should never confuse reality with aims, though, of course, our purposeful efforts are also part of reality, an essential motive force of development. Eliminating the difference between reality and aim, between what actually exists and what we want to bring into existence, always involves struggle and practical action, which is not stimulated but fraustrated

by embellishment of reality, or under-estimation of our achievements, or lack of faith in our ability.

We have rejected the theoretically and practically false and politically damagnig view that socialism represents a system free of contradictions. Otherwise we would have to follow in the footsteps of "classical" dogmatism and regard contradictions arising in the process of socialist development as either meaningless or the result of enemy intrigue, or as symptoms of socialism's degeneration, as the revisionists and "revolutionary" leftists maintain. After 1956, the Party reinstated in its rights the Marxist-Leninist understanding of contradictions, purging it of wrong interpretations.

Socialist construction is not free of contradictions, but far from undermining socialist society, their exposure and resolution strengthen and develop it.

In resolving the problems arising in the process of building developed socialism, we must guard against narrow-minded, nationalistic solutions Scientific generalisations cannot be one-sided, based entirely on the specific conditions of the given country. Attempts to regard socialist construction as an isolated process in each country, out of context with the experience of world socialism, are bound to shift the accent to the partial (real or imaginary) interests of that country at the expense of the interests of the community. Partial interests must never prevail over the socialist countries' common interests.

The HSWP is against the theories of different "models" of socialism, "different" Marxisms, "pluralist" Marxism, etc., at one time current in Hungary too. The Party categorically rejected them. They would have undermined its political unity and that of the international Communist movement. and, from the theoretical standpoint, would have led to a relativist distortions of Marxism-Leninism. In the social as in the natural sciences, there is only one answer, containing the objective truth, to every precisely formulated question.

In the light of these principles, let us examine some of the cardinal problems involved in building developed socialism in Hungary.

The 11th Congress pointed, first of all, to the need to consolidate and perfect socialist production and social relations, give unhampered sway to the economic laws of socialism so as to make fuller use of its great advantages. One way of doing that is to improve our system of economic management.

At the previous stage, when the material and technical base was not adequately developed, with some industries lagging, and with

economic growth mostly through physical expansion—the advantages of socialism could not be fully utilised. Now, with economic growth powered by intensification and steadily rising productivity, we can combine the achievements of socialism with those of the technological revolution and more effectively deal with the problems posed by the building of developed socialism.

There is no need now for a radical change of property relations. What is needed is strengthening and expansion both of state and cooperative property. And this, the 11th Congress emphasised, is in the interests of the working class and cooperative farmers and, in the final analysis, in the interests of the entire people.

The development of the productive forces and socialist relations in the economy predetermines changes in the social structure of society and its political sphere that have an important bearing on the building of developed socialist society. There are no longer exploiting classes or even exploiting elements in Hungary. Our goal now is to obliterate essential. distinctions between town and village, working class and peasantry, mental and physical labour. Today, 58 per cent of the gainfully employed population belong to the working class, which plays the dominant role in our society. The peasants, now a socialist class, are coming closer to the workers in terms of working conditions and general outlook. The growing role of science, technology and culture in socialist construction has been accompanied by a growing role for the intellectuals: nearly one-fourth of our population are engaged in non-manual labour.

The 11th Congress stressed that the interests of all classes, strata and groups of our society are now identical and this identity will be further consolidated in the course of socialist construction. This objective process is the earnest of the continued strengthening of the alliance of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia. That alliance is the political basis of our state, the basis of the untiy of all supporters of socialism and of the Party's leadership in the building of a developed socialist society.

Now all our people appreciate the advantages of socialism and have implicit confidence in the Party and its policy. This is still another factor in cementing the alliance of all the labouring classes and of socialist national unity.

Our progress is now increasingly determined by the standard of the Party's leadership of society, by its competent, scientifically-grounded solutions. For without knowledge and correct application of the laws governing social development, without a correct understanding of society's new requirements, and of the vital interests of the working people, there can be no forward movement. We are

cultivating such knowledge and understanding. We rejected the revisionist slogans of "separating the Party from the government" based on the contention that the Party's role ends with the victory of the socialist revolution, or is confined to propaganda. Our experience shows that the Party's leading role increases in the process of socialist construction. The HSWP organises the labour effort of the whole of society, directs the work of government agencies, the trade unions, youth and other non-government organisations, sets short-term and long-term goals and organises their attainment. That is why the Programme Statement lays stress on the "continued strengthening of the Party's leading role as an indispensable factor in building socialism".

The Party is charting the road to developed socialism in the interests of the working class, all working people, and together with them sets the goals and determines the ways of their attainment. Leadership implies daily effort to bring to the working class, to the entire people, an understanding of our aims and of how they further the interests of the people. The Marxist-Leninist working class vanguard, Janos Kadar said in summing up the debate at the 11th Congress, can be an effective vanguard only when it is together with the masses. This, he emphasised, follows from all our experience.

The 11th Congress called for continued improvement in administering the country and for further development of socialist democracy. Some maintain that as socialism gains in strength, the role of the state will progressively diminish and its functions will either "wither away" or pass to public organisations. Our Party does not accept that theory. It is guided by the Marxist-Leninist proposition that in the building of developed socialism, too, the state remains the chief instrument of socialist transformations. Of course, its functions change: some disappear altogether, while others are given wider scope. Today the priority tasks are in the economic and cultural fields.

Analysis of the processes at work in our society, and the theoretical findings of fraternal Communist parties, led the HSWP Congress to draw this important conclusion, set out in its Programme Statement: "In the course of our society's socialist development, as class differences diminish, the state will acquire more and more features of the socialist state of all the people. With the establishment of developed socialist society the state of proletarian dictatorship gradually evolves into a socialist state of all the people, in which the working class retains its leading role. In developed socialist

society, the elements of Communist public self-government will steadily unfold and develop".

Continued perfection of the socialist state means continued expansion of socialist government by the people. The 11th Congress declared this a key condition for the further development of our social system. The Congress resolution says: "Active mass support and wider socialist democracy make for stronger popular rule."

Improvement of the central administration in recent years has been accompanied by more independence and responsibility for the local councils which under the new constitution are popular, representative, self-governing and state organs. It is becoming customary to submit for public discussion important draft laws, and for the people to have a direct part in their drafting, enactment and implementation. The Party especially stresses the need to promote democracy in work collectives, to create more favourable conditions in this most important sphere of our daily life, in socialist labour. L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, CC CPSU, formulated it thus: "Democracy is a hollow sound if it does not extended to a sphere in which people daily apply their creative efforts."

The 11th Congress found that place-of-work democracy does not yet meet all our requirements, despite the progress made in recent years. The most important thing today is more effectively to apply existing forms of industrial democracy, which give the working people full opportunities to exercise their rights and influence the operation of their factory.

Hungary's social and particularly economic development requires unity of the people also because the building of developed socialism is possible only with the active participation of every member of society. We know that the external factors in our development have changed not only for the better. The deep economic crisis in the capitalist world exerts a definite influence on our own economy and this calls for a higher standard of economic management. In this, as in all other branches, the Communists strive to win the confidence of the masses. They are frank in addresisng the people telling them of the problems facing the country and how they can be solved, inviting suggestions and proposals in working out decisions It is sometimes said that democracy and the position within the country are intertwined: more democracy when things are going well, less when things are not going well. That is wrong. Socialist democracy, as we understand it, means sharing wtih the people not only our successes, but also our difficulties and problems.

The most obvious general result of comprehensive social, economic, political and cultural development in socialist society is a

changing way of life. The socialist way of life takes shape gradually, but even so it represents a qualitative leap which we must encourage.

A twofold process is taking place in the sphere of social consciousness, the 11th Congress noted. On the one hand, views, ideas and behaviour standards corresponding to communist moral principles are gaining strength and ground, but on the other hand there occur and in some cases even take hold phenomena incompatible with socialist principles. What makes the Party's ideological work particularly important is the fact that in the present situation, with material well-being showing a substantial increase, the question "how to live" is becoming more and more relevant along with the socially essential question "what to live on". "We must use our improving material conditions in a socialist way," says the Party's Programme Statement. "Hence a key issue and prerequisite of developing our society as a whole is to change social consciousness still more rapidly and energetically and make socialist morals and the socialist way of life universal." We strive to make more and more people accept socialist ideas as the principle of life and develop their socialist consciousness.

While generalising our experience and ascertaining key development trends in line with Marxist-Leninist principles, we continue to work on the theoretical model of the socialist way of life and criticise in every respect and on a scientific basis the bourgeois ideal and the actual way of life in capitalist countries.

We see the salient feature of the socialist way of life in the fact that, to the individual, his self-assertion, the development of his abilities and his social success are inseparable in terms of his social consciousness and emotionally from creative labour for socialism and from active participation in production The life of the work collective and the all-round development of the individual progress simultaneously, being two aspects of one process.

Take any component of the way of life—political activity, maturity of world outlook, the degree and nature of involvement in the cultural sphere—in all these it is labour that moulds society and the individual. The fundamental antithesis between labour under capitalism and labour under socialism determines the fundamental difference between the two ways of life. Under the captialist system of production, "labour itself, **vital activity** itself, **production** itself turn out to be only a **means** of meeting one of man's requirements, his need to preserve his physical existence" (Marx). By contrast, emancipated labour, which becomes ever more emancipated and perfect, socialist and communist labour, will "become not only a means

of life but life's prime want" (Marx a[illegible] p 19).

In developing the socialist way of [illegible] world outlook, it is important to und[illegible] blem of combining individual, colle[illegible] this accord with our socialist object[illegible] see to it that group interests are [illegible] whole people to the detriment [illegible] and communist perspecti[illegible] into account in the [illegible] this problem is [illegible] with the [illegible] measure of lab[illegible] measure of consu[illegible] interacti[illegible] material and moral incentives [illegible] even at the stage of building developed soc[illegible] relations continue to play a constructiv[illegible] will cease to exist only under comm[illegible].

The Party therefore keeps [illegible] distribution according to w[illegible] as [illegible] changes [illegible] progress, and anal[illegible] the d[illegible] of [illegible] moral incentives. A [illegible] consistent applic[illegible] distribution according to work [illegible] just matter of keeping [illegible] proportio[illegible] strengthening the alliance [illegible] classes, [illegible] consciousness and morality

Material incentives do not [illegible] moral incentives conflict with [illegible] of life. Anyone who regards [illegible] mere moralising or dogmatic talk [illegible] preting the distinctive features of so[illegible] vision of a "con[illegible] society". But [illegible] bating petty bourgeois [illegible] equally petty-bourg[illegible] asceticis[illegible] wards grasping the true nature of socialism [illegible] principle of material incentives as today's [illegible] means not only advocating the "leftist" idea of [illegible] ism but taking a stand against an object[illegible] Asceticism and the desire for personal gain are equa[illegible] genuine Marxist-Leninist principles, the revolutionar[illegible] and real socialism. The fact that the socialist way of [illegible] ever deeper root in our social reality is confirmed, [illegible] *the vast movement of socialist work teams under way in* [illegible] *In this movement, new, socialist moral standards and the* [illegible]

[illegible] collectivism, comradely mutual assistance and selfless effort [illegible] themselves more and more.

[illegible] the socialist way of life and firmly establish it thro- [illegible] a task that can be carried out overnight but a [illegible] and intricate process. It is a Marxist-Leninist axiom that [illegible] must be approached without "preconceived idealist crotchets" ([illegible] and Engels, **Sel. Works**, Vol. [illegible] p. 361), no matter [illegible] [illegible] Nevertheless, [illegible] precisely these [illegible] notions [illegible] come across. Some propose, for example, [illegible] (or even the communist) way of life [illegible] without [illegible] conditions and the real possibilities. They forget [illegible] the ideal of the "necessary" depends on the [illegible] the [illegible]ectical sense of the word, of course), on real [illegible] lying at the basis of the advance to the ideal. The [illegible] of which they propose introducing in this willful manner [illegible] at best correspond to "vulgar communism" and not to the Marxist-Leninist ideal of the comprehensively developed individual [illegible] a [illegible] system under which people can fully use their [illegible] abilities.

[illegible] important condition for bulding a mature socialist society [illegible] promote the intellectual life of society, [illegible] the socialist [illegible] of culture, enrich its content and build up the people's [illegible] and political unity on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. After 1956 the Party discarded the illusion that we had already achieved complete ideological unity of the [illegible] on Marxist-Leninist principles. We [illegible] well that it takes [illegible] effort and [illegible] bring about such [illegible] and that [illegible] especially may [illegible] dangerous consequences. After [illegible] [illegible] notions [illegible] we [illegible] hard [illegible] consolidate [illegible] carry further [illegible] of Marxist-Leninist positions [illegible] the ideological, [illegible] cultural activities of [illegible] This [illegible] paid off [illegible] alliance of [illegible] working class and building [illegible] socialist society pro[illegible] which [illegible] Marxist-Leninist world outlook [illegible] universal. The policy of reinforcing [illegible] peasant [illegible] suppressing the counter-revolution [illegible] important part in accomplishing this task.

The Party points out that the inseparable unity between patriotism and internationalism we must achieve is a key element of socialist consciousness. Socialist patriotism has been growing too. Decisive for this is pride of our people's creative effort, in socialist Hungary.

Proletarian internationalism and cooperation with the revolutionary, progressive forces of the world are inseparable from socialist patriotism. The people know that cooperation with the Soviet Union

of life but life's prime want" (Marx and Engels, Sel. **Works**, Vol. 3, p. 19).

In developing the socialist way of life and forming the socialist world outlook, it is important to understand and so solve the problem of combining individual, collective and public interests that this accord with our socialist objectives. The Party and the state see to it that group interests are not presented as interests of the whole people to the detriment of the latter, and that the socialist and communist perspective of social development is always taken into account in the complex interaction of interests. Solution of this problem is closely linked with the system of coordinating the measure of labour and measure of consumption and with the proper interaction of material and moral incentives. The HSWP holds that even at the stage of building developed socialism, commodity-money relations continue to play a constructive role in economic life and will cease to exist only under communism.

The Party therefore keeps an eye on the content of the principle of distribution according to work as it changes with social and economic progress, and analyses the dynamics of the unity of material and moral incentives. A more consistent application of the principle of distribution according to work is not a narrow economic problem nor just a matter of keeping wages proportionate. It is a matter of strengthening the alliance between classes and fostering socialist consciousness and morality.

Material incentives do not contradict socialist morality, nor do moral incentives conflict with the policy of improving the standard of life. Anyone who regards the effort to raise moral standards as mere moralising or dogmatic talk is, perhaps unwittingly, misinterpreting the distinctive features of socialism, being prompted by the vision of a "consumer society". But neither will those who in combating petty-bourgeois self-interest counter it with what is, in effect, an equally petty-bourgeois asceticism, advance by a single step towards grasping the true nature of socialism. To fight against the principle of material incentives as today's Maoist ideologists do means not only advocating the "leftist" idea of "barrack communism" but taking a stand against an objective law of socialism. Asceticism and the desire for personal gain are equally alien to genuine Marxist-Leninist principles, the revolutionary working class and real socialism. The fact that the socialist way of life is striking ever deeper root in our social reality is confirmed, in particular, by the vast movement of socialist work teams under way in our country. In this movement, new, socialist moral standards and the spirit o

socialist collectivism, comradely mutual assistance and selfless effort manifest themselves more and more.

To promote the socialist way of life and firmly establish it throughout society is not a task that can be carried out overnight, but a long and intricate process. It is a Marxist-Leninist axiom that reality must be approached without "preconceived idealist crotchets" (Marx and Engels, **Sel. Works,** Vol. 3, p. 361), no matter how noble the intentions. Nevertheless, it is precisely these "idealist notions" that we often come across. Some propose, for example, "introducing" the socialist (or even the communist) way of life by fiat, without regard to objective conditions and the real possibilities. They forget that materialising the ideal of the "necessary" depends on the "existing" (in the dialectical sense of the word, of course), on real prerequisites lying at the basis of the advance to the ideal. The way of life which they propose introducing in this willful manner would at best correspond to "vulgar communism" and not to the Marxist Leninist ideal of the comprehensively developed individual, nor to a social system under which people can fully use their every ability.

Another important condition for bulding a mature socialist society is to promote the intellectual life of society, foster the socialist character of culture, enrich its content and build up the people's ideological and political unity on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. After 1956 the Party discarded the illusion that we had already achieved complete ideological unity of the people on Marxist-Leninist principles. We know well that it takes much effort and time to bring about such unity and that speeding it artificially may have dangerous consequences. After renouncing simplistic notions on this point, we worked hard to really consolidate and carry further the leading role of Marxist-Leninist positions in the ideological, scientific and cultural activities of society. This effort has paid off. Deepening the political alliance of the working classes and building a developed socialist society provide favourable conditions in which the Marxist-Leninist world outlook can grow stronger and become universal. The policy of reinforcing the worker peasant alliance, a policy evolved after suppressing the counter-revolution plays an important part in accomplishing this task.

The Party points out that the inseparable unity between patriotism and internationalism we must achieve is a key element of socialist consciousness. Socialist patriotism has been growing too. Decisive for this is pride of our people's creative effort in socialist Hungary.

Proletarian internationalism and cooperation with the revolutionary, progressive forces of the world are inseparable from socialist patriotism. The people know that cooperation with the Soviet Union

and other fraternal socialist countries and their close cohesion help greatly to build a new society in our country. Internationalism also means that socialist construction within national bounds is inseparable from the international unity and cohesion of socialist forces. The changes taking place in the world and the development of new lines of cooperation with brother countries call for the further promotion of our people's socialist patriotism and internationalism.

Building a developed socialist society coincided in most fraternal countries with international detente. This is entirely logical. Imperialism would under no circumstances have ceded ground to the peace offensive of socialism but for the tremendous achievements of our countries in the economy, the social sphere, defence and other fields. However, peaceful coexistence does not imply an end to the contest between the two social systems but a change in its forms. In particular, the ideological struggle is gaining in importance. Peaceful coexistence affords us greater opportunities to disseminate communist ideas on a world scale, demonstrate their correctness and present the truth about socialist society.

To use these opportunities, we must make our propaganda more flexible and effective. Surely no one will deny that building socialism is the most effective rebuttal of hostile propaganda. It follows that the main task in the ideological struggle is, along with criticising capitalism and exposing bourgeois propaganda, boldly to tackle problems raised by life, show our achievements and publicise our ideas and policies.

In presenting socialist reality, we strive to avoid general noncommittal statements, for they erode faith in the justice of our cause among the worknig people of capitalist and developing countries, in whose interests we carry on our ideological struggle and whom we strive to win over to our side. Our achievements are of historic significance and we must do our utmost to show the working people of capitalist countries that the socialist community is a dependable factor in their class struggle. Through our everyday effort, our achievements and programme we must help them, must set them an example and show them the road to the future.

Some analysts are taken aback by temporary gains of the capitalist world in this or that field They forget that while capitalism may take a step forward in one field, it fails far behind in another. This expresses itself in new, sometimes striking facts of deterioration of the overall situation and in a further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. As for us, we are now arriving at a level of social development at which we can carry forward socialism

on a comprehensive basis by simultaneously solving problems of production and public life, raising the people's living and cultural standards and making more rapid progress in both technology and the humanities.

None but the socialist social system can bring the working class and the people a full life. In some technological and economic fields we have already outpaced capitalism but in others we have yet to catch up with it, and this is a highly important task. As for developing a life free from exploitation and truly fit for man, our superiority is evident. Capitalism can never excel us in this respect, for we are following a different path, a path leading to communism.

New Horizons of Popular Movement

Alvaro Vasquez

Even a cursory look at the situation in Colombia will draw the political observer's attention to two special features.

One, the authorities and the oligarchic parties behind them are at pains to pare down the democratic freedoms of the people, the trade unions and the students The repressive policy in towns and cities is matched by that in the rural areas, where the peasant movement is on the rise. The government retaliates with arrests, police round-ups and outright killing to strikes demonstrations and protests. A recent example are the reprisals against peasant leaders and Communists in Uraba, Yacopi, Cimitarra and other parts of the country.

Two, the mass struggle involving the working class, peasants, and the urban and rural middle strata, is obviously expanding. The direct and indirect evidence of a mounting class confrontation, of deepening contradictions between the people and the oligarchy, is ample and incontestable. And the monopoly press has given up trying to hush it up. The clashes between the working people, the progressive forces, and North American imperialism and its local political henchmen, are increasingly sharp. Though unconnected and sporadic, pursuing different aims, and of different political maturity, the popular actions are leading up to a crisis that will entail radical solutions.

It was in this unstable and contradictory situation that the Communist Party of Colombia held its 12th Congress in Bogota on December 5-9, 1975. We prepared for the Congress for four months, highlighted by a succession of popular actions, the biggest of which was the "civic strike" in Bucaramanga.

In August 1975, the Central Committee issued a set of political theses, analysing the Party's activity in the four years since the previous Congress

(December 1971) and setting guidelines for the immediate future. The theses were put before the Party membership for general discussion.

The preparations for the Congress were distinctly democratic. Comrade Gilberto Vieira, the Party's General Secretary, noted in the opening remarks at the Congress that it had been preceded by 20,000 branch meetings and 26 district and four provincial conferences, and that the important suggestions made there were reflected in their resolutions. The Congress was attended by 235 delegates, of whom 36 per cent were factory workers, and 29 per cent farmers. This was a fairly accurate reflection of the class composition of the Party's membership at the present time. Three out of every four delegates were leaders of mass organisations.[1]

It is gratifying to note that the Congress was attended by representatives of 19 fraternal parties, notably the CPSU and the CP of Cuba, and, of course, the Communist parties of many other Latin American countries. Though a state of siege has been imposed on the country and many of the delegations has difficulties in obtaining entry visas, our guests were not harassed by the authorities during their stay in Bogota.

Before and during the Congress, the Colombian Communists concentrated on elaborating a political line to suit recent experience and the country's special features. The purpose of the discussions was to direct the rising mass movement to the necessary objectives, to determine ways and means of strengthening it, to better the organisation on a national scale, and come to terms with other democratic forces concerning united action, which will help attain the aims of the present stage of the revolutionary struggle.

First of all, of course, we had to get at the heart of the nation's social and political problems. This was essential to work out our own course of action, and to show the masses the way of the present complicated conditions. Precisely this was the topic of the main report, and of the contributions of the more than thirty delegates from branches at different levels. Thereupon, the report was unanimously approved.

Comrade Vieira in his report, and many other speakers, examined the character of the system of power and Colombia's present government.

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[1] There were 100 more delegates at the 12th than at the previous Congress. The CP of Colombia has grown. Also, it has a larger working-class membership, and more workers in the leadership at all levels. But, as pointed out at the Congress, there are still faults in recruitment. Despite the favourable situation, the membership is not growing fast enough. The Party is relatively week among miners, transport workers, etc. Despite recent successes, improvements in the style of work and the tightening of bonds with the masses, the CPC is not yet able to become a mass Lenin type party in the immediate future.

[2] The system is inadequate and reactionary. Under it, two bourgeois parties—the Liberal and Conservative—have held a monopoly on power for more than a century. Government offices and seats in parliament are divided equally between them.

The Liberals, who capitalised on the nation's interest in maintaining the deep-rooted democratic traditions, campaigned in the 1974 elections under the republican banner of political guarantees, civic freedoms, and a democratic order. By so doing they blockaded the forces of reaction and fascism, whose presidential nominee was a conservative of the extreme right and culprit of the terror and violence loosed on the country in 1948-58. Since the masses sought a democratic and radical solution to the acute economic and social problems, public opinion gravitated in favour of the Liberal nominee, Lopez Michelsen, who polled the biggest number of votes (some 3,000,000).[3]

Knowing its class nature, the Communist Party warned that the government formed in August 1974 would not live up to public expectations, would not improve the economic and social situation, and do nothing to secure democratic changes and freedoms. We knew in advance that the Lopez government would concentrate on safeguarding the political system of the oligarchy, and stressed the need to mobilise the masses and step up pressure on the government, compelling it to keep its election promises.

As a result, the mass movement grew in magnitude, especially between September 1974 and the summer of the following year. It assumed a variety of forms. The masses did not just demand that the government keep its promises. They formulated new demands. Other social forces, notably the middle strata, joined in. The sense of unity grew stronger, and the role of the working class, the trade unions, and the Communist Party, increased visibly.

The anti-democratic and reactionary structure of the political system rules out working-class and popular participation in resolving the country's problems, and even freedom to express viewpoints. The purpose of the half-baked and spurious "representative democracy" is to conceal the dictatorship of the oligarchy. This is why the Lopez government gradually began to turn down popular demands and restrict popular actions, until it finally declared a state of siege and introduced martial law. The country is being militarised, popular movement are being restricted, and military tri-

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and their representatives alternate in the presidential chair. Not until 1974 did this system, so convenient for the oligarchy, first begin to falter. It has not been abandoned so far, but has come into collision with the changed political structure of our society, for it leaves no room for the new political forces and organisations. The general elections in 1974 showed that the masses seeking democratic change are fed up with this parity system which the oligarchy cynically describes as a "national front".

[3] The opposition, comprising two wings—one inconsistent and conciliatory, known as the National Popular Alliance, and the other representing the left forces, known as the National Opposition Union—polled some 700,000 votes, while some 200,000 were cast for the Communists and their allies.

bunals have been set up. Revolutionaries are imprisoned, and independent and left organisations persecuted.

On the other hand, the growing mass pressure has forced the authorities to make certain concessions, particularly in the early half of 1975. For one thing, the Confederation of the Working People, an independent united trade union centre, has been given legal status. Also, the goverment restored diplomatic relations with Cuba, and is compelled to suffer the legal existence of revolutionary parties. It was mass pressure, in fact, that blocked some of the designs of the extreme rightist civilians and military elements in and out of the government, who are forming and supporting terrorist gangs which commit anti-Soviet and anti-Cuban provocations, attack left papers, strike at progressive journalists, etc.

The 12th Congress noted in its political resolution that the reactionary system of power has not changed, that the Lopez government is just another successor to preceding governments, that the tune in the government is set by the financial magnates of the oligarchy connected with imperialists and the big landowners. It does not come as a surprise that the policy of the present government, like that of its predecessors, is chiefly directed at maintaining and buttressing the existing social-economic structures.

The rapid concentration of monopoly capital, a parasite on the body of the nation, began some time ago. Their vast financial resources, credits and shareholdings have enabled the monopoly groups to lay down the law in industrial development, building, mining, export and import, and now also in agriculture. They possess unprecedented economic power. Their might is so great, Comrade Vieira pointed out in his report, that five or six of them control almost the entire economic scene.[4]

The quickly growing economic power of the financial groups may be traced to their close ties with the big Yankee monopolies and capitalists of other countries (France, Japan, Spain, etc.). Instead of safeguarding national independence, the government is ceding ground to foreign capital, which is thrusting vigorously into oil, gas, nickel, iron ore and coalmining. The relations with the Yankee monopolies are based on so-called association, a system purported to assure "equal rights" (e.g., of the Colombian oil enterprise and the big Yankee oil concerns), but, in effect, designed to mislead the public.

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[4] The capitalist magnates' influence on the political scene is growing, too. They play first fiddle in the government. President Lopez is known to have close ties with the Santodimingo group, which controls between 80 and 100 of the country's biggest enterprises with assets in excess of 15 billion pesos (one-third of the state budget). The rightist Conservative leaders, who hold half the offices in government, represent the Ardila Lulle group, which owns radio stations, beverage factories, etc., and the Caicado sugar group.

Government policy follows the "traditional" guideline that the ... growth depends on foreign capital and imperialist loans. As a res... lombia's foreign debt has doubled in the past five years, and repa... consuming a quarter of all foreign exchange revenue

The authorities are in no hurry to implement the already skimpy ... rian reform proclaimed fifteen years ago by the oligarchy (for wh... special agrarian reform institute was formed, now known as the ghost ... tute). They are determined to prevent structural changes in agriculture ... in the abominable latifundian system. To expedite growth of capitalist farming, the merging of financial groups with landowners, who advoc... "modernisation", is stimulated by means of infusion of cash. As a resu... finance capital, especially international imperialist monopolies, are pen... trating into agriculture.

This is presented as "help" to the small farmers in order to close th... gap between urban living standards (which are claimed to be "high") an... the rural (admitted to be "very low"). That, in effect, is the underlyin... sense of the "economic development plan", ostensibly aimed at increasing food production. In fact, the demagogic plan stands for the enrichment of landowners and greater exploitation and impoverishment of the peasant masses.

Lastly, cottage industry with primitive tools is encouraged, getting precedence over real industrialisation. President Lopez claims this will make Colombia a "South American Japan". But export growth—and the oligarchy admits this—is achieved only thanks to cheap labour, with backward forms of production and a low organic composition of capital.[5]

The interests of working people are abused, the living standard is dropping and unemployment is going up. In 1971-75 real wages and salaries declined 25 per cent, while unemployed in the four biggest cities totalled 600,000. This is an unheard-of figure for Colombia, expressive, as Comrade Vieira stressed, of the tendency towards the absolute impoverishment of the working class, and all working people.

After a slight decline in the middle of 1975, the mass struggle—which the authorities tried to suppress by proclaiming the state of siege and launching repressions against trade unions and popular organisations—is on the upgrade again. The militancy of the masses has not been subdued. The present situation is highlighted by the recent general strike in the cement industry, actions by bank employees and schoolteachers, the lists of demands issued by nearly all the trade unions, the struggles of students and professors, protests against rising fares and government charges, tenants' demonstrations in densely populated city quarters, public movements in

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[5] *Coyuntura Economica*, a journal expressing the views of the all-powerful oligarchy, admitted a 9-per cent decline of industrial output in 1975

the provinces, and land seizures by peasants. This is paving the way to democratic solutions of the vital problems now facing the nation.

Our prime and most important task, as we have already said, is to provide leadership for the growing mass movement. How big and meaningful the movement will be, and what direction it will take, depends on how successful we are in this, and also in eliminating the negative factors and going on to a new, higher level of political struggle The Congress resolution instructs Communists to direct and build up the mass struggle, to give it leadership, and, at the same time, to repulse right and "left" opportunists.

This also implies working for unity of different forces and at different levels. Unity is essential in the trade unions, in advancing economic demands, and in student actions. We advocate political unity of all democratic and popular forces protesting against the government's reactionary and anti-national policy.

The independent labour movement has made great strides. The Confederation of Working People is gaining influence, and has made visible progress in its unity policy, in the struggle for the people's vital demands. At its 2nd Congress in March 1975 it joined the WFTU It is combating discriminatory government practices and the venal policy of the leaders of the two governmental trade union centres, which are denying it the right to officially represent the working people and are accusing it of "subversive activity" Also it is fighting against adventurers and anarchists who disrupt and isolate the labour movement and play into the hands of the capitalists and authorities, who finance divisive activity in the trade unions.

The Communist Party is working for popular unity within the National Opposition Union. The situation is complicated by the sectarian postures of some of its leaders and the liberal opportunism of others. But we are searching patiently for new opportunities to extend united action, tighten our links with other forces, and enlarge democratic unity.[6]

The 12th Congress discussed the coming interim elections in April 1976 and the general elections in 1978. Following up the Party's political line in the 1974 elections, the Congress resolved in favour of advancing a National Opposition Union platform of anti imperialist democratic demands.

[6] A meeting of democratic and patriotic forces was recently held in Bogota. Among others, it was attended by political groups that had earlier opposed unity, notably some Liberals and people close to the government. Attention centred on resistance to the state of siege, struggle for broader democratic freedoms and coordination of action in defence of national assets, primarily natural resources exploited by imperialist companies The success of the meeting has encouraged similar action by democratic forces in some of the provinces.

We are prepared to enter into alliances with all opposition ... ports these demands.

The Congress also examined the international situation. ... gress in the fight against imperialism, notably the victory of the ... of Vietnam, it stressed the significance of the peaceful coex... of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and acclaimed ... al detente.

The political resolution of the Congress warns that imperialism ... serious threat to peace and social progress. It is in retreat, ... abandoned its aggressive intents. The fight for detente ... and implies fighting for peace and greater vigilance

Also raised at the Congress was the need of ideological ... *counteraction to nationalism, especially when it impairs the unity of ... Communist movement. Delegates raised the question of the Peking ... activities internationally and in individual countries. Its "nationalism" ... travesty of patriotism, for it serves none but the interests of the bourgeoi... and is contrary to proletarian internationalism, the backbone of the ... Communist and working-class movement. The Congress condemned ... Maoist clique, which is trying to disrupt the world Communist movement and supports the imperialist camp. The clique wants to be the hegemon of the developing countries, and maligns the Soviet Union no less viciously than international reaction. It supports NATO and the fascist junta in Chile, and works hand in glove with the CIA in Angola. Struggle against Maoist intrigues is the duty of all Communists.*

The Congress unanimously approved the Central Committee's positive stand on the question of a new international conference of communist and workers' parties. It stressed the significance for the Latin American continent of the action programme of the recent Conference of Latin American and Caribbean Communist Parties. The main report pointed out that the declaration of the Havana Conference will strengthen the bonds between Latin American Communists on the basis of the fundamental principles of the world Communist movement, which the Colombian Communists have always supported.

The Congress approved the political line and activity of the outgoing Central Committee, and elected a Central Committee for the new term. In addition to the main nucleus of the preceding CC it chose new dedicated fighters, principally workers and peasants to serve on it, and endorsed the members of the incumbent Executive Committee and Secretariat.

In summing up the results of the 12th Congress we can safely say that it was a big success and assured considerable progress in elaborating the

ture political course and improving the work of the Party. Among other things, it drew attention to the significance of the subjective factor, and first and foremost the development of the Communist Party, the unity of the working class and the people as a whole. That is the only way to frustrate the reactionary designs of the oligarchy and open the road to democratic change. The Congress demonstrated the Party's unity, its greater influence on the masses, and its internationalism. This opens up the perspective for the historic transformations so badly needed by the people of Colombia

Detente has to be Fought For

Pavel Auersperg

Detente is the direct result of the changed world balance of forces in favour of socialism, and in that sense the logical product of world social, development. An important contribution to this positive process was made by the European Security and Cooperation Conference. It laid the basis for extending detente, took a long step towards consolidating the principles of peaceful coexistence and equal cooperation between states with different social systems. Convened on the initiative of the socialist community and supported by European countries, the USA and Canada, the Helsinki Conference demonstrated anew the futility and harmfulness of the cold-war policy, and increased opportunities for a substantial strengthening of European peace and security. It was a triumph of reason, a gain for everyone who wants a world of peace and securiay. Socialism has scored a major victory in its historic confrontation with capitalism.

How, after Helsinki, there is a real opportunity for further progress in international detente, for imparting to it a much more concrete material content. The Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community have taken a responsible attitude to the obligations assumed as a result of the Helsinki agreements. They regard the Final Act as an integral whole, a code of norms and obligations that cannot be divided into "essential" and "non-essential". Of course, in undertaking concrete steps to materialise detente, they pay special attention to the chief question that prompted the countries to traverse the difficult road to Helsinki, namely, the question of averting world war, strengthening European security and international political detente, supplemented by military detente.

In contrast to this approach, some in the capitalist world are inclined to pluck from the Helsinki document individual, and by no means major, points, considering this a more convenient tactic in their diplomatic game. They coment that that now, after Helsinki, the next move in extending detente must come from the socialist side. But when the socialist countries take

new constructive initiatives for mutually avdantageous cooperation and for concrete results that could be put before the 1977 all-European meeting in Belgrade, there is no response from the other side.

In fact, imperialist propaganda has latterly tried to make out that detente has reached a dead end, that it is being blocked by insurmountable ideological barriers. And the events in Angola, it is alleged, have brought on a crisis of detente, so profound that some bourgeois writers have hastened to announce the beginning of a "second cold war". Those who are so anxious to bury detente and rekindle world tensions do not rely on propaganda alone. They have, in addition, the material resources of the military-industrial complexes and political pressure levers.

Consequently, detente is not a process whose dynamism is determined solely by objective circumstances. On the contrary, there is the proof of experience that without persevering mass struggle, without purposeful effort by governments and progressive public opinion, the new opportunities for consolidating universal peace cannot be utilised. That is why today, too, in a more wholesome international climate, we cannot rely on the automatic development of detente. Its development has to be fought for.

The change in world politics has its own dialectics: the deeper the roots of detente, the more active are its enemies. Why? Because imperialism has acknowledged, but has by no means accepted, the new realities. The fact that detente is the political expression of the changed world balance of forces in favour of socialism is fundamental not only to its very existence and development, but also to imperialist resistance to detente.

True, the forces opposed to peaceful coexistence are no longer in a position to cut short the development of the healthy tendencies in international life. But they can hamper their development, and this is one of the principal reasons why a number of problems remain unsolved and prevent progress to durable peace.

We can single out four groups of such problems. First, problems which, properly speaking, should be considered solved. Reference is primarily to the broad complex of agreements embodied in the Helsinki Final Act, and the system of treaties normalising relations between the FRG and a number of European socialist countries.

There have been statements to the effect that the Helsinki provisions have no binding power. It has even been said that they were not really necessary, because, essentially, they do not go beyond the Ten Commandments.[1] And there is a suggestion that they should be treated as such, mere-

[1] The motivation behind such views becomes especially clear when we know the identity of their exponents. The talk about the Ten Commandments comes from the last representative of the Hapsburgs, Otto von Hapsburg, a double-dyed reactionary, and it appeared in one of the most obscurantist publications, the *Sudeten Deutsche Zeitung*, which speaks for the bellicose West German revanchists.

ly as pious wishes bereft of any meaning in international law. Hence a situation in which problems one would think were solved still await solution.

One of these is West Berlin, a problem now being dramatised and fraught with the danger of conflict and tension because of the FRG's cavalier interpretation of the Four-Power Agreement. Bonn tries to act contrary to the reality—sanctioned in treaties—that West Berlin is not a component part of the FRG and cannot be governed by it. This is a case of obstructing normalisation of relations between the FRG and the GDR and other socialist countries, and also European detente.

The second group includes the problems involved in extending detente to other regions and continents, converting it into a worldwide universal process.

And here a peaceful settlement in the Middle East should get top priority. A just and realistic formula for such a settlement has been found. It provides for the Israeli aggressors' withdrawal from all occupied territories, recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to an independent state, and also the right to existence and security for all the states of the region. On the basis of this formula there is taking shape a common platform of the socialist-community states, the Arab world and other developing countries. The isolation of the Israeli Zionist leadership, expressed, in particular, in the debate on the General Assembly resolution, is becoming more pronounced. In this situation, international Zionism, leaning on the assistance of its patrons, is feverishly thinking up new ways of countering not only a Middle East settlement, but also the extension of detente, using false charges of anti-Semitism to camouflage its own sinister role as an enemy of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

An end to the Middle East conflict would be more than a long step towards peace in this part of the world; it would pave the way to reliable security for other areas, including the continent of Asia. We know that the struggle for detente in Asia, which is so closely linked with the idea of a collective security system, is encountering serious resistance from the Maoist leadership. But the objective prerequisites for bringing that idea to reality, and interest in it throughout Asia, are steadily growing, so that whatever the complexities attending its solution, the problem is coming to hold an important place in world politics.

Extending detente to Latin America and Africa, with due account to the concrete conditions in each of these continents and their many countries is of no less importance in normalising the international situation.

The disproportion between progress in the political field and the quantitative and qualitative growth of armaments—such is the third group of problems relating to detente. It is becoming increasingly clear that with-

...ible progress in restricting the arms race and in disarmament, other ...nte achievements will lose much of their significance.

...ere is no overestimating, in this context, the importance of the Soviet-...erican negotiations on limiting strategic arms, the new United Nations ...atives of the USSR and other socialist countries to contain the arms ..., and the efforts of these countries for a positive shift in the Vienna ... on reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. The ...ealty is that there are still forces in the capitalist world who hope for ...ateral advantages from military detente.

...astly, the fourth group of problems concerns economic and related co-...eration. The expansion of economic ties over the past five years has ...ly demonstrated how great were the mutually-advantageous opportuni-... frozen by the cold war. But even now by far not all available oppor-...ities are being used—there are still many discriminatory measures and ...er artificially created impediments that violate the principles of equality ...economic relations. In this context, attention should be drawn to the ...ical furore in certain imperialist circles over the granting of most-...oured-nation treatment to socialist countries. There have been attempts ...apply a "differentiated approach" so as to turn this element of better ...rnational economic relations into an instrument for dividing the socialist ...ntries.

...o work for solution of these problems is to work for giving the policy ...peaceful coexistence a more concrete content and materialising detente ...act, that is now the focal point of all the debate and controversy. For ...enemies of detente do not always oppose concluded agreements. Their ...tic is to approve these agreements in words, but prevent their imple-...ntation. The socialist states, supported by the progressive forces, by pro-...ssive opinion throughout the world and by realistically-minded people ...the capitalist countries, are waging an offensive struggle to materialise ..., that is, prevent world politics from being confined to verbal con-...mnation of war, create new structures in all spheres of international in-...course and work towards all-round democratisation of international life. ...is only on this basis that we can achieve the long-range aim of the Com-...unist and Workers' parties in the fraternal socialist countries, the aim of ... Marxist-Leninist parties, namely, make detente an irreversible process.

Peaceful reconstruction of the system of international relations is taking ... in a class-divided world. This lends especial topicality to the relation ...detente to the class, revolutionary struggle.

The fact that peaceful coexistence clearly asserts the right of nations to ...ereignty, the right to detente their internal problems without outside ...erference, is fundamental to a correct understanding and solution of this ...portant issue. And there should be no doubt that this right applies also ...peoples of countries where internal contradictions have led to a revo-

lutionary process that is undermining the exploitive positions of imperialism, colonialism, the financial oligarchy, and is creating the basis of a new, free life for the working people.

Relaxation of international tension refers only to relations between states belonging to the mutually-opposed social systems and does not lead to, or imply, moderation of the class struggle. This is ruled out by the objective character of the capitalist world's antagonistic contradictions. The record of the past 30 years shows that the class and national-liberation struggle, which determines the character of international relations, hews a way for itself, both in cold-war and detente climates.

Of course, detente influences the national processes and the correlation and confrontation of class and political forces. But one should clearly see the specifics and limits of this influence. Detente, doubtlessly, makes it extremely difficult for the aggressive imperialist forces to manoeuvre, foils their plans for direct export of counterrevolution, and creates more favourable external conditions for the revolutinary struggle. It facilitates the moral and political isolation of internal reaction. But detente cannot do more than that—it itself originates in conditions and on the basis of a class-divided world.

The complex interaction of peaceful coexistence and class struggle means that we cannot directly attribute all the defeats imperialism has sustained in recent years to changes in world policy. But, of course, we should not underestimate the fact that its development in this period was largely dictated by detente. Many of the telling blows dealt it, and a number of major social and political gains by the peoples, were due primarily to the development of internal class contradictions and also to the general shift in the world balance of forces in favour of socialism. This is borne out, in particular, by the historic victory in Vietnam and also by the events in Greece, Portugal and other countries.

Knowledge of all the aspects of the dialectical interconnection between detente and the class struggle helps repulse attempts to create the opinion that normalisation of international affairs in line with the peaceful coexistence principles is tantamount to perpetuating the existing social-political status quo across the world. These attempts of bourgeois propaganda are in substance designed to turn detente against the revolutionary and national-liberation movement. Imperialist ideologues plead detente in protesting against the solidarity of the world's revolutionary forces. Even support of lawful governments fighting against local reaction joined by foreign interventionists, is portrayed as a violation of detente. A typical example is Angola, where the national government and the patriotic forces were compelled to take up arms in defence of their country's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity against an invasion of South African racists and against pro-imperialist disruptive groups supported by Washington and Peking, against attempts to

ill the "vacuum" created by the withdrawal of Portuguese colonialists with new, neocolonial rule. The imperialists claim that the aid of the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist countries to patriots in the past and at present, are contrary to the principles of detente. Yet, if anything is incompatible with these principles, it isn't the peoples' liberation struggle or internationalist support of that stuggle, but the imperialist policy of trying to crush the revolutionary movement under cover of detene.

Imperialism has not changed its nature. This is forcefully, though indirectly, borne out by the reactivation—in connection with and in reference to detente—of two doctrines that have for scores of years, since the late 19th century, smothed the way for imperialist expansion One of them promoted division of the world into spheres of exclusive interests. The second, conversely, advanced the "open door" principle. The former was promoted mainly by the metropolitan West European states to safeguard their colonial empires, and the second by the United States in order to thrust US capital into the possessions of its rivals. Those interpreting detente as a guarantee of the worldwide socialpolitical status quo are, in effect, urging recognition of imperialism's exclusive interests throughout the non-socialist part of the globe. The widely circulated latter-day variant of the "open door" doctrine, on the other hand, connotes open doors to the socialist world, a free hand for imperialist-inspired anti-socialist action.

The demand for "free exchanges of ideas and people" is especially insistent Sometimes it is even made to sound like an ultimatum. It is common knowledge that the difficulties on the road to the Final Act in Helsinki were largely created by the inappropriate and unreasonable pretensions of representatives of capitalist countries in relation to the "third basket"—exchange of information, cultural cooperation, tourism, ties between public organisations, and contacts between individuals. Mutually acceptable solutions were finally found, and realism triumphed.

But what does realism mean in this field?

Certainly, detente is inconceivable without broader spiritual contacts between peoples. These are crucial for mutual confidence. But it is equally incontestable that relaxation of international tensions does not do away with the clash of ideologies and does not imply "peaceful coexistence of ideas". Therefore, the challenge is to balance cultural cooperation and exchange of information between states of the two systems with their fundamental ideological differences. The realistic solution implies unequivocal acknowledgement that international cooperation in culture and information, an important element of detente, must in content and form exclude any and all manifestations of mutual hostility. The only possible basis for it—and this accords with the letter and spirit of the Helsinki Act—is that of mutual consent, and respect for the given social system, laws and customs.

Precisely this is the approach of the countries of the socialist community, and of their Communist and Workers' parties. To use Comrade Gustav Husak's words on this score, we are "for the broadest possible mutual inspiration of cultural values, for exchange of ideas and information promoting worldwide mutual understanding and man's harmonious development. We are for a broad exchange of people who contribute to meaningful, beneficial and successful cooperation and broaden our knowledge of each other" (*Rude Pravo,* August 1, 1975).

The facts show that the socialist countries, the initiators and active organisers of political detente, are also in the lead in powering the expansion of international cultural cooperation. Take Czechoslovakia. In 1971-74, we published tranlations of 20 Belgian authors, while only two Czechoslovak authros were published in Belgium. In 1974, we published 85 translations from the French in 2.7 million copies, while French publishers put out only three translations from Czech and Slovak. Or take international tourism. Proportionate to the population, more Czechoslovak tourists visited capitalist countries than tourists from any of the capitalist countries visited Czechoslovakia.

As for the ideological struggle over the detente process, neither its continuation nor its mounting intensity contradicts the policy of peaceful coexistence, whatever our adversaries may say to the contrary. Quite the reverse: the one presupposes the other. In a world divided into two opposite systems a military-political confrontation can and must be avoided. What cannot be avoided is the basic class contradiction. Detente only directs it to more peaceful channels, and ideological struggle is one of these. Only those who deliberately refuse to accept anything other than war-like relations betw sates with different social systems refer to incompatibility of ideologies as a obstacle to peaceful coexistence.

Yet the clash of ideologies does not imperil detente only up to a certain point: as long as it confines itself to ideas, as long as it does not build into political campaigns directly aimed at torpedoing the peace and secur efforts of the peoples. This is why we cannot be indifferent to the new wa of anti Sovietism, the vile attacks on the socialist community, in the imper list mass media.

What anti-Communist propaganda relishes most are the utterances of re gades and traitors to socialist society. Of late, it has regaled itself on writings of the leaders of the Czechoslovak counter-revolutionary fo Totally bankrupt at home, they are touted by imperialist ideologues "authorities" and "experts" on socialism. Yet in actual fact they are ex at one thing only: gross distortion of the facts and blatant anti-Commun

After Helsinki the hostile bourgeois propaganda attacks against the So Union and other countries of the socialist community were conspicuou

intensified. Is this a coincidence? Certainly not. The coordinated "criticism" of the economy, political system and foreign policy of the socialist countries and of Marxist-Leninist theory by bourgeois newspapers, radio and television, is obviously designed, among other things, to scuttle the orientation formalised at the all-European Conference. Surely, the engineers of the latest coordinated anti-Soviet campaign do not think their propaganda can in any way alter life in the countries of the socialist community. Their anti-Sovietism is addressed not only to the Soviet Union or the other socialist countries, but to audiences in the capitalist states. It is intended to instil among the public there suspicion of the CPSU and USSR—the Party and state that have played and continue to play the decisive part in the worldwide transformation of the system of international relations, in raising socialism's international prestige and influence. The anti-Soviet conditioning of the public is thus centred on eroding the social basis for detente in the capitalist part of the world, on dividing the common front of the socialist countries, the international working class, the democratic forces and national-liberation movements against reaction and the war danger, and, last but not least, on diverting attention from the all-encompassing crisis, unprecedented in scale in the post-war period, and afflicting the entire capitalist system.

The fact that anti-Sovietism and opposition to detente go together is illustrated by Maoist line. Unlike the capitals of certain capitalist countries, Peking does not pretend that anti-Sovietism belongs to the sphere of ideological struggle, while the practical issue of war and peace is in the political field. Peking blends anti-Soviet invective with frantic attempts to torpedo detente, and all-out support of the foes of detente in Western Europe and the United States with pressure on influential bourgeis leaders who wish to be realists and participate constructively in strengthening world security.

The process of organising the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems has begun. Already, much has been achieved. The relaxation of dangerous tensions in international relations has become the dominant feature of the 1970s. But not all the difficulties have been overcome. Much constructive initiative, perseverance, patience and determination are still required to assure a stable, continuous and dynamic growth of detente.

Today and in future the decisive part in the struggle for detente belongs to the peoples of the socialist community, the coordinated, purposeful and dynamic foreign policy of the socialist states. The peace offensive, the implementation of the Peace Programme adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU and backed by other countries of the socialist community, by progressives across the world, is rallying all democratic peace-loving forces to consolidate and extend detente, and is drawing them into the worldwide movement to refashion international relations in line with Lenin's principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with opposite social systems.

Contemporary Imperialism in the Light of Lenin's Doctrine

The international theoretical conference on "Lenin's Doctrine of Imperialism and the Contemporary Stage of the General Crisis of Capitalism", organised by *World Marxist Review* in collaboration with the CC CPCz, was attended by representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of 46 countries: Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Britain, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, FRG, GDR, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, Mongolia, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Rumania, SAR, Senegal, Soviet Union, Spain, Syria, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay, USA, and Venezuela.

The conference was held on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of Lenin's writings on imperialism, among which *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism,* a classic of creative Marxism, holds a central place.

The conference was opened by *Josef Havlin,* Secretary, CC CPCz. The thesis on the general crisis of capitalism, he said, is an important component of Lenin's doctrine of imperialism. Lenin came to the conclusion that imperialism is the highest and last stage of capitalism and is a "moribund capitalism" (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 22, p. 302). However, the downfall of capitalism does not take place as a single act. Due to the uneven political and economic development of capitalist countries, this process covers a whole period of history, the period of "the collapse of capitalism in its entirety and the birth of socialist society" (Vol. 27, p. 130). This period is characterised by growing internal contradictions of the capitalist system, by its weakening and the breaking away of individual countries from it, and on the other hand by the rise of a new, socialist system in these countries, by their consolidation and the formation of the socialist world system.

Political, economic and social development today confirms the accuracy of the Marxist-Leninist conclusion that the general crisis of capitalism is

deepening. We are witnessing the worst economic crisis of the past 40 years, a crisis involving the whole capitalist world. It is accompanied by an inflation unprecedented in peacetime. The situation is aggravated by an energy crisis that is, in effect, a consequence of neocolonialist policies. All this has an adverse effect on the living standard of the masses in developed capitalist countries and is proving disastrous to a number of developing countries.

The governments of capitalist countries seek a way out through old methods that are hardly effective in the present situation. Capitalism has reached a stage at which each crisis is inevitably succeeded by a new and still sharper one, while the upward phases become shorter.

The general crisis of capitalism has an increasing bearing on class battles in the capitalist world and on the world-wide contest between socialism and imperialism. The Communist and Workers' parties must study its present stage if they are to evolve correct strategy and tactics. On behalf of the CC CPCz, Havlin welcomed the participants and expressed confidence that the conference would contribute to the Marxist-Leninist analysis of contemporary capitalism.

Imperialism and Current Trends

Speakers stressed that Lenin's comprehensive approach was to assess the state of the capitalist system as a whole, relations between capitalist countries and the course of international events, that is, analyse the objective position of classes and economic development trends in the world.

We must bear in mind the far-reaching changes that have taken place in the world over the past 60 years, said *Sergio Sierra*, CC member, Communist Party of Uruguay. The Great October Socialist Revolution opened the epoch of transition to socialism on a world scale and marked the beginning of the general crisis of capitalism. The contradiction between the two opposed social systems has become the main contradiction of the epoch. The balance of forces is steadily changing in favour of socialism, the decisive factor in the development of mankind today. This is why problems of imperialism and the contemporary revolutionary process should be approached in the terms of *world history*.

Eduardo del Llano, head of the Political Economy Chair, Higher Political School of Cuba, pointed to Lenin's statement that the content of the epoch ushered in by the October Revolution consists in "the abolition of capitalism and its vestiges, and the establishment of the fundamentals of the communist order" (Vol. 31, p. 392). It is a question, he said, of a twofold process, the growth and strengthening of socialism being one aspect of it and the downfall of capitalism, the other.

The Cuban revolution is a component of this process. It achieved victory

in new historical conditions, at a time when the world balance of forces had changed still more in favour of socialism, marking a deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. The changes effected in Cuba incurred the hatred of US imperialism, which tried to turn back the wheels of history. But the Cuban people's unity and revolutionary resolve and support form socialist countries, first of all the economic, political and military aid of the Soviet Union, defeated those attempts. The Cuban revolution became an important factor in the exacerbation of the general crisis of capitalism.

Frantisek Kolacek, lecturer at the Higher Political School of the CC CPCz, compared the two biggest capitalist economic crises of this century—the crisis of 1929-33 and the present—and pointed out that the current crisis is taking place against the background of a new alignment of economic, political and social forces. In the early thirties, the imperialist powers has tremendous economic superiority over the Soviet Union. But now the CMEA countries, some of which were once regarded as lying on the "periphery" of Europe, account for approximately one-third of world industrial output.

The continuing change in the balance of world forces makes it possible to ease the impact of the internal contradictions of state-monopoly capitalism on international relations and curb imperialist aggression. Thus it is a question, said *Lutz Maier*, Deputy Director, Institute of International Politics and Economy (GDR), of a new interaction of the internal and external factors in the development of capitalism. The prospects of safeguarding peace are becoming more and more favourable and new opportunities for progressive changes have arisen in capitalist and developing countries.

It will be recalled, said *Pavel Auersperg*, member, CC CPCz, that the contemporary stage of the general crisis of capitalism, as defined in the Statement of the 1960 Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties, is not connected with a world war and is developing in peacetime conditions. The brother paries' statement stressed that the situation today makes it possible to prevent world war. It pointed to the need to establish the principles of peaceful coexistence in international relations and thereby provide favourable conditions for further social and economic changes undermining the world positions of imperialism.

We may say now that that was an accurate Marxist-Leninist forecast visualising the subsequent course of world development. Events confirmed the dominant influence of socialism as an international force and its ability to counter imperialist strategy. This was exemplified by the victory of the Vietnamese people after 30 years of struggle against imperialism. The imperialists proved unable to stop the growth of the strength and international prestige of socialism.

As a spokesman of the CPCz, P. Auersperg said, I would like to stress the favourable part which the internationalist aid extended to Czechoslo-

vakia in 1968 by its socialist allies played in normalising international relations. To put it briefly, that act made the imperialists take a more sober look at things, increased the influence of realistic politicians in the bourgeois camp, and furthered the movement for detente.

The peaceful conditions in which the current stage of the general crisis of capitalism is developing, Auersperg noted, do not at all tend to reduce its gravity.

Tudorel Postolache, Corresponding Member of the Rumanian Academy of Sciences, stressed that the current crisis has glaringly revealed the inability of capitalism to assure the even development of all peoples. It is necessary to bring about a new economic and political world order by eliminating economic disparities between countries, establishing complete equality in international relations and imposing respect for national independence and sovereignty.

Dimitr Stanishev, representative of the Bulgarian Communist Party on the journal, noted that the problem of establishing international relations based on both economic and political equality presented itself, strictly speaking, with the rise of the socialist states. An instance of these new relations is cooperation between countries of the socialist community on the principles of proletarian internationalism. As for relations with the capitalist world, the socialist community follows the Leninist principles of peaceful co-existence, which include recognition of equality and respect for national sovereignty.

Adam Lopatka, alternate member of the CC, Polish United Workers' Party, spoke of the present role of the socialist countries' foreign policy.

He stressed the need for complementing political with military detente, ending the arms race and providing other requisites of international security. We must not forget that in capitalist countries along with realistic politicians there are opponents of detente. The advocates of cold war are fully backed by the Maoists, who oppose the interests of the socialist community.

The imperialist states try to impart an anti-socialist character to exchanges in the sphere of culture, education, information and human relations. They try to legalise their ideological propaganda and subversion in socialist countries by exploiting the principle of freedom of information. Needless to say those attempts will get them nowhere.

The tremendous changes in the balance of forces between the two mutually opposed socio-economic systems are exerting a decisive influence on the direction and pace of world development, Academician *Y. M. Zhukov* (USSR) said in a paper submitted to the conference. The weakening of the capitalist world, the result of socialism's successes, is characterised not only by quantitative indicators and contraction of the area in which

bourgeois relations still dominate. What we have is a deepening of the general crisis of capitalism precisely as a socio-economic system and objective qualitative changes that have deprived the leading capitalist powers of a number of key positions. All this has compelled the leaders of the capitalist world to accept the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The significance of the gains made by the peace policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries goes beyond the fact that the threat of a nuclear war has been put off. These gains have greatly increased the prestige of world socialism, whose superiority has become evident in the postwar period and is a law of the present epoch showing that capitalist social relations are historically indefensible.

CHANGES IN THE CAPITALIST WORLD

In the 60 years that have passed since Lenin wrote his works on imperialism, enormous changes have occurred in its economy. Concentration and centralisation of capital have reached a new stage. Intervention in economic activity by the bourgeois state has assumed an unprecedented scale. Economic structures have changed due to the scientific and technological revolution. Many speakers at the conference analysed these phenomena and their connection with imperialist policies.

Monopoly and the State. The essence of imperialism is expressed in monopoly. "Imperialism is monopoly capitalism," Lenin wrote (Vol. 22, p. 298). This means, said *Stoyadin Savov,* lecturer at the Institute of Modern Social Theories, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, that to study the actual state of imperialism means primarily analysing monopoly forms, the movement of monopoly capital, the organisation of monopoly property and the impact of monopoly on competition and price formation.

Production concentration at national and international levels has given rise to monopoly conglomerations controlling a large section of non-monopoly enterprise through subcontracts. But the large scale of socialised production necessitates regulation at the national economic level. Monopolies cannot do this without government participation. They need government aid all the more when faced with the need to influence social factors for economic growth.

After giving a detailed description of present-day forms of fusion of monopoly and the state, the Bulgarian scholar stressed that the improved mechanism of their interaction does not abolish capitalist competition, which changes only in form. There are insurmountable contradictions between the components of the economic mechanism of contemporary capitalism—monopoly, competition and regulation.

Savov replied to questions.

Alberto Kohen, alternate member of the CC, Communist Party of

Argentina: Lenin pointed out that the 1900 crisis was a turning point in the history of modern monopolies Isn't the current crisis a turning point in the history of state-monopoly capitalism and big multinational monopolies, a period in which its development shows new aspects?

Savov: The crisis may give rise to new forms of state-monopoly regulation. A number of new national and international institutions will probably be set up centrally to coordinate certain economic processes. In the United States, there are even suggestions for a "state-planning committee", but the "planning" would be expected to coexist with private initiative. Attempts may be made to develop new theoretical patterns in place of Keynesian theories, which have proved untenable.

As regards multinational corporations, the main problem lies, as Savov sees it, in the fact that their activity is beginning to clash with the mechanism of state-monopoly regulation tested after World War II. The monopoly bourgeoisie will apparently try to ease this contradiction so as to prevent it from becoming a threat to the capitalist system. The statutes of multinational monopolies now being drafted are intended to serve precisely this purpose.

Rodney Chman, representative of the Left Party—Communists of Swewen on the journal: How do social factors influence economic growth?

Savov replied that he lists among social growth factros those that have to do with reproducing the work force. The system of education and vocational training, public health, employment level, labour remuneration and organisation, the amount of consumption and its pattern are particularly important. All these factors have been operating throughout the history of capitalism, of course, but they are still more important now. Bourgeois countries try to control social processes according to monopoly capitalist interests. Revealingly, bourgeois sociologists have introduced the concept of the social responsibility of business and that there is some talk now of "social planning". Of course the social policies of the bourgeois state are influenced by the intense struggle of the working class for its rights.

Contemporary state-monopoly capital, said Professor *Stelios Pavlidis* (Greece), is characterised by development in both breadth and depth. Monopoly and the state intertwine more and more closely in imperialist centres as well as in less developed countries.

This also applies to the situation in Greece Whereas government interference in economic activity in the more developed capitalist countries did not assume a considerable scale until after monopolisation had reached a definite stage, in Greece both processes—monopolisation and the development of state-monopoly capitalism (SMC)—have from the first gone on simultaneously, virtually merging.

V. M. Shundeyev, Executive Editor of *WMR*, raised some methodological problems of studying contemporary SMC.

Some works, including Marxist ones, he said, advance a set of criteria and suggest using it to ascertain how far SMC is developed or undeveloped in this or that country. It is argued that since the state sector is small in the United States, where there has been no extensive nationalisation and the scale of government enterprise in the production sphere is also modest, the US is behind Britain, France or Austria in development of SMC. But if we assume that SMC, the essence of the present development stage of the capitalist system, is relatively undeveloped in the US, we must infer that the working class should not see the general headquarters of its international class enemy in that country but elsewhere—in, say, Austria. The absurdity of such an inference is self-evident.

In evaluating the development degree of SMC, we should also bear in mind such criteria as the share of the national income redistributed under the state budget, the absolute and relative amount of state purchases of commodities and services, the scale and effectiveness of the credit and tax policy of the state, and lastly, state participation in financing accumulation of capital and such important activities as research and development. However, even this is probably less than enough. Indeed, can one speak of the strength or weakness of a particular national capitalism today and yet ignore the very foundation of this system, *monopoly?* Making comparisons of this nature, can one forget that SMC is twofold—economic and political—monopoly? Surely no one who estimated the development level of US capitalism in terms of monopoly power would imagine that SMC is weak in that country.

And this, Shundeyev said, brings us from methodological matters to the substance of imperialism, of SMC, to the Leninist conception of the phenomenon. Lenin's thesis of the key role of monopoly as the economic basis and motive power of imperialism in contemporary conditions is particularly relevant in view of the new dimensions of international monopoly activity.

Nowadays every major monopoly association, especially in the United States, inevitably operates as a multinational monopoly, an international corporation, and this fact puts a very strong imprint on all relations between the state and monopoly.

Contradictions between monopoly and the bourgeois state have always existed along with the alliance linking them. They are not antagonistic, of course, since the interests of the bourgeois state and monopoly are based on identical principles. But in analysing present-day imperialism, it is very important to remember that these contradictions intensify in new conditions. To solve problems of the revolutionary anti-monopoly transforma-

tion of capitalist society, it is indispensable to make a precise analysis of the nature of the twofold state-monopoly mechanism.

The imperialist state, said *Gert Hautsch*, staff member of the Institute of Marxist Studies (Frankfurt, FRG), represents monopoly interests irrespective of whether the government is headed by an outspokenly bourgeois party or a reformist one. In view of the crisis, with opportunities for social manoeuvre dwindling, the Social-Democratic leaders heading the FRG government switch ever more frankly to a policy designed to put the burden of economic difficulties on the working class and other working people, as well as on small and medium proprietors.

SMC unquestionably has certain possibilities of increasing the economic, military and technological potential of bourgeois society and of partially overcoming some of its political difficulties. These possibilities should not be underestimated, said *I. Y. Guryev*, Deputy Director, Soviet Academy of Sciences' Institute of World Economy and International Relations. But the dialectic of SMC as a whole is such that while the system is designed to strengthen the positions of the bourgeoisie, its inherent contradictions ultimately undermine these positions of the bourgeoisie, its inherent contradictions ultimately undermine these positions still more.

Thus, the growing economic function of the bourgeois state is nothing but a higher stage of socialised production, a direct continuation of the negation of the capitalist production mode under capitalism itself, which Marx saw in joint-stock companies. By speeding the economic growth of capitalist countries in the interests of the bourgeoisie and by mustering substantial resources to carry out scientific and production projects requiring expenditures and labour coordination on a scale that even the biggest private monopolies cannot afford, the state inevitably aggravates the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, the contradiction between the social character of production and the private capitalist form of appropriating its results. And this leads to a further erosion of the economic pillars of bourgeois power.

Limits of Government Regulation. Many bourgeois economists, said *Wieslaw Sadzikowski*, Dr. Ec. (Poland), fail to realise that the private capitalist sector cannot independently ensure an adequate rate of all-round economic growth. They have put forward the theories of "affluent society", "industrial state" and "post-industrial state", to which they attribute the leading role in resolving capitalist contradictions. They do not, of course, question the legitimacy of private capitalist ownership of the means of production. They consider that the capitalist system can be reformed without resorting to revolutionary change or reshaping its political structures.

Lenin pointed out the fallacy of theories of this nature. "...The erroneous bourgeois reformist assertion," he wrote, "that monopoly capitalism or state-monopoly capitalism is *no longer* capitalism, but can now be call-

ed 'state socialism' and so on, is very common" (Vol. 25, pp. 442-443). The extent of monopolisation and of government interference in social and economic processes in developed capitalist countries is now much greater than when those words were written, Sadzikowski said. But they are as valid as ever. The state, which distributes almost half the national income and in many capitalist countries accounts for half of all investments, remains a bourgeois state, and the prevailing relations of production are still capitalist. In Sadzikowski's view, the far-reaching interference of the contemporary bourgeois state in economic activity has led to changes in capitalist production relations.

Shundeyev asked the Polish scholar to specify what he means by changes in capitalist production relations.

Sadzikowski: Government interference does not, of course, alter the *foundations* of capitalist production relations. However, the share of state property in the production and other spheres tends to grow. This implies an important change in the *character* of capitalist production relations, even though the activity of the state sector is subordinated, in the final analysis, to the interests of private capital. In assessing capitalist production relations, we must now bear in mind government regulation of economic development, the increasing role of the state in distributing the aggregate net profit, and attempts to influence social relations.

Nita Dobrota, Prorector of the Academy of Economic Sciences (Rumania), said that without deluding ourselves about the class character of the bourgeois state, we must take into account its increased importance and the relative independence it acquires due to deep contradictions between private monopolies and to the immense financial resources at its disposal.

But does state-monopoly programming mean planning in the true sense of the term? The answer is no, if we regard planning as management of the entire economy, the setting of specific tasks, the fixing of compulsory time-limits for their execution, control over their fulfilment, and so on. The economy of capitalist countries remains a market economy. Its functioning is conditioned by the spontaneous operation of laws that are part of the bourgeois system and not by the activity of state-monopoly institutions making economic decisions.

Characteristically, the economic instability of the majority of developed capitalist countries increased and their social antagonisms became sharper than ever precisely when these countries set out to draft social and economic plans. In particular, they proved unable to prevent growing inflation in spite of the counter-measures they took. The simultaneous existence of inflation and stagflation seriously hampered the elaboration of an economic strategy by capitalist governments. They are caught in a vicious circle, combating inflation means curbing economic activity and more unemployment, while boosting, economic revival means more inflation. It is proving

impossible to evolve programmes to solve both problems. There is reason to speak of a crisis of bourgeois economic policy as a whole. This, too, is a manifestation of the general crisis of capitalism.

Contradictions of the Internationalisation Process of Economic Activity. The activity of multinational monopolies has lately assumed an unprecedented scale. A UN report on multinational companies lists 7,300 corporations with foreign subsidaries. Two hundred of the biggest are operating in 20 or more countries, some even in as many as 100 countries.

Bourgeois apologists, said *Maier,* who cited these data, had hoped that the expansion of multinational corporations would have a stabilising effect on the capitalist world economy and international economic relations. Since the late sixties, however, it has been ever more obvious that the new stage of monopolisation is an important cause of growing instability of the capitalist world economy. Conflicts provoked by multinational companies affect diverse economic interconnections. Referring to the FRG, Maier spoke of contradictions between multinational monopolies and the state, which pursues a policy of regulating the economy.

The contradiction between economic planning within one monopoly union and anarchy in economic development as a whole is becoming international. At present it manifests itself in the peculiar dualism of the capitalist world economy due to the expansion of multinational companies, on the one hand, and state-monopoly regulation on a national, regional and international scale.

Lately imperialist countries have plainly been trying to adapt the mechanism of state-monopoly regulation to the new degree of internationalisation of economic activity. In this connection, *Volen Butashkov,* consultant of the International Department, CC Bulgarian Communist Party, drew attention to imperialist efforts to deal with the current crisis by combining the economic and political power of the main centres of international monopoly capital and by imposing the will of the leading powers on the rest of the non-socialist world. To be sure, coordination of the anti-crisis policy of the major imperialist countries is strongly handicapped by their mutual antagonisms. Nevertheless, the trend towards this kind of coordination is unmistakable.

Mel Doig, CEC member, Communist Party of Canada, spoke of co-operation and rivalry between US and Canadian imperialism. The two countries' monopolies make investments and jointly exploit the working people of Latin American and Caribbean countries. At the same time, however, they compete for control of the Canadian economy, a fact which the Canadian Communist Party Programme describes as the paramount element of imperialist contradictions in Canada. Rivalries between the monopolies of the two North American countries have intensified owing

to the energy crisis. US imperialism wants to fully control Canada's vast oil and gas deposits and all its sources of energy. But the Canadian bourgeoisie knows full well that the country's energy resources are a veritable "gold mine" and refuses to share it with its US rival.

Multinational companies, said *Barbu Zaharescu*, member of the Central Auditing Commission, Rumanian Communist Party, now play a role largely differing from that of the monopolies in the past. Their main target is no longer the raw materials and cheap labour power of the colonies. They strive to conquer the markets of developed capitalist countries, bypassing tariff barriers, and to use the advantages of internationalising the capitalist economy, which they promote in every way. Most of the companies investing in other countries have their headquarters in the United States.

The capitalist type of internationalisation has a negative effect on the independence and sovereignty of capitalist countries. It stands to reason that branches of American firms do not adhere to the policy of the countries where they are operating but pursue a policy favourable to the United States.

Zaharescu pointed out that the capitalist monetary system established after World War II is a distinctive product of state-monopoly capitalism and a consequence of government interference in economic activity. It has provided favourable conditions for concentrating and cetralising capital and for redistributing the national income in the interests of the big monopolies.

The new world monetary system is still being discussed by the major imperialist powers. Actually this discussion is nothing but struggle between monopoly groups, with the United States trying to preserve the international, even if reduced, role of the dollar.[1]

Pointing to the connection between inflation and the present stage of monetary relations, Zaharescu stressed that a price-raising inflation, so long as it is manageable, is a deliberate policy of monopoly capital. The fact is that with the degree of organisation attained by the working class, it is no longer possible to keep wages low with the aid of unemployment. Non-Marxist economists assert that growing wages lead to higher production costs of commodities and cause an increase in prices and hence to inflation. In reality, it is growing consumer goods prices that make the working class seek wage increases.

Ron Bellamy, Economic Consultative Commission member, Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain, spoke of export of

[1] In January 1976 a provisional committee of the International Monetary Fund reached agreement in principle on a reform of the Western countries' monetary system. Its main provisions—recognition of the system of floating exchange rates and acceptance of the gradual elimination of gold from international transactions—mark a victory for the United States.—*Ed.*

capital. He stressed that lately capital has been exported to industrial countries and invested in industry on a mounting scale. He sees the main reason for this in the uneven growth of production in the capitalist world, especially in Europe and the United States, and in the dissimilar level of technological progress in these two regions. Superiority in technology and production organisation and more effective management methods have enabled American companies to invest in European industry and to secure bigger profits than in their own country. In some cases, trade barriers made finished goods exports less profitable than production on the spot. The fact that West European workers are paid lower wages also had its effect.

However, the situation has changed of late. Since capital export is generally movement of capital from more developed to less devepoed countries, it should be evident that a notable equalisation of the productive and financial power of the United States and other imperialist countries potentially worsens the conditions for export of American capital. This is one of the reasons why more and more European capital is flowing the other way.

In this new situation, Common Market monopolies will hardly put up for much longer with the penetration of US capital into their home market. We are therefore at the threshold of a new sharpening of antagonisms between the main imperialist countries.

Answering *B. Zaharescu, Loris Gallico*, Editor of *Politica ed Economica* (Italy), spoke of the activity of multinational monopolies in Italy. Most of them are companies of American origin. The IBM influences several Italian industries. Electric power production for the population is controlled by West German capital. Big Italian companies, for their part, purchase enterprises abroad. Fiat, a well-known private monopoly, has considerable interests in Spain.

Sweden exports capital on a mounting scale, *Ohman* said. Direct foreign investments by Swedish monopolies approximated to 150m. kronor in 1961 and went up by an estimated 2,600m. kronor in 1974. The top Swedish monopolies employ more people abroad than in Sweden. At the same time, the problem of employment in Sweden has become much more acute than before. In other words, increasing export of capital tells on the working people's condition in even the wealthiest capitalist countries.

Auersperg dealt specially with the social consequences of the growing activity of multinational monopolies and its impact on the nature of the working people's class struggle.

New Forms of Concentration in Agriculture. Aladar Sipos, Dr. Ec. (Hungary), dwelt with the problem of agrarian relations in developed capitalist countries.

Industrial and commercial monopolies are extending their financial and technological control to farming. Socalled vertical integration of agriculture

coordinates the operations of units of very dissimilar economic power: weak agricultural enterprises are in confrontation with big industrial and trading monopolies. The farmer, while remaining a nominally independent proprietor, virtually becomes a wage worker of the integrating monopoly. In other words, vertical integration does not mean relations between equal partners, but, in effect, relations between capitalist and wage worker.

Sipos touched on yet another form of concentration of agricultural production in developed capitalist countries, namely, farmers' associations. Sales and consumer cooperatives were known in the past, too. What is new is that cooperation is gaining ground in the production sphere. The rise of cooperatives of this nature is due to technological progress and the farmers' resistance to the monopolies' arbitrary methods. However, the farmers' associations operating in developed capitalist countries differ not only in production specialisation, and orientation, but also in class substance Some of them are drifting farther and farther away from the principles of cooperation, becoming joint-stock enterprises of a capitalist type. But there are also cooperatives based on democratic principles. They are real associations these cooperatives that constitute a democratic alternative of transforming of small farmers. organisations serving the interests of their members. It is agriculture.

Zaharescu asked Sipos' opinion of the contradictions dividing EEC countries over the agrarian question.

Sipos: The crisis of the capitalist monetary system has affected the whole economic machinery of the EEC. In the past, Common Market members set up a so-called agrarian fund for the purchase of farm products. However, fluctuations in the exchange rate of the US dollar greatly complicated transactions between EEC members. Some bourgeois economists began to affirm that the Common Market would be unable to function in agriculture at all unless there was a common currency.

Another "headache" is the so-called structural policy in agriculture There is a debate on whether the "family farm" should or should not be supported and what the agrarian structure should be like. The existence of numerous unviable farms and hence the sore plight of a large number of farmers are not only an economic problem to the governments of European capitalist countries, but a serious political problem as well In carrying out government measures to abolish small farms, the ruling classes are careful to pursue this policy quietly, so as not to aggravate the social situation.

Character of Capitalist Crisis. The present capitalist crisis, speakers noted, is *all embracing*. It affects not only the economy, but also politics, ideology and culture. Consequently, we are dealing not merely with an ordinary overproduction crisis, but with all of capitalism's inherent contradictions *its general crisis*. T. Postolache, suggested that we were witnessing the beginning of a new phase of the general crisis of capitalism.

He enumerated the following factors which at the close of the last and the beginning of the present decade, have brought bourgeois society to the threshold of a new situation: the victories of the socialist countries. disintegration of colonial empires and the emergence of young states fighting for political and economic independence, exacerbation of capitalist economic contradictions internally and internationally, major social battles in the capitalist countries collapse of the imperialist policy of force deepening crisis in the social, economic and cultural fields.

Postolache pointed to three characteristics of the present capitalist economic crisis which, in his view, are closely lnked with the beginning of a new phase of the general crisis.

First, collapse of the old unjust international economic order. The mechanism of the world capitalist economy is in a state of crisis.

Second, the early 70s vividly showed up the limits of state-monopoly capitalism's possibilities. At the same time, the old mechanism of shifting the difficulties on to the underdeveloped countries no longer functions as reliably as in the past, for the forces opposed to imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism are much more active.

Third, the descendent phase of state-monopoly capitalism coincides with the descendent phase of the "century cycle".

In the pastwar quarter-century synchronisation of the "decade cycle" was disturbed by the ascendent phase of the "century cycle" and the "classical" phase of state-monopoly capitalism. Capitalist instability was masked by accelerated economic growth. We can anticipate that future "decade cycles" will be more clearly etched and their descendent phases will be more protracted and profound.

I. Guryev questioned the contention that we are witnessing the beginning of a new phase in the general crisis of capitalism. Each new phase or, to use the more customary term, stage, of the general crisis is primarily determined by a qualitatively new level in the development of the world revolutionary process. Postolache's thesis is not backed by an analysis of real processes. In Guryev's opinion, we can speak of definite qualitative features of the present flare-up of contradictions in capitalism, rather than of a new phase of its general crisis. To be sure, continued qualitative change of crisis phenomena might, in the *future*, lead to a new stage of the general crisis. But only time will show.

L. Maier, replying to a question by *P. Vasquez*, member of Political Commission, paraguayan CP, remarked that one of the essential criteria of the present deepening of capitalism's general crisis is the much more pronounced social instability in the capitalist countries. It is probably true to single out three basic social factors. First, the tendency to freeze real wages in most capitalist countries. Second, high unemployment. Third. the

growing conflict between the workers' requirements in conditions of the technological revolution and the character of labour power as a commodity. The operation of these factors does not automatically lead to an upsurge of the class struggle, though it does introduce a number of new socio-economic elements.

Speakers emphasised that the collapse of all the systems of state-monopoly regulation based on Keynesian and other theories, which enjoyed such wide currency and popularity, is a clear manifestation of the present capitalist crisis. In this context, *Zaharescu,* replying to a question by *A. Mosquera* CC member, CP Colombia, remarked that state-monopoly capitalism is itself a manifestation of the general crisis of capitalism, of its last stage for, as Lenin pointed out, there is no intermediate phase between this stage and socialism.

The all-embracing character of crisis tendencies in developed capitalist countries, *John Pittman,* member of Political Committee, CPUSA, said, makes nonsence of the bourgeois-reformist contention that state-monopoly economic regulation and the technological revolution assure material affluence and social stability for all members of society and make the class struggle and, consequently, socalist revolution, "superfluous".

Capitalism, however, has proved organically incapable of using the achievements of the human genius for the whole of society. The technological revolution, Academician *Y. M. Zhukov* remarked, is used chiefly to enrich the monopoly top crust. Technological progress leads to a massive army of "redundant" workers, thereby aggravating the problem of so-called "structural", i.e permanent multi-million unemployment.[7]

Sixty years ago Lenin trenchantly criticised Kautsky for trying to embellish imperialism, smooth out its contradictions and spread the illusion that imperialism, its very basis, lends itself to reform. History has confirmed, Lenin's criticism. In the past years capitalism has aged, its image has in some places changed, but its cruel, antihumanist nature has not.

CLASS STRUGGLE IN CRISIS CONDITIONS

Many speakers analyses the concrete forms in which the capitalist crisis, ruling-class policy and anti-monopoly struggle find expression in their countries.

The *FRG* is going through the most grave and profound economic crisis in its history, *G. Hautch,* said. It is adversely affecting the conditions of the workers. The German Communist Party believes that their position can be alleviated by raising purchasing power and expanding the social services.

[7] The interaction of the technological revolution and the present crisis of capitalism were discussed at an international symposium. The Scientific and Technological Revolution and the Competition Between the Two Systems (*PPS,* February, 1976).

improving the workers' material position would boost business, make for fuller use of productive capacity, and, consequently, reduce unemployment.

However, the Social Democrat-led government is following the very opposite course, reducing both the purchasing power of the masses and social-service expenditure. This cuts into the home market, with resultant artificial retardation of economic growth. Of course, the government knows this. Why, then, is it following such a policy? One would think that top priority should be to overcome the difficulties as quickly as possible, even if only to prevent further deterioration of the social climate.

The government's policy is subordinate to the long-range strategy of the top monopolies. The ruinous effects of the crisis are felt chiefly by the non-monopoly enterprises, which depend on the home market and are the first to suffer from its contraction.

The monopolies are exploiting the situation to cut wages in order to increase their competitive power. They would like to see the crisis last until larger exports give an impulse to a new economic pick-up. If the whole recovery period were powered by exports, while internal purchasing power was limited, that would suit them eminently. And so, the outlook is for further deterioration of the workers' conditions.

Italy. Having described the crisis in Italy, *L. Gallico* discussed the distinctive features of the development of state-monopoly capitalism in his country. Many big enterprises and banks belong to the state. More than 50 per cent of industrial investment comes from state-associated enterprises and agencies. Regional, provincial and municipal councils engage in economic activity, too. But nationalisation is carried out by the bourgeois state, that is, with the consent of the capitalists. Managerial personnel are drawn from the business world, usually members of the capitalist class, and are responsible only to the shareholders, who have no real power, and to the government ministers, who are committed to a capitalist policy.

These specific conditions, Gallico continued, make it necessary to campaign not for more nationalisation, but for more democratisation by placing management under the control of parliament, regional and municipal councils and by giving the workers a share in management. If this were done, the strong state enterprises could influence the economic policy of the big private monopolies and considerably restrict the multinationals.

Italy's salvation requires cooperation of all the healthy economic and political forces of the nation. Our Communist Party wants unity in every field. Trade union unity of Communists, Socialists and Catholics has already won the working people important gains, and they are a starting point for continued successful struggle. The escalator clause in wage agreements effectively defends living standards. No longer can workers be sacked with impunity. Fascist violence does not go unanswered. The Communists have established democratic regional governments in Emilia Romagna.

Tuscany and Umbria, and two more regions, Piedmont and Liguria, were added following the Communist victory in the June 1975 elections. I would add that these regions are important centres of economic decision-making.

The job ahead, Gallico said, is to use a democratic programme, the need for which is so keenly felt throughout the country, to lay the foundations of economic renewal as the forerunner of fundamental structural reform that would open to the Italian people the road to socialism.

M. Rossi, representative of the Italian CP on the journal, replying to a question by *L. Nagy,* Deputy Director of the CC HSWP Institute of Social Sciences, on the role of Parliament in Italian political life, said that the Communists, as other democratic forces, do not regard Parliament as the only representative assembly. There are, besides, regional, provincial and municipal councils elected by universal suffrage and with wide powers in economic and social policy. The national referendum, likewise provided for by the Constitution, enables the voters to reject or approve legislation enacted by Parliament. Lastly, the working people can participate in the framing of laws through their mass organisations, and if necessary such participation can develop into major mass actions.

As a form of representation, Parliament, as such, is niether good nor bad. It all depends on its composition—the more the Communists, Socialists and other Lefts in it, the more it responds to the interests of the working people and the nation as a whole. Even now, the large number of Communists and other Left MPs has so changed the balance of forces that the reactionaries are trying to reduce the role of Parliament.

USA. The country's economy, and life generally, John Pittman said, are dominated by forces which the Communist Party has defined as the financial-military-industrial complex. Addressing the 21st National Party Convention, General Secretary Gus Hall said: "The financial-military-industrial complex has become the axis of the state-monopoly structure, feeding itself on the $100 billion-plus military budget." Enormous military spending is having a devastating effect on the economy and is a source of inflation and the main cause of the high taxes that weigh so heavily on the working people.

The drive for world domination has made for an especially rapid growth of militarism. And though the changed relation of world forces has made that goal unattainable, US imperialism has shed none of its aggressiveness. That is evident from its interference in Angola, its actions in Portugal and its attempts to shore up its positions in Spain and the Middle East.

For many years, the US was held up as a paragon of individual freedom, though the contradiction between genuine and formal democracy has been part of the bourgeois-democratic system from its very inception. US imperialism's fiasco in Vietnam, Watergate and the present CIA revelations

have opened the eyes of many Americans to the real nature of US democracy. But the police-state apparatus continues to function despite all these exposures of gross violations of the law. There is still surveillance of people involved in the democratic movement. There is financial support for George Wallace of the Democratic Party and Ronald Reagan of the Republicans for President. The monopolies are obviously preparing to shift the country's political life to the right.

The task facing our Communist Party is to contribute to the strggle of the working class and its allies against attempts by state-monopoly capitalism to put the burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the working people, against encroachments on democratic rights and attempts to reverse detente.

Canada. As in other capitalist countries, the present economic crisis in Canada, *Mel Doig* said, is connected with relative over-production and inflation, which react on each other. Unemployment is high too. In this situation monopoly and government strategy is to make the workers pay for the consequences of the crisis. A while ago the government complemented its "wages and prices restraint"by freezing wages. The Communist Party has denounced this as "a plan for economic bankruptcy", and the Canadian Labour Congress, which speaks for 2.5 million workers, has started a campaign against it. Workers in automobiles, steel, electrical engineering and other industries and also civil servants have announced their readiness to fight the wage freeze, with strike action if necessary.

The deepening crisis is dispelling many of the illusions and myths about capitalism and is fostering anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist sentiments and the understanding that socialism is the solution. Within the labour movement the struggle has intensified between supporters of revolutionary and reformist policies. The right forces are trying to exploit the crisis in their own interests.

However, as the 22nd Communist Party Congress noted, the people are not allowing themselves to be incited against the workers fighting for higher wages, or the farmers fighting for economic survival. This is a crucial factor in the anti-monopoly struggle.

Finland. The situation in my country, *Aulis Leppanen*, the CP of Finland representative on *World Marxist Review* said, is characterised by the fact that the domestic policy of the ruling classes runs counter to the interests of the majority of the population—the working class, peasantry, middle strata and intellectuals. The result is soaring prices, higher taxes, housing shortage and unemployment.

There is growing discontent and more strike struggles, with white-collar workers and intellectuals becoming more and more involved. The students take a more active part, too. Political instability, with pre-term parliamen-

tary elections, government crisis and dragged-out negotiations in forming a new cabinet, have become common occurrences.

The general resentment against government policy has split some of the bourgeois parties and produced small right-extremist breakaway parties. They are, of course, anti-Communist, but also demagogically critical of the big bourgeois parties. This has misled some and the extreme right was able to muster a measure of support at the last elections.

The right is working towards organisational consolidation. It has set up a so-called "economic council" to work out big business strategy. Employers' unions are now banding together against the labour movement. The bourgeoisie has launched an ideological counter-offensive, with more stringent control of the mass media and education.

That being the situation, it is especially important to promote united struggle by all those oppressed by big business. This calls for joint action of the parties and organisations that represent them. Our 17th Party Congress adopted a special resolution on cooperation of democratic forces. It says that the people of Finland stand before the choice: should they follow the road leading to more monopoly power and more hardship for the masses, or the one leading to wider democracy and defence of the working class and other sections of the working population, the road that would weaken, and in the end destroy, monopoly domination.

Spain. M. Yanez, member of the CC CPS Economic Commission, noted that the death of Franco, who to the very last remained the main pillar of the regime, sent shocks through the whole system of power. How events will shape out in the near future will depend on the correlation of political groupings. And the speaker singled out three main political trends, emphasising that there were no hard-and-fast lines between them.

First, the ultra-conservative group that has retained power, made up mainly of the landed aristocracy and the oligarchic bourgeoisie. Supported by the army, it wants to prevent Yuan Carlos from going beyond cosmetic social and political reforms.

Second, the right-centre organisations and leaders who want to retain the monarchy and gradually improve the Franco machine of government These "modern Francoists" advocate cautious evolution "from authoritarianism to democracy", legalisation of all political parites with the exception of the Communists, the left Radicals and ETA (Basque nationalists). The right-centre group has the support of Spanish capital, notably the new bourgeoisie, also part of the Catholic hierarchy and a considerable part of the officer corps. It also has certain positions in the government machine and the much more than platonic sympathy of NATO and the EEC. It calls for "continuity" and is meeting with a favourable response from a substantial part of the petty bourgeoisie, the middle strata and peasantry, in short, from everyone who wants change but fears political upheaval.

A compromise between the ultra-conservatives and the "moderate Francoists" is possible.

Lastly, the left—the Communists, the workers' commissions, part of the Demochristians, the Socialists, Basque nationalists, Catalonian autonomists and members of other groups and organisations. The left wants an end to Francoism, a change of political system and democratic development. It relies for support primarily on the working class, but also has the backing of part of the peasantry, the lower clergy, urban middle strata and wide sections of the intelligentsia. Left ideas have begun to penetrate the army.

The Communist Party has always maintained that the fight against the Franco dictatorship requires broad alliance of political forces. Agreement has been reached between the Democratic Junta and the "Platform of Convergence", which between them account for most of the opposition organisations, on these immediate goals: amnesty for political prisoners, return of exiles, respect of human rights and political freedoms and legalisation of all political parties without exception.

Greece. S. Pavlidis noted that new industries have been started and old ones re-equipped. Production concentration and capital centralisation have proceeded apace: in 1973, 100 of the country's 1,750 companies accounted for 54 per cent of sales and 56 per cent of net profits. The two top banks control practically all industries financing.

International factors have contributed to the rapid development of state-monopoly capitalism in Greece. World, and especially US, imperialism is trying to consolidate its positions in Greece, largely because of its strategic importance—hence, the generous financial "aid", which opens the door to foreign monopolies who hold the economic heights and make huge profits. The bourgeois state thus serves the interests not only of Greek but also of foreign monopolies.

A paper submitted by another Greek economist, *N. Stamatis* of the Marxist Research Centre, deals with Greece's relations with the EEC. The desire to bring Greece into the community is dictated not so much by economic as by political considerations. That is admitted by the Greek financial oligarchy and in EEC circles. There need be no doubt that Greek Common Market membership would make the economy even more dependent on foreign interests. And not only the economy, for the EEC is the political and economic base of NATO in Europe.

The Communist Party is campaigning to eliminate monopoly privileges, for economic development in the interests of the working class and the working people at large, and for closer cooperation with the socialist and non-aligned states

Ireland. Betty Sinclair, member of the National Executive, CP of Ireland, stressed the permanent value of Lenin's writings on the Irish question and the depth of his analysis of British imperialism's policy towards its first

colony. The experience of more than half a century has shown that the partition of Ireland, a crime against its people, was also a scourge for Britain's ruling classes, which have demonstrated their complete inability to cope with a problem of their own making, Northern Ireland. Today as in the 20s, the province is honey-combed with British troops, governed by Britsh Ministers, and living under a reign of terror. The chronic political crisis is aggravated by economic crisis. Unemployment stands at more than 11 per cent. Investment in the economy is down to a minimum. Last year inflation was running at more than 25 per cent.

The Irish Republic is in a state of profound crisis too. Agreement with British imperialism on the Free Trade Area, and EEC membership has opened the doors still wider to monopoly penetration. The men who rule both parts of Ireland have for many years banked on attracting foreign capital as the main source of economic growth. Foreign investors are given generous subsidies and far-reaching privileges. In the North, the result has been that local capital now controls only 22 per cent of the productive forces, foreign chiefly British, capital, 66 per cent, and the British government, 12 per cent. But as soon as the crisis struck, the foreign monopolies began to close down their subsidiaries on the Emerald Isle, leaving thousands without jobs.

IMPERIALISM AND THE DEPENDENT COUNTRIES

Many speakers recalled Lenin's words that political dependence does not *per se,* free a country of monopoly domination, that finance capital and its foreign policy give rise to a number of transitional forms of state dependence: despite formal political independence, the country is enmeshed in the net of financial and diplomatic dependence, (see *Coll. Works,* Vol. 22 p. 263). That is fully valid today, too, though imperialism has lost its leading role in the world.

Economic backwardness and dependence on world capitalism are socio-economic characteristics of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries. And conference participants dwelt on the complex, at times contradictory, processes in these countries, their common development trends and the new features in their relations with imperialism.

Neocolonialism: Setback and Manoeuvres. Having lost their huge colonial empires, the imperial countries are employing economic, political and military methods to maintain control over the development of the newly independent states, assure continued exploitation of their productive forces and keep them within the capitalist system. The fallacy of that neocolonialist policy is now especially clear, as the contradictions between imperialist and developing countries become ever sharper.

Prof. *A. Krawczewski* (Poland), discussing neocolonialist economic policy, said that for a long time monopoly investment strategy was designed

to create excessive raw material stocks to give the imperialists a better price structure. Demand for raw materials is being held back and this, coupled with technical progress (less raw materials per unit of output) has created a situation in which the developing countries cannot pay for their exports and become more dependent on foreign credits.

With the balance of world forces altered to the disadvantage of imperialism, the developing countries were able to mount an offensive against neocolonialist positions. Many have nationalised monopoly assets or imposed tougher restrictions on export of profits. Prices of oil and other raw materials were increased.

All this has compelled the capitalist countries to modify their economic policy, but inflation remains the chief instrument in adapting monopoly to the new price structure on the world market. Inflationary price rises on imports from developed capitalist countries mean accelerated depletion of the developing countries' foreign exchange reserves.

The nature and causes of the energy crisis were discussed in some detail by *Hamid Safari*, member of Executive Bureau, CC, People's Party of Iran. The energy crisis is essentially a crisis of the imperialist policy that enabled the multinational monopolies to exploit the natural resources of the developing countries. Bourgeois economists have sought to justify that policy with the argument that the oil monopolies, acting as a liaison between oil exporters and importers, prevent crisis developments in this industry. But events over the past few years have confirmed Lenin's words that "the statement that cartels can abolish crises is a fable spread by bourgeois economists who at all costs desire to place capitalism in a favourable light" (Vol. 22, p. 208).

The ruling element in the imperialist powers is not, of course, prepared to accept the defeat of its neocolonialist policies. Accordingly, it is repatterning relations with developing nations in an attempt to keep them under its control. Hence, the concept of economic mutual dependence of "North" and "South", i.e., developed capitalist and developing countries. The idea behind this newfangled concept is to prevent oil and raw materials producers from joining forces to win better terms on the capitalist world market.

Imperialism is also banking on a split between developing countries that export oil and those that have to import it. But the centrepiece of imperialist strategy is still the effort to break away the developing countries from their natural ally, the socialist countries. The Maoist doctrine of "rich" and "poor" nations is being used for this purpose.

Discussing the drastic contradiction of the sphere of imperialist domination, Academician Zhukov emphasised that Africa, Asia and Latin America have become the scene of revolutionary transformations conditioned by the concrete-historical situation in the various countries, but everywhere

aimed at national and social emancipation. Most developing countrie still part of the capitalist world, and unrelenting pressure by externa perialist forces is prompting some of them to vacillate between the cap and socialist systems. Other countries have chosen the socialist orient cooperation with the socialist world and deep-going progressive transf tions that could create the prerequisites for future transition to the l ing of socialism.

But regardless of development in these countries resulting from vic or temporary defeats of the progressive forces, the general trend, one reflects the main processes of our epoch, is towards rejection of capit as a social system.

For Communists, said *A. Kohen,* socialism is the only way for the American continent. But they know—and this was stressed at the ference of Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean—t will not become practicable until after a persevering struggle for r change on the basis of the working people's own experience and as a of consistent ideological efforts; as a result, too, of freedom from impe oppression and the removal from power of class and groups allied imperialism.

Kohen demonstrated the fallacy of desarrolism (intensive develop with the aid of foreign capital as an alternative to dependence). The varieties of this theory are predicated on the existing socio-economic ture. the low living standard of the masses, intensive exploitation o working class, and the alleged impossibility of finding other sources of nomic growth. The theory is an ideological weapon of neocolonialism

The bourgeois-nationalist "third way" theory (somewhere bet capitalism and socialism) is just as fallacious. According to this t dependence can be ended through a reconciliation of classes, and sub nation of working-class interests to those of the bourgeoisie. In the analysis, it amounts to a compromise with imperialism. Kohen re Lenin's words that "the fight against imperialism is a sham and hu unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism" 22, p. 302).

Central-American Common Market Schemes. Dependence on the capitalist market is impelling the developing countries to find way breaking out of imperialist oppression. One way to achieve that, believe, is regional cooperation.

Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Salvador pion in economic integration. The integration process, *M. Paredes,* CC ber, CP Honduras, said, is based on the common trend towards nationalisation of economic life resulting from the development of productive forces, which can no longer be confined within national f works, and the trend towards internationalisation of monopoly ca

supported by the bourgeois state.

In founding the Central American Common Market (CACM) in 1960, the governments of its member countries believed that economic unity was the way out of the profound socio-economic crisis. How has it worked? Instead of stimulating balanced development to build a more or less independent industrial base, CACM has only helped bring in North American assembly plants. Honduras' average annual economic growth rate increased in the 10 years since CACM by the absurd figure of 0.51 per cent.

The meagre results of the Common Market were so obvious that its member countries decided to try another scheme that would eliminate the shortcomings of the first one. This time it was the Central American Economic and Social Community. It makes certain concessions to the poorer countries in order to prevent crises similar to the one of 1969 which led to an armed conflict between Honduras and Salvador. This new variant of Central American integration does not provide for concrete measures to restrict foreign capital domination. The more backward member countries will continue to subsidise industrialisation of the more advanced ones. In the final analysis, this new community will serve the interests of North American monopoly capital, and not the interests of the people of the affiliated countries.

That conclusion was seconded by *O. Sanchez*, representative of the Guatemalan Party of Labour on *WMR*. Experience has shown that the Central American Common Market proved a bonanza for US and other monopolies (two-thirds of the credits granted by the Central American Bank of Economic Integration have gone to foreign-owned or partly foreign-owned enterprises). The Common Market did a good deal of damage to Central America—increased its foreign debt, worsened its balance of payments position by cutting tax and customs revenues, increased unemployment and depressed living standards. The policy of replacing imported by domestic goods has actually meant bigger imports of semi-fabricates.

The Common Market proved an unmitigated failure in solving the region's agricultural problems. It has not made agriculture less dependent, has not eliminated one-crop farming, has not altered its structure based on the latifundia and ruthless exploitation of the landless peasants and farm labourers. Thus, the pattern of capitalist development on which Central American integration is based has proved unsuitable. National and social liberation for the Central American peoples can come only through fundamental revolutionary change. Socialist Cuba is the most inspiring example for their struggle.

The Quicksands Effect of Loans. Imperialist ideologues maintain that private foreign investments are the best source of funds for the development of Latin America. *A. Mosquera* showed, however, that they are just

another way of robbing the country. Since they first came to Colombia, foreign oil companies invested a total of $250 million, while taking out $4 billion, and turning the country into an oil importer. What makes matters worse is that in most cases investors use internal credits rather than ship in capital from the metropole. The plunder is aggravated by exaggerating the cost of raw materials and equipment to subsidiaries in Latin America, while the price of goods sold to the parent firm are falsely lowered.

Penetration of foreign capital into state enterprises by means of loans or "amalgamation" is another serious threat. It was by "amalgamation" with the Colombian oil enterprise, for example, that foreign companies came into possession of half of Colombia's oil reserves. And they did not spend a single centavo to get it.

The quicksands effect of imperialist loans was described by *S. Sierra.* His figures on the movement of capital revealed the extent of the exploitation of the Latin American continent. In 1950, for example, foreign companies made a profit of $700 million, and in 1974 of as much as $9.2 billion. In 1960-69 profits shipped out by branches of US monopolies exceeded investments by $6.7 billion.

The drama of Latin America, bedevilled by a profound structural crisis, is its dependence on imperialism. But today broad social forces are rising against US imperialism, and conditions are taking shape for the peoples movement in defence of their natural resources, for national sovereignty and democracy. This trend of the struggle does not rule out the need to forge a social force capable of offering the anti-imperialist revolution with a socialist perspective. These are two aspects of the single process of liberation. Their dialectical connection is conditioned by the leading role of the working class. To fight the counter-offensive imperialism has mounted in response to the Latin American peoples' gains, there must be the broadest possible anti-fascist unity. Its prospects are already in the offing.

"The aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism and its complete inability to find a way out of the existing situation," says the Havana Declaration of the Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean, "impels the more aggressive groups of monopoly capital to turn to fascism." Chile's experience bears out the Marxist-Leninist tenet that the old classes do not give up power freely, said *H. Fazio,* CP of Chile representative on *WMR.* Chile also confirms Lenin's observation that imperialism is reaction all down the line.

As in other Latin American countries, foreign investments increased steeply in Chile in the 1960s Between October 1974 and October 1975 the Foreign Investments Committee approved applications for investments totalling $233 million. The Pinochet regime held an international auction to give foreign capital control over new deposits of copper and oil.

The multinationals are taking over an ever larger number of operating enterprises built on the dependent countries' local funds. The trend is particularly distinct in Chile, because the junta has relinquished enterprises of the public sector to private interests.

The growing influx of capital in the form of loans is one of the main reasons for the recent steep increase of the continent's foreign debt. A new feature is that exported capital is being channelled mainly into manufacturing industries, rather than agriculture and mining. This division of labour keeps the dependent countries in the lowly position of suppliers of labour-intensive commodities requiring a minimum of processing.

This was pointed out among others by *L. Padilla*, Central Committee member of the CP of Bolivia. At present, foreign capital in Latin America is 40 per cent in the manufacturing industry, 29 in oil, 7 in mining, and 24 per cent in the service industries. The growth of production and the expansion of the Latin American market do not mean that capitalism as a system can develop independently. As everywhere else, capitalism cannot solve any of the continent's graver problems stemming from backwardness, unempolyment, poverty and illiteracy. Socialism is the only system that can guarantee Latin America real and rapid development. But it is impossible to achieve deep-going socio-economic change, let alone build socialism, as long as US imperialist oppression and the domination of transnational corporations continue.

Alliance with International Imperialism. "Typical of the latest stage of capitalism, when monopolies rule", Lenin said, "is the export of *capital*" (Vol. 22, p. 249). This is confirmed by the example of Venezuela, said *A. Carrera*, Central Committee member of the CP of Venezuela. Once a backward land, she is now investing capital abroad, and acting as an ally of international imperialism. More than \$2.2 billion have been invested through various international credit agencies, not counting direct credits to different countries under bilateral agreements. And this while nearly 70 per cent of her own people suffer undernourishment, 54 of every 1 000 [illegible] die, half the nation's housing has no plumbing, and more than 40 per cent of the population is illiterate.

The Venezuelan bourgeoisie intends to use the nation's vast economic resources to expand "mixed" enterprises financed with state funds but controlled by private persons, with the nation taking all the risks and mana- [illegible] taking nearly all the profit. The state sector is dominant in most fields, having elbowed out almost all the foreign imperialist concerns. Eighty per cent of the economy is in the hands of the state. This could have paved the way to genuine democratisation of social and economic life. But the state is controlled by mighty local financial groups connected with foreign, especially North American, imperialism. And so long as capitalism is capitalism, as Lenin stressed, the "surplus of capital" is used not to raise

the *living standard of the masses, because that would lower the rate of profit*, but to boost the capitalists' profit by exporting capital abroad. (See Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 240).

Brazil is a striking example of the new methods of imperialist penetration. The results of the country's economic growth, *J. Suarez*, Central Committee member of the Brazilian CP, said, show the true worth of the "Brazilian miracle". Following the 1964 coup there began a process of fascistisation. Brutal suppression of the working-class movement, of all democratic forces, was used as a political factor to impose a type of economic development still more dependent on, and subordinate to, US imperialism. The Branco government lifted restrictions on repatriation of profits and granted foreign capital unprecedented advantages. The broad influx of foreign investments and the penetration of transnational companies caused mass bankruptcies in national enterprise. An intensive process of denationalisation is under way. The country's foreign debt has climbed. The flow of foreign technology entails additional outlays of foreign currency, making Brazil still more dependent on imperialism and violating her national sovereignty. For the masses such economic growth has yielded nothing but new privations, for wages and salaries are being reduced in order to boost investments.

In sum, looking at the sources of the "Brazilian miracle" and at who profited from it, there is just one answer; it cannot serve as an alternative for the peoples of Latin America fighting for national and social emancipation.

The Levers of Neocolonialist Policy. In its attempt to adapt to the new situation, imperialism tries to streamline its neocolonialist policy. It does not seek just immediate advantages and builds its designs on far-reaching strategic aims. One of these, said *S. Mitra*, member of the CP of India National Council, is to keep the newly-liberated countries within the sphere of exploitation by world capital. For this it uses all possible levers of imperialist policy—economic, political, military and ideological.

The June 1975 events in India show the place in the armoury of neocolonialism of the theory of "destabilisation", that is, weakening the government and undermining the existing regime. India's right reactionary forces, who had the undisguised support of the imperialist powers, called for reduced cooperation with the socialist countries, reduction of the public sector, and large-scale capitalist farming in place of an agrarian reform. They exploited the Maoist interpretation of nonalignment—the theory of "equidistance from imperialism and socialism".

S. Sudiman, member of the Leadership of the CP of Indonesia, used the example of his country to show imperialism's tactics in safeguarding its domination: armed aggression, enlistment of domestic reaction, economic pressure and political blackmail, "aid" impinging on sovereignty, and the

like. Indonesia is still controlled by the reactionary pro-imperialist military regime. The moment that regime came to power it returned enterprises and plantations nationalised by the preceding government to their former foreign owners. Thereupon, it passed laws opening the doors to foreign capital. The plunder of national wealth is appalling.

The "progress" that results from imperialist "aid" may be illustrated by the following facts. The country has six million totally and 15 million partly unemployed. A worker's daily income is something like 100 rupees, while a kilo of rice costs 155. More than 15 million children in the 7-12 age bracket do not go to school: their parents cannot afford it.

The people of Indonesia know what real aid can be. Such aid came from the socialist countries, first of all the Soviet Union, when we had an anti-imperialist government. It was oriented not only on laying the foundations for industrialisation, but also on strengthening peace and cooperation among the peoples.

Fighting for its positions in the former colonial periphery, imperialism deliberately creates crisis situations in country after country. Take the Cyprus events, precipitated by NATO's bid to consolidate itself in the East Mediterranean, that is, in the immediate proximity of the Arab national-liberation struggle. *A. Stavrou*, representative of the AKEL Party on *WMR*, referred to the ceaseless intrigues of aggressive imperialist forces against the future of Cyprus and the artificial imperialist barriers to a political settlement.

The bureaucratic quasi-bourgeoisie, *I. Garro*, Central Committee member of the Syrian CP, pointed out, is imperialism's new helper in the developing countries. Neocolonialism tries to use the state sector, to direct it to state capitalism, to create a class alliance with the forces in charge of that sector—the bureaucratic, administrative bourgeoisie.

Subversion of people's democratic regimes, disruption of the alliance with the socialist community, especially the Soviet Union, cultivation of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, campaigns of terror against Communist parties and progressives, economic penetration and obstacles to an independent anti-imperialist policy—this is a far from complete list of the neocolonialist instruments used by US imperialism to promote its designs in the Middle East.

Imperialism has cast the State of Israel as a policeman continuously threatening the Arab national-liberation movement. The socio-economic situation in Israel, a country at the bottom of the list of developed capitalist countries and heading the list of developing countries, was described by *T. Kaukabi*, Central Committee Secretary of the CP of Israel. Official policy is made to conform with the interests of big capital. The accord with the EEC countries will only hasten the erosion of small and medium enterprises incapable of competing with the European Nine. Israel' state

capitalism gets its strength from infusions of foreign capital via government channels, through government investments in the infrastructure, banking and mining, and, of course, militarisation of the economy. More than 60 per cent of the state budget and 40 per cent of the national income are tied up with the occupation and war. The gigantic military expenditure has disastrous consequences for the country's economy and population. The 1975 balance of payments deficit was in excess of $3 billion. The country's foreign debt has climbed to $7 billion. This, as the 17th Congress of the CP of Israel stressed, is one of the aspects of increasing subordination to foreign capital and the imperialist powers, especially the United States.

Imperialism is at its most despicable in the South African Republic. A special type of enslavement has been devised there, ideologically and politically embodied in apartheid, that is, a form of racial discrimination designed to "justify" the barbarous exploitation of the non-white population. Racial discrimination, *W. Mkaba* (South African CP) said, is official government policy incorporated in obscurantist, inhuman and anti-democratic laws. The programme of the South African Communists describes it as "colonialism of a special type". "White South Africa" has all the specific traits of monopoly capitalism, and its monopolists maintain a close connection with partners in imperialist states, while "Non-White South Africa" has all the traits of a colony, the indigenous population being an object of extreme national oppression, ruthlessly exploited, living in poverty, and denied all democratic rights. In other words, "Non-White South Africa" is a colony of "White South Africa". Imperialism's worst features thus coexist with the worst features of colonialism in one and the same country, giving the system a highly specific complexion.

The ascendant South African monopolies still need the help of foreign capital: British, US, West German, French and Japanese. On the other hand, racist South Africa is a support base for imperialism and neocolonialism in Africa. Its recent invasion of Angola showed that it is prepared to resort to undisguised aggression against independent African states, especially those with revolutionary-democratic governments.

A Theory Confirmed by Experience. The experience of the people of Mongolia in fighting for national independence and non-capitalist development—an experience bearing out the tremendous significance of Lenin's theory of imperialism for the liberation struggle of peoples and the achievement of complete independence through deep-going socio-economic transformations—was described by *Yu. Chimed*, professor of the Sukhe Bator Higher Party School (Mongolia). He dwelt on the question of common laws and regularities governing the passage to socialism and the specific features stemming from each country's concrete historical background. The class approach to the problems of the developing countries, he pointed out, is often replaced with a geographical or even racial approach.

exponents of the doctrine of "rich and poor countries". The Maoist interpretations of this doctrine are designed to distort the world balance of class forces and to use it for egoistic purposes.

The main conclusions arrived at by Lenin in his analysis of imperialism are still helping Marxists to understand the processes in the world economy, particularly in the context of relations between developed capitalist and developing countries.

LENIN'S DOCTRINE AND REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICE

In his concluding remarks, *WMR* Editor-in-Chief *K. I. Zarodov* examined some of the definitive questions of Lenin's theory of imperialism, and its significance for revolutionary practice.

First, the methodological foundation of Lenin's teaching on imperialism and what determines its inexhaustible scientific power today.

Many concepts have been used to try and explain the essence and features of 20th-century capitalism, but none have stood the test of time. The present crisis has also demolished the most influential of these theories, the Keynesian on which state-monopoly capitalism relied for many dozens of years. Now, even bourgeois ideologists admit that it has failed.

Lenin's theory of imperialism has an entirely different history. To understand why it is the scientific key to the essence and to past and present phenomena in modern bourgeois society, we should remember two things: first, that it is based on an analysis of monopoly, the main pillar of modern capitalism which conditions all the features and properties of imperialism and second, that it is not something divorced from the rest of Leninist science from its theoretical and practical content.

Only when this is recognised can one understand why it was Lenin who succeeded in producing a truly Marxist scientific analysis of imperialism. New, previously unknown features of world capitalism were spotted not only by Lenin. They were also defined by bourgeois economists. The social-democratic theorists of the Second International wrote about them [illegible]. But they did not tie up the results of their research with the general revolutionary tasks of the working class. More, their conclusions were tantamount to a call to gradually dismantle the revolutionary political movement of the proletariat. We could say that what happened to the [illegible] class struggle in the 19th century, also happened to the [illegible] of economic thought. The former had many adherents before Marx, [illegible] Marx crowned it with the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Much was written and said about imperialism at the turn of the century, but Lenin was the one who established that bourgeois development had brought the world to the threshold of socialist revolution.

Second, the question of the present crisis of capitalism and the ways

out of that crisis. Many bourgeois and opportunist ideologues and pc cians are trying to portray the crisis as purely or mainly cyclical. would mean that it is temporary, transient, and surmountable on the t of the capitalist cycle itself. It would also mean that the crisis is not additional impulse for stepping up the anti-monopoly struggle to bi monopoly power and abolish its economic system.

But there is also the opposite point of view that the economic mechar of modern bourgeois society has run aground completely and that, th fore, there can be question of any typically capitalist cyclicity production. This leads to the conclusion that the present economic reces in the capitalist world is insurmountable and that imperialism has used its potential for survival and development. The next step from here is ei the opportunist notion of an automatic collapse or inevitable self-tr formation of capitalism, or the ultra-leftist notion that it does not req much effort to destroy monopoly rule.

Our exhcange of opinion has shown that the present situation in capitalist world cannot be adequately assessed and understood unless take into account the natural deepening of the general crisis of capita and the operation of the universal economic laws of bourgeois society.

This leads to the right conclusions concerning the strategy and ta of the Communists' political struggle. Firstly, it obliges us to consider novelty of the situation, the qualitative change in the general crisi capitalism and, secondly, it warns us against underestimating . the available strength of monopoly capital, and its economic and poli possibilities

Third, the question of the interconnection between the crisis situatio the capitalist world and the relaxation of international tension. It w be a mistake to think that since the crisis and detente are phonomena a different order they are unrelated. To use Lenin's expression, "it fundamentally wrong, un-Marxist and unscientific to single out 'for policy, from policy in general, let alone counterpose foreign policy to h policy" (Vol. 23, p. 43).

The relaxation of world tensions, an all-important international achi ment, the result mainly of socialism's peace offensive, stems from the ch ed relation of world forces. It stands to reason, however, that it would h been impossible to overcome the state of cold war without the change the foreign policy of the monopoly bourgeoisie. These changes pe signify the backruptcy of the old aggressive foreign-political course. other words, they constitute the foreign-political aspect of the ge crisis of capitalism.

There are incongruous notions about the nature and strength of the im made by detente on internal processes in capitalist countries. Some con that by political detente and cooperation socialism is saving capitalism f

inevitable collapse. What can one say about these notions?

First, detente or no detente there is not and cannot be cooperation between the two social systems, socialism and capitalism. The only thing that existed, does and will exist between them is class struggle. It is not the social systems that coöperate, but different states, even—especially on the capitalist side—different firms, amalgamations, and the like.

Second, we must distinguish between the economic effect and the social consequences of cooperation. The latter are indeed extremely intricate in capitalist conditions. Orders from socialist countries, for example, tend to ease the employment problem. This is a direct gain for the workers, the working people, and may be viewed as a common class gain secured through detente. But cooperation does not alter the pillars of the capitalist system—its property forms or any of its other social institutions and structures. The basic contradictions that trigger and aggravate crisis, remain. For the problem of overcoming a crisis is not resolved by cooperation between states with different systems, but by the struggle between the forces inside bourgeois society, and by the international class and ideological struggle. In sum, detente cannot change the laws of development of social formations, and this applies equally to capitalism and socialism.

Today, monopoly's ability to use old methods of combating the acute crisis is sharply reduced. On the other hand, the opportunities of the anti-monopoly forces rallied around the working class, have increased. Hence *the fourth group of questions.*

The crisis has additionally extended the social basis of the anti-monopoly movement, the basis for unity of democratic forces. This is indisputable. But we must also see the reverse factors. The crisis has bred anything but militant sentiments among certain sections of working people in the capitalist world. They are afraid of losing their jobs, and have set their hopes on waiting out, on somehow surviving, the difficult period. The social-reformist ideology has come alive, seeking a "balanced" distribution of the crisis burden to please the monopolies, and urging the working people "in all fairness" to assume their share of the hardships.

The crisis is also exploited by right and "left" extremists. Fascist and neo-fascist trends have revived of late in many countries. Neocolonialist action is being taken against the liberated states. The imperialist bourgeoisie holds this threat over all democrats, above all Communists. All to often the threat is put into practice.

What are the ways out of the crisis? This is a question that occupies all forces, all the parties of capitalist society, including the Communists. The previous comparable world crisis had in the long run precipitated a world war. As the Communists see it, in present conditions an alternative to the crisis could be found along the democratic way—stepped up anti-monopoly struggle with new initiatives and new efforts. Certainly, the Communists do

not reduce the purpose of these initiatives and efforts to delivering capitalism from the crisis. It is farthest from their thoughts to "save" imperialism, to help monopoly extricate itself from the morass of the crisis.

For the Communists the fight against the crisis is part of a far broader programme of deep-going social transformation, changes in economic structure, of creating a stare of democratic unity and forming left-bloc governments. This would open the intermediate phase along the road to socialism, introducing transitional forms that will secure the building of the new social order—the socialist system. Each Communist Party tackles these tasks to suit national conditionts.

The new situation has accentuated the new problems facing the Communists, which are in many ways (in a specific form, of course) old problems, problems already experienced by the revolutionary movement in previous acute intermediate phases. At present, we are witnessing precisely another such phase.

More clearly than before the crisis has brought home the fact that there are only two poles of social and political attraction in modern bourgeois society: the dominant monopolies and the embattled wroking class. This adds significance to at least three problems: the one about the correlation of revolutionary and evolutionary solutions of vital social problems, about the correlation of the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism. and the correlation between the independent political line of the Communists and the common struggle of the left-bloc forces, the broad democratic, anti-imperialist coalition.

The crisis situation breeds the reformist idea that a democratic solution of the crisis and success in the anti-monopoly struggle in general, cannot be achieved unless the transformations are simultaneous on the scale of an entire region. This is a repetition of the social-reformist dogmas dating to the Second International, and contempt for the economic and political disparities between the capitalist countries, contempt for the law of uneven development under imperialism. I think it is clear, comrades, that there is only one scientifically correct and politically realistic solution of this problem—the Leninist solution.

The conference, Zarodov said in conclusion, has contributed to a deeper understanding of a number of important questions relating to the aggravation of crisis phenomena in capitalist society. But there is one question no theoretical discussion can resolve : can the working class and the Communist parties develop the effort for a democratic way out of the crisis into a successful general offensive of working people, of the popular masses against the monopolies? Can they use the new opportunities to achieve this and to further the struggle for socialism? Practice alone will show. Practice is the supreme judge of a theoretical analysis, including the conclusions drawn at this conference.

Does Technical Progress Undermine Democracy ?

Prof. *Sylwester Zawadzki*

The perfection of socialist democracy, as of the political and legal superstructure of socialist society in general, is a complex integrated process. It is determined not only by subjective factors, the desire to give fuller scope to such ideals as freedom, equality and justice, already conspicuous features of the socialist way of life, but also by many objective factors, including the requirements of economic and political development. In discussing the extension and deepening of socialist democracy we cannot disregard the scientific and technical aspects of the problem.

The technological revolution is substantially altering the political superstructure and all areas of public life. How does technical progress affect the management of society? Does it facilitate the development of democratic institutions and various forms of government by the people? Or should we accept the view held by many bourgeois ideologists that technical progress inevitably and everywhere, regardless of social system, generates a crisis of democracy?

The Marxists have a clear reply to these questions. By extending socialisation of production and management, technological progress, in combination with other factors, creates the preconditions for the eventual changeover from the socialist state to communist self-administration.

However, Marxists do not shut their eyes to the new problems posed by the technological revolution. Employment of the latest achievements of science and technology in management requires a high degree of specialised training and, consequently, more professionalism. As a result, technocratic tendencies are taking a firmer grip on bourgeois society, and the system and apparatus of government is increasingly separated from the people and the

representative bodies. This has nurtured a wide variety of theories that, in this age of the technological revolution, professionalism in directing the affairs of society is incompatible with the functioning of democratic institutions, and this is supposed to apply equally to the capitalist and socialist systems which, we are told, will ultimately "converge".

Exaggeration of the role of technology as the determinative force of social development is common to all technocratic concepts.

Technological determinism—perhaps contrary to the intentions of some of its authors—justifies anti-democratic tendencies in the capitalist world. Yet its supporters accuse the Communists of being utopians, doctrinaires divorced from life because they maintain that deepening socialist democracy is a development law of the socialist state.

The extreme determinists negate the role of all other factors. Thus Ellul maintains that our civilisation is a child of technology, exists only for technology and functions in accordance with the laws of technical development.[1] The more moderate determinists admit that technology is not the only major factor in social development, conceding that some of its derivatives enjoy a degree of autonomy, and admit that man can influence technological advances. Though they do not flatly deny the role of economic relations and the socio-political system, they, like the extremists, minimise its importance and disregard the difference in the social implications of technical progress under socialism and capitalism.[2]

Views differ also on the major political consequences of technical progress. One of the more widespread ideas is that of the "managerial revolution" formulated during the war by Burnham.[3] With the spread of the technological revolution, bourgeois ideologists are laying more stress on the role of the technical intellectuals. Hence, the prospects of a "ruling technocracy", a concept most comprehensively set out by J. Kenneth Galbraith, who predicts a ruling "technostructure" in the United States.[4] The growing role of experts has led some to predict an "expertocracy", "scientocracy" or even decision-making by computer. However, notwithstanding this wide range of views, technocratic-elitist concepts are all based on the understanding that, in the end, power will inevitably be concentrated in a progressively narrow ruling clique.

How does this affect the destinies of democracy? A bigger role for the experts, we are told, means a smaller role for the masses in directing the

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[1] J. Ellul, *The Technological Society*, London, 1964, p. 128.

[2] In Polish literature, technological determinism has been critically analysed by W. Morawski, in his *Nowe spoleczenstwo prazemyslowe*. Analiza i krytyka koncepcji. Warsaw, 197?.

[3] J. Burnham. *The Managerial Revolution*, N.Y., 1941.

[4] J. K. Galbraith. *The New Industrial State*, N.Y, 1968.

affairs of society. All economic problems, West German professor Forsthoff argues, must be solved by professionals with the help of modern technical aids.[5] In a highly developed society, he says, the "ordinary man" will be increasingly aware of his ignorance in matters of management and will leave it all to the experts. And this is the opinion of another author, Organsky: In the future society economic and political control will be concentrated in a small group of people, and this new elite will be largely independent of the mass of the population. Just as the functioning of the economy is determined by a narrow circle of leading industrialists and is independent of the workers, so political leaders will not need active support from the mass of the people.[6]

In other words, the determinists forebode a crisis of democratic institutions—parliament, local government, etc.

Let us examine some of the arguments that are basic to the technocrat-elitist ideology:

— That in this age of the scientific and technological revolution all economic problems, and all other social problems, are of a narrow technical character and can be solved only by the experts.

— That a greater role for the experts limits the working people's participation in government and leads to the decline of democratic institutions.

True, professional expertise does play an increasing role in managerial functions, but it does not follow that every economic (or, in the broader sense, every social) problem primarily, or exclusively, requires solution by experts. This leaves out of account the fact that every problem also has political and social implications. And not only from the standpoint of what economic effect one or another solution will produce, but also from the standpoint of its social and political consequences. Hence, in drawing up and adopting decisions we must take into account, along with professional competence, also the social and political factors.

Thus in socialist society we assess the political impact of one or another action in terms of our socialist values and the class interests of the working people. We also take into consideration the social consequences of a decision and the likelihood of it winning public approval. It requires more than the knowledge of experts in the various branches of science, technology and economics to find optimal overall solutions. It requires also, and to a no less degree, knowledge of social needs and ability correctly to set priorities.

In no social system can the expert in a particular field play the decisive role in working out the strategy of resolving problems of state importance.

[5] E. Forsthoff. *Strukturwandlungen der modernen Demokratie*. 1964, p. 10.
[6] A. Organsky. *The Stages of Political Development*. N.Y., 1967, p. 179.

Apart from everything else, this tends to break up the functioning of the state apparatus into loosely linked elements, sometmies even working at cross purposes. And this, as Polish researcher Jaroszynski says, far from attaining the goals set by society, would actually impair its interests despite close adherence to specialist recommendations and a high degree of expertise. Though liberally oiled with expert knowledge, the machine of state would still be a collection of unmeshed gears. And, most important, a one sided, "professional" approach to the functioning of the state mechanism would make it impossible for the state effectively to safeguard the interests of the ruling class, and this is decisive for competent management in a class society.[7]

The technological revolution has not lessened, but rather emphasised the need for an integrated approach. Just as specialisation in science calls for closer integration, so specialisation in management calls for an integrated approach in which the political and social aspects are fully taken into account in decision-making. For the more complicated tasks of social management stimulate, by virtue of professional and departmental narrowness or due to other circumstances, a tendency to replace the laws governing the development of society as a whole by the laws relating to its individual parts. More participation in the management of society, Soviet philosopher Akhiezer rightly remarks, has the important advantage of steadily minimising the very possibility of the partial replacing the whole, of one or another element of government being alienated from society and from its other elements.[8]

Analysing the second argument, we must note that Marxism never denied the specialists' important part in management. The importance attached in socialist countries to training highly qualified personnel is well known. But, as Marxists see it, professionalisation of management does not detract from workers' participation and from the democratic institutions. This participation and its degree depend not on the technical specifics of management but on its social essence. Ascribing to technology the ill effects of the concentration of economic and political power in the conditions of state monopoly capitalism, technological determinism underrates, sometimes even ignores, the aspects of technical progress that promote democracy. Take the following points.

First, development of the educational system and rise of educational standards. The higher educational level of the working people adds to the number of people able to participate in decision-making at state level, in

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[7] M Jaroszynski. *Zagadnienia rad narodowych*. Warsaw, 1961, p. 125.

[8] A. Akhiezer. "The Scientific and Technological Revolution and Management of Social Development", in *Problemy Filosofiyi,* No. 8, 1968.

the one hand, and to the need for improving democracy because educated people tend to demand more from the state apparatus, on the other.

Second, the prospects of reducing working time and increasing leisure time, which may be used for recreation, study, and volunteer social work. Here we may refer to the socialist countries that have or are gradually introducing a five-day working week.

Third, the increasing use of automation in management, leading in the longer term to simplification of many of the state functions (primarily collection, storage and processing of information, statistics, accounting, and the like). Experience shows that automation is used as extensively in this field as it is in production. Though it is hard to predict all the consequences of automation in management, it is clear that the much propagated picture of a "computerised world" where no place is left for the human being, is highly improbable.

Last but not least, the benefits and services available to only a few until in relatively recent times technical progress brought them within reach of the masses, have created additional stimuli for the anti-elitist outlook.

These examples do not cover all the positive effects of scientific and technical progress on the growth of democracy. But they are enough to show that anti-democratic trends are not an ineluctable consequence of technical progress, whose positive influence on the expansion and growth of democracy strongly outweighs the negative.

The idea that by shaking off slavish dependence on nature man becomes a slave of social forces, of technology, may seem valid at first glance. But it is incorrect. More, if one follows its logic, one is bound to arrive at the conclusion that further scientific and technical development is undesirable. Such utopian views have, indeed, surfaced on and off, and surface now, under the impact of the ill effects accompanying technical progress in definite social conditions. And yet there are no valid grounds for the opinion that the scientific and technological revolution will compel rejection of the world's historic experience, which shows that every social formation, representing a step forward in the development of the productive forces, in mastering the forces of nature, has also tended (not without snags and periods of regress) to extend the sphere of freedom, to produce political systems of a higher order, giving the individual greater opportunities than before to influence state affairs.

The perspective postulated by Lenin of mass participation in government, of the growth of socialist democracy into communist self-government, is the only scientifically acceptable forecast of the future shape of democracy. It fits the general tendency of society's development. And its significance as the determining line in the development of socialist democracy increase with each advance of the scientific and technological revolution.

The critical attitude to elitist technocratic doctrines does not detract from the role technology plays in the development of society or in the making of socialism's politico-juridical superstructure. The elimination of obstacles created by private ownership of means of production to mass participation in the administration of society paves the way to the use of science and technology for extending democracy. We have already named a few of the social effects of the scientific and technological revolution that objectively help to deepen and extend democracy: spread of secondary education and broad access to higher education, fading of the borderline between mental and manual labour, and the like. It should be stressed, however, that scientific and technical progress *per se* only creates the conditions for broader mass participation in government. The extent of such participation depends on the social and economic structure of society. The socialist countries systematically promote the activity and effectiveness of the entire system of democratic organs, drawing the masses more broadly into administration, and assuring mass control of the organs of power.

This results in a simultaneous growth of the role of specialists, and of opportunities for working people to participate in the affairs of the state. This does not mean, of course, that socialist democracy develops automatically. There is many a problem in this respect. One of them is to make government and planning more effective and to improve the entire social mechanism (including the political superstructure).

The present measures taken in the countries of the socialist community to improve economic management are comprehensive. More and more distinctly, the economic plans of the CMEA countries are becoming overall programmes of social and economic development. And the perspective of their further improvement is associated with measures in other important areas of social development, taking account of the tendencies in technical progress and of the need for improving the politico-juridical superstructure (socialist democracy, the system of government, judiciary, etc.), rather than with a mere extension of the number of economic indicators. Of course considering the relative independence of the superstructure from the basis this objective is difficult to reach. But it has got to be reached.[9] And some of the socialist countries are already taking steps to plan law-making activity. Poland, for example, has a government programme (1974-80) for improving legislation. And as the building of socialism advances, programming of the development of socialism's politico-juridical superstructure will

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[9] It is vital for the long-term planning of the development of the politico-juridical superstructure to determine the objective criteria of the maturity of socialist democracy. (S. Zawadzki, "Criteria of the Degree of Development of Democracy". *Contemporary Problems of Socialist Democracy and the Perspectives of Its Development*. Peace and Socialism Publishers, Prague, 1975).

gain still more importance; it is no less important and complicated than economic management.

Further, to improve socialist democracy there must be consistent efforts to eliminate the negative elements conflicting with the trends in socialist statehood. These are of many kinds, including remnants of the bourgeois mentality, violations of social discipline and of the uinty of civil rights and duties, flaws in the work of the state apparatus, incomplete use of the people of democratic institutions, and excessive bureaucracy.

We must remember that apart from the economic, social and psychological reasons for the existence of bureaucracy, there are also reasons of a technical and organisational order stemming from the increasing complexity of the structure of society. Certainly, the danger of bureaucracy is present in the complexity of the organisation of society, but not unavoidable. All the same, study of the "technical causes" of bureaucracy would probably help in determining the reasons for its existence in a socialist state after its class roots are eliminated. Also, it would help to find effective means of combating the technico-organisational elements that add to the danger of bureaucracy.

In recent years there is visibly greater interest in Poland and other socialist countries in the technico-organisational aspect of administration. And the resulting improvements of the juridical basis of government, the higher professional standard of administrative staffs the more rational distribution of responsibilities, the introduction of automation and mechanisation, the better organsiational structures and administrative procedures, the control exercised in many socialist countries by the judiciary over the decisions of the executive organs—all this is evidence of efforts to improve the quality of government, to make it more effective, to give it a broader scientific foundation.

Now, a few words about the relation of the improvement of the executive organs to the improvement of the institutions of direct and indirect democracy, and their greater effectiveness in the mechanism of state power. These two objectives were often counterposed in practice Growth of the role of the public in the state mechanism was sometimes regarded as a step towards eliminating that mechanism (this was traceable to the insufficiently high public prestige of administration officials and the often one-sided conception of the transfer of state functions to public organisations). Recognition of the professional principle in government, on the other hand, led to underestimation of public control and of the contribution of public organisations.

Yet the role of administrative organs in improving the work of the democratic institutions should not be underestimated any more than the fact that the level of democracy has a strong bearing on the improvement of

the decision-making process and, consequently, on the higher effectiveness of government. Democratic procedure is not only an important condition for optimum decision-making, but also for effective implementation of decisions.[10]

The experience of socialist construction in Poland, the same as that of other socialist countries, shows that professional competence and public control are not interchangeable. The principle of simultaneously developing socialist democracy and improving the state apparatus is embodied in many programme documents of the CPSU, PUWP and other fraternal parties. Initiating a programme of reforms of local government, the Sixth Congress of the PUWP called for improvements in the work of the administration, for raising the importance of representative organs and for extending socialist democracy.

The leading role in the development of socialism's political superstructure is played by Lenin's model of democracy in the form of an echeloned system of Soviets of Deputies. It is a *democratic* model enabling working people to influence decisions at local and national level and assuring broad public control of the administration. It is a *dynamic* model which helps to avoid stereotype and local particularism, and assures the unity of national interests and the specific interests of the territorial units. Last but not least it is an *effective* model blending in government the political and social factors with the professional, and assuring the correct priorities and choice of the most effective means of achieving them.

The development of socialism's political superstructure envisages a simultaneous increase in the mechanism of government of the role of both the political and social factors and of professional knowledge, and an extension in the course of the scientific and technological revolution of the dialectical ties between the growing role of the Party, the extension of the scientific foundation of the state apparatus, and the development of socialist democracy. It is the working-class Party that blends all aspects of government and secures a comprehensive improvement of decision-making.

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[10] G. Shakhnazarov. *Socialist Democracy. Some Aspects of Theory.* Moscow, 1974 pp 23-24 (in Russian).

Soviet Communists' Plans: An Expression of the People's Will

Rudolf Wettengel
Dimitr Stanishev

When this issue of the journal reaches the reader the world will be studying and commenting on the documents of the 25th Congress of the CPSU. These documents will reflect the progress made by the Soviet Union over the past five years, formulate key tasks in building the new society under the 10th five-year plan and define the main lines of the foreign policy of the Party and the state. To quote Enrich Honecker, First Secretary of the SUPG, the decisions to be adopted by the congress of Lenin's Party will be a powerful spur to the flowering of the socialist community and the advance of the forces of socialism and peace throughout the world". They will undoubtedly be of great importance to the international Communist and working-class movement and all progressive forces.

The congress documents will express in concentrated form the vast experience of Lenin's Party and, needless to say, will be carefully studied by the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties of countries of the socialist community. A noteworthy aspect of this experience also manifested itself on the eve of the CPSU congress. We mean the forms and methods of meaningful organising, political and ideological work which assured participation in preparations for the Communist forum of the Party members and virtually everyone else. The Bulgarian Communist Party and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, for their part, are going through an exacting period of congress preparations and we were therefore particularly interested to read in the press and hear on the radio how the CPSU carried on its pre-congress work.

The atmosphere of enthusiasm and increased activity in the production

sphere and politics which characterised every segment of Soviet society before the congress revealed, first of all, the inherent connection between the Party initiative and the initiative of the masses. This is the reason for the fact that over 84 million people, or a substantial proportion of those engaged in productive labour, joined in the pre-congress emulation movement reported by *Pravda*. The slogans and mottoes of numerous initiatives setting the tune for efficient labour under the 10th five-year plan, which has already begun, are most revealing. They symbolise the people's ready response to the Party's call to reach the principal target of the new five-year plan—assuring a steady rise in efficiency and in the quality of output. It is not accidenatl that the socialist competition launched in Leningrad under the motto, "From highly efficient work by each to highly efficient work by all", has assumed so immense a scale.

The inviolable unity of the aspirations of the Communist Party and the masses under socialism has a deep-lying objective basis. Years of experience have convinced the working people that the Party's plans are prompted by the desire to promote the people's well-being and that steadfast fulfilment of these plans brings confidence in the future to every member of socialist society. A further indication of this is the pre-congress emulation movement in other countries of the socialist community. The working people of Bulgaria responded with numerous labour initiatives to the pre-congress appeal of the Party to all Communists, to all working men and women. The industrial workers of Varna launched an emulation movement under the motto, "Two congresses, one goal", which stresses the unity of the aspirations of the Bulgarian and Soviet Communist parties and the peoples of the two countries. Socialist competition has also assumed a tremendous scale in the GDR, where it is going on under the slogan "In honour of the Ninth Party Congress, use every mark, every working hour and every gramme of material more effectively".

It goes without saying that socialist competition in each particular brother country is characterised by a vast variety of forms and methods. Typical of the GDR, for example, are such forms of competition as work according to personal creative plans, "notes on the plan" (that is, daily control over plan fulfilment aimed at discovering additional reserves) and "initiative shifts", which strive to achieve high output indices. However, all these forms and methods have one feature in common in all countries of the socialist community. It is a growing sense of civic commitment.

To support this sentiment, so that it may prove its worth, is an important exigency of socialist development at the present stage. We think the CPSU showed Lenin's ingenuity in discerning this need and reacted to it by greatly extending the scope of its work among the masses. And we

lieve this explains why the effort of the CPSU in encouraging popular initiative before its 25th Congress is so fruitful.

We believe another noteworthy aspect of preparations for the CPSU congress was the organisation of a nation-wide discussion of the Party's policies and plans for the years ahead.

The "Main Guidelines of Economic Development of the USSR for 1976-80", an impotnart draft document prepared by the CPSU Central Committee, was discussed on all Party levels ranging from republican conferences to branch meetings. In effect, all Soviet people had the opportunity to discuss it. Every day *Pravda* assigned a whole page to opinions, proposals and suggestions sent in by Communists and non-Communists, by workers, farmers, intellectuals, young peoepl. The Soviet press, from national dailies and periodicals to factory newspapers, the radio and television, carried on a lively discussion of the draft. The final documents of the 25th Congress will take into consideration the collective opinion of tens of millions.

It is worthy of special note that the Soviet press at all levels carried detailed accounts of Party conferences and meetings. Free from all parade, these accounts give an idea of the creative atmosphere that dominated the conferences and meetings, at which Communists spoke with legitimate pride about the progress made and concentrated on unsolved problems, suggesting realistic steps to overcome difficulties and remove shortcomings and sharply criticising mistakes in Party work. In this way the CPSU may be said to have set the whole Soviet people an example of a serious and constructive discussion of the lines of socialist society's further development.

The nature of the discussion of the Party's draft document is seen in the following example. I. Beda, a sheep-farm team leader in Stavropol Territory, contributed an article to *Pravda* referring to the draft where it speaks of the need to extend direct links between raw material bases and industry. Giving facts and figures, he suggested that the mediation of purchasing organisations in wool deliveries should be stopped. The substantial sums spent on mediation, he feels, could be switched to expanding the production capacities.

This would seem to be a particular case. But when a case like this is one of many thousands, the natural process of going over from the particular to the general takes place, because the builders of the new society are guided by the interests of the entire people.

The discussion of the pre-congress document was characterised precisely by this approach to the problems of society and, as a result, by constructive proposals, realism, criticism and self-criticism. By organising nation-wide discussions, the Party raises the political consciousness of the members of socialist society.

Communists of the countries of the socialist community always carefully study the CPSU's experience of work among the masses to use it in their own conditions. This is true especially of the Bulgarian Communist Party, which is organising a nation-wide discussion of documents in preparation for its 11th Congress: the Central Committee theses "Main Lines of Economic Development of Bulgaria during the Seventh Five-Year Plan and until 1990" and "Main Lines of Scientific and Technoligical Progress during the Seventh Five-Year Plan and until 1990". It also applies to the pre-congress work of the SUPG: after publication of the draft Programme and Rules in preparation for the Ninth Party Congress and of the draft "Guidelines of the Ninth Party Congress for Economic Development of the GDR in 1976-80", both drafts were submitted to the population for democratic discussion. This discussion is going on at Party meetings and conferences, at thousands of public meetings and in the press. It involves Communists, members of other democratic parties and non-party people, all of whom readily express their views on these guiding documents, which will shape the people's future.

We have good reason to see all this as evidence of a further deepening of socialist democracy under the leadership of the working class and its Party. This is the real democracy of socialist society showing its indispensable superiority over nominal bourgeois democracy.

In preparing for the 25th Congress, the Soviet Communists demonstrated their ability to combine the inner-Party and nation-wide discussions of Party plans. They reaffirmed their loyalty to Lenin's advice to prepare for every Party congress in such a way as to bring to it "the *practical experience* of economic development to which thought has been given and which has been carefully *analysed* by the common labour and common effort of all members of the Party" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 405) and to find the right ways and means of turning the *opinion* of the whole party into congress *decisions*.

By publishing its pre-congress documents, the CPSU presented its plans to the Soviet people and, moreover, to the international Communist and working-class movement, to the whole of progressive opinion. The plans had repercussions all over the world. This is understandable, since more and more people now realise that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the leading force of the biggest socialist country, bears a special responsibility to both its own people and all other peoples.

In other effort to reduce the impact of Soviet achievements in building the new society, minimise their international significance and divert public attention in capitalist countries from the acute problems of the economic crisis, enemies of the Soviet Union and socialism have stepped up their

subversive propaganda before the 25th Congress of the CPSU. The anti-Soviet chorus has brought together outright anti-Communists, apologists of monopoly capital, opportunists of every shade, and Maoists, whose policy has placed them alongside the most rabid reactionaries.

Our peoples like those of other countries of the socialist community, reject the vicious calumnies and lies of anti-Sovietists. Georgi Dimitrov, Ernst Thalmann and Wilhelm Pieck taught us to regard the attitude of the Soviet Union as a criterion of loyalty to genuinely revolutionary ideals. Experience, both past and present, proves them perfectly correct. The Soviet Union bears the brunt of the effort in the contest between the two opposed social systems, and this means that every attack on it, no matter where it comes from, is an attack on the entire community of socialist countries and is directed against the world revolutionary movement, all anti-imperialist forces. Our parties have always held that it is a sacred duty of all who have rallied together under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism to resist anti-Sovietism, expose slander against the CPSU and the Soviet state, and show the role which the Lenin's Party and the Soviet Union play in today's world.

The BCP, SUPG and the brother parties of other countries of the socialist community are guided by these principles. In publicising, before 25th Congress of the CPSU, the achievements of its home and foreign policies, they regard this work as a key component of their effort to strengthen the bonds of fraternal friendship linking their countries with the Soviet Union and further the unity and cohesion of the entire socialist community. Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the BCP, has described friendship and close relations with the Soviet Union as "an earnest of our future victories". The press, television and radio of our countries, analysing the results achieved during the ninth five-year plan, the draft document for the 25th Congress of the CPSU and other pre-congress materials, brought it home to the working people that the Soviet Union's achievements are of vital importance to them because they strengthen the positions of world socialism and enhance its appeal to the people in capitalist countries.

The increased power of the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community and their sustained struggle for the implementation of the Peace Programme predetermined far-reaching positive changes in the international situation. These changes accord with the fundamental interests of the working people of socialist countries and of all men on earth, because they make it possible to build the new society in a climate of lasting peace and benefit the struggle of anti-imperialist forces.

The Soviet people's achievements and the impressive tasks they will be accomplishing in the next few years are a source of inspiration to our countries and parties in their revolutionary activities.

The Party, the Working Class, Left Unity

Hansjorg Hofer

For many years now, the Swiss Party of Labour has been upholding the material, cultural and political interests of the working class and broad sections of our working people.

In hard-fought battles, by persevering and patient work, we won important social and political demands which have substantially improved conditions for a large part of the population. We have, for instance, secured a better old-age social welfare scheme (8 amendments have been introduced since 1947) and social insurance for invalids. But a comprehensive social insurance system, including sickness and accident benefits, still remains a priority task.

As a rule, our Party has been the initiator or motive force in all campaigns in support of social demands. Acting single-handed, we could never have won these demands for the whole of the country. We have always sought to bring together all the left, progressive forces for organised joint action by the labour movement against big business and the monopolies.

This is how the policy is formulated in the programme adopted by the 1959 Party Congress: "In the struggle against big capital, for peace, democracy and socialism, the working class must unite with all other groups of the working people to create a broad front against big capital and reaction.

"The working class wants to employ only peaceful means, which accord with its own interests and those of the Swiss people. But the means and forms of struggle depend not only on the working class, but also on the behaviour of the bourgeoisie, on the means and forms the capitalists and the bourgeois state employ against the working class. The course of the struggle will depend also on the unity and solidarity of the working class, united action by Communist and Workers' parties with the Social Democratic parties, on united trade union action, and on our success in forming a broad working people's front."

Our early efforts for left unity were unsuccessful. In the late 50s, ...

widespread anti-Communist sentiments, at times bordering on the hysterical, especially in German-speaking Switzerland, made things extremely difficult for the Party. The right-wing reformist trade union leadership, committed to a policy of "social partnership" and "class peace", flatly rejected cooperation with our Party. More, it organised a witch-hunt and smear campaign against Party members active in the unions, and banned them from holding union posts.

Right up to the mid-60s the Social-Democratic Party blindly followed NATO policy. It approved every act of imperialist violence—the intervention in the Congo, the French terror against the liberation fighters in Algeria, even, at first, the US intervention in Vietnam.

Only the radical change in the world balance of political and economic forces compelled a reappraisal of Social-Democratic policy. It required long years of sustained struggle by our Party, plus the hard lessons of inflation and aggravated class struggle for the Social-Democrats to consign the old anti-Communist directives to the archives.

In the early 70s they were more inclined towards joint action with our Party, notably in French-speaking Switzerland. The two parties and trade unions waged a joint campaign in defence of tenants, better old age social insurance, worker co-determination at factory level, etc.

In 1970 the right-to-a-home slogan met with wide response throughout the country, and for the first time we had an effective broad front of Social-Democrats, Communists, tenants' organisations, trade unions, etc. This was the prototype of the anti-monopoly front our Party has been promoting for such a long time. It now became possible to mount joint solidarity campaigns, for instance, in support of democrats and anti-fascists in Chile.

In 1971 the National Party Conference adopted a new programme after it had been discussed in all Party branches. Titled "What the Swiss Party of Labour is Working For", it amplifies our position on unity of all the popular forces. We call for a broad popular movement for political renewal and a progressive government, a movement that will bring together all the forces of labour which, in one form or another, are exploited by big capital and are the victims of its domination. The programme stresses the importance of uniting these scattered and isolated forces, steadily forging unity by joint defence of common demands in the struggle against the big financial and monopoly interests.

This popular alliance would gradually draw into the struggle wider sections of blue-collar and white-collar workers, intellectuals, technicians, peasants, handicraftsmen, small businessmen and also group-interest organisations (associations of senior citizens, tenants, consumers, etc.).

The new Party programme declares: "Fundamental reform of society and the road to socialism and subsequently to communism, the ultimate

goal of the Party of Labour, are possible only if the working class—the most progressive part of society—is united in struggle and is able to rally all the democratic and popular forces. Consequently, our Party's policy aims at such unity and a broad alliance of all the forces of labour and the people against the domination of big capital. United action by the Party of Labour and the Social-Democratic Party in all areas is destined to play a key role in bringing about this broad popular movement.

"While pursuing its policy of broad unity, the Party of Labour maintains its independence and will do everything to raise the political consciousness of its members. It will not yield to impatience and will not allow itself to be driven into isolation for the sake of so-called ideological purity. But neither will it allow itself to be drawn into hopeless reformist practices. On the contrary, every step it takes must serve to raise the level of the struggle and be a step towards socialism."

We call not only for unity of the Swiss working class. There has been a mass influx of foreign workers, chiefly from Italy and Spain, since the war. Our Party attaches immense importance to unity of Swiss and foreign workers as an essential condition for concrete results in the struggle, especially since big capital is trying to set them against each other.

Militant unity should begin with common, simultaneous and agreed action and trade union recruitment. The shortcomings of the unions, with their "industrial peace" policy, are well known, but that is precisely why we should infuse new blood so as to influence union policy and change it and provide opportunities for joint action not only on the shop floor or building site, and not only in support of higher wages and other material demands, but also to assure the workers control over economic development, give them decent low-rent housing, more schools, hospitals, and confidence in the future.

Our last Party congress drew up a list of demands which would in many ways improve the position of the foreign workers. In particular, the Party calls for "immediate repeal of the seasonal-worker status which is a disgrace to a democratic state; freedom of movement; full equality in exercising the right of assembly and organisation without political discrimination; legal guarantees against deportation and other arbitrary acts, etc.

"The Party of Labour will combat all attempts to sow discord among the workers and divert their attention from the real causes of the present economic and social difficulties. It believes that unity of the entire working population is essential to the success of the class struggle."

This clear-cut internationalist position is especially important in the present crisis situation, with the growing hostility towards foreign workers. The ultra-rights are telling the people that all the problems created by the crisis, the shortage of schools, housing, etc., can be simply solved [illegible]

deporting all foreign workers. By putting all the blame on the foreign workers, the pro-fascist demagogues tried to split the labour movement. At first they met with some success, but left unity on this issue was no small factor in bringing about the defeat of extreme reaction.[1] Our Party is continuing the fight against reactionary forces that hold the foreign workers responsible for Switzerland's economic difficulties.

Switzerland, too, has been caught in the capitalist world economic crisis. The boom is now no more than a memory. More and more factories are closing down, shifting to short-time working, putting workers on forced "holidays", laying off large numbers. The employers are using all this for a massive assault on the social gains won during the boom period. They refuse to raise wages to meet soaring prices, and, of course, there is no talk of raising real wages. The number of unemployed is relatively small: the official estimate is "a few tens of thousands".[2] It does not take into account the "export" of unemployment: over 100,000 so-called seasonal workers have gone back to Italy, Spain and other countries and cannot return to Switzerland because they have lost their jobs. To this should also be added the hundreds of technicians and other specialists who do not come under the unemployment insurance scheme and do not therefore figure in the statistics. Then there are women left without jobs and school-leavers looking for jobs. All in all, the number of unemployed is considerably above the official figure, and this not counting those on a short week.

There is widespread fear of losing one's job. The employers believe that they can use this to push through their reactionary plans. But the system of "industrial peace" and "social partnership" is visibly losing ground.

There is growing dismay and anxiety among workers who for many years had no part in the class struggle and whose class consciousness was dulled by reformist theories. The word "strike" had little meaning for them, especially the young workers, but now it is taking on a very real and concrete meaning. There have already been strikes against lay-offs, short-time and wage cuts. The union rank and file is pressuring the leadership, and for the first time in many years the unions called for nationwide demonstrations. They were the first, though not mass, actions showing that resistance to capitalist tyranny is growing.

Our Party is fully aware of its responsibility, has a clear understanding of its goals and is prepared to work for them. The 10th Party Congress

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[1] The draft law on the expulsion of foreign workers was defeated in the October 1974 referendum by a 66 per cent majority. For more details see J. Vincent's article in the February 1975 issue of this journal.—*Ed.*

[2] 18 months ago, in September 1974, there were only 92 registered unemployed.—*Ed.*

(June 1974) drew up an action programme against the monopoly offensive. It is directed against inflation and the crisis, the wage freeze and the policy of making the blue-collar and white-collar workers, handicraftsmen and small farmers shoulder the burden of the crisis. The 10th Congress initiated a national campaign against high prices and inflation. The 90,000 signatures in support of the campaign collected by Party activists and members in a short time,[3] is a signal success and is evidence of our comrades' will to carry on the struggle.

The proposals we submitted to the Federal Government at the end of May 1975 provide for control of prices, profits and investments; restrictions of the omnipotence of the cartels and trusts up to and including nationalisation of monopoly concerns and top corporations; democratic tax reform with a progressive tax on high incomes and property and smaller taxes on low and middle incomes. Switzerland must cease to be a tax haven for capitalists from all over the world.

These demands will necessitate structural changes and infringe the very basis of the capitalist system. The fact that they have won such mass support testifies to the correctness of our policy and to the growth of our Party's influence on the labour movement. But the Party still has to win, mobilise and unite all the progressive forces behind its referendum demands.

Early last year we added new demands to offset the effects of the present economic crisis. Above all, we want:

— guaranteed full employment;

— an end to overtime, a shorter workday without reduction in wages;

— severance pay; employer-funded job training and retraining and, where necessary, relocation expenses; guarantees against worse conditions and lower pay when transferred to another job; full pension for workers who have to retire before reaching pension age;

— revision of the unemployment insurance system to provide higher unemployment benefits—largely at the expense of the employer—and for longer periods.

The Party wants to unite all the forces, both inside and outside the trade unions, to bring our programme to reality. This is bound to be a long uphill struggle, but we are fully confident that it will end in success. This is expressed in the concluding words of the 10th Congress resolution: "The Party of Labour is the only organised force alive to the need to fight for a fundamental restructuring of society. In this struggle it plays a vanguard role, a role no other party can assume. With implicit faith in the members of our Party and those who follow its lead, we continue our tireless struggle to build a new, socialist Switzerland."

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[3] The number required for a national referendum is 50,000.—*Ed.*

Section Conferences in Italian Communist Party

Prior to the annual, conferences of the 12,000 sections of the Italian Communist Party now taking place, the Party's Fifth Commission (in charge of organisational matters) approved the general orientation and specified discussion points.

Party activists in town and country are urged to show greater initiative in implementing the policy of alliances and carrying out the Party line for unity within the framework of extensive struggles and political discussions. The conferences, public as usual, are an important means of comparing the Party's positions with those of other democratic forces. They help to specify the line approved by the 14th Party Congress, a line which the sections must strive to implement in the best possible way.

We owe the atmosphere in which the conferences are being held to the Party's success in 1975. On June 15 last, 11,263,000 Italians, or 32.5 per cent of the electorate, or 4.5 per cent more than in the previous elections, voted Communist. Local government in five regions, 41 provinces and 2,712 municipalities is now exercised under Communist leadership or with Communist participation. The Party has over 1,730,000 members. Last year it admitted 156,458 new members. Receipts from subscriptions to the Communist press amounted to 5,120 million lire (*Unita*, December 4, 1975). The ICP has demonstrated its ability to organise major mass actions and to play a leading political and ideological role. The progress it has made and its understanding of existing difficulties enable the Party, in particular to solve new problems arising from the crisis and the present domestic situation.

As in the past, an immediate task to which attention is called at the conferences is to reinforce the leading cadre, first of all by promoting workers, and ensure an adequate ICP presence in all democratic bodies, district committees, neighbourhood councils, mountain communes and

local factory, school and sanitary councils, as well as in government agencies.

Another task is to increase Party finances through the usual channels (initiation fees, membership dues, fund-raising).

The ICP's organisational questions are closely linked with its strategy and its militant character as a mass party and are also a topic of discussion with other parties.

The section conferences will also have to search for ways and means of establishing a more correct ratio between the Party's concrete economic and social activity and its theoretical work and initiatives on the general aspects of the political, cultural and ideological struggle.

M.R

Rightist Offensive in "Defence of Democracy"

Georg Kwiatowski
Otto Sanchez

We hear again and again of the persecution of Communists in various countries. Repressive measures are also taken against people active in other progressive political movements.

The *WMR* Commission on Problems of the National Liberation Movement in Latin America discussed this topic at a recent meeting. The facts cited by its members revealed the extent of imperialist crimes.

In Guatemala, in the past twelve years repressions have taken the toll of 17,000 to 20,000 people, including hundreds of leading and rank-and-file members of the Party of Labour. Among those who paid with their lives in fighting for the liberation and independence of the country were two general secretaries of the Party—Bernardo Alvarado Monzon and Humberto Alvarado—and 19 Central Committee members.

In Paraguay, about 500 political prisoners have been behind bars for 10, 15 or even 18 years. As far back as 1961 a court ruled that Antonio Maidana, Chairman of the Paraguayan Communist Party, must be released, but he is still in detention "on orders from the President of the Republic." Recently Miguel Angel Soler, secretary of the Central Committee, was imprisoned.

In an appeal to international public opinion the Brazilian Communist Party lists the Central Committee members executed by the dictatorship and calls for action to save the lives of Communists who were kidnapped and whose fate is unknown. In Uruguay, with a population of 2,700,000, there are 5,000 political prisoners. Another 600 were seized late in 1975.

In Bolivia, El Salvador, Nicaragua and, especially, Chile, thousands of Communists and democrats are tortured and held in jail or concentration

camps. The lives of Luis Corvalan and other Chilean patriots are in danger in spite of angry world-wide protests.

We cannot here cite all facts to show the entire gravity of the situation shaping in Argentina, Colombia and other Latin American countries. But we wish to stress that this series of acts of violence and brutal treatment is not at all accidental. What is going on, the Commission noted, is organised terror in its most inhuman forms, and the current offensive of reaction in Latin America is part of the global strategy of US imperialism on the continent, and retaliation to the growing peoples' movement against imperialist domination, against fascism, for national and social liberation, for democracy and peace.

To us representatives of Communist parties on the journal, these grim facts are particularly real, for repression often involves people we know well—our fellow-Communists or one-time colleagues with whom we worked on the journal. Many members of the journal's international staff have gone through the bitter experience of arrest, persecution, torture and imprisonment. Jose Lava, representative of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the journal, spent about 20 years in prison; Naim Ashhab representative of the Jordanian Communist Party, Adel Haba, representative of the Iraqi Communist Party, Jaakoub Garro, representative of the Syrian Communist Party, and other comrades were in prison for many years. It is sad to know the Communists who a short time ago represented the brother parties of Brazil and Sudan on the journal are in detention now.

Are political repression and anti-communist measures common only under fascist regimes?

In Spain, where the rule of a fascist dictator has come to an end, Communists and workers' leaders are still in prison. Premier Arias Navarro has said that he completely rules out the possibility of legalising the Communist Party. Bombs explode and bloody clashes continue in Portugal, where reaction aggravates the situation by fomenting anti-communist sentiment and preventing solution of the political crisis. Over 300 acts of terrorism were committed in a mere eight months, with over half of them directed against the Communist Party.

Every day brings evidence that the persecution of Communists and other progressives is becoming more and more typical of countries governed by bourgeois democratic regimes.

This is exemplified by the West German law on "radicals", under which among other things, Communists are barred from practising the teaching profession. In Hesse Land alone, this ban has already affected 59 teachers who include the sons and daughters of anti-fascists, genuine democrats

Communist views are the only reason why people are not allowed to practise their vocation; they are robbed of a livelihood and discriminated in other ways. Recently the Bundestag enacted a new law under which West German citizens "supporting or inciting acts of violence detrimental to the existence or security of the Federal Republic of Germany" can be sentenced to a term of up to three years in prison. The danger of the authorities persecuting fighters for democracy and progress under this law is self-evident. The Presidium of the German Communist Party published a statement stressing that this is another blow at the democratic rights of all working people aimed at curbing the activity of progressives, first of all Communists.

In Italy, where every third citizen votes Communist, anti-communism expresses itself in attacks by the bourgeois press and politicians and in fascist acts of terrorism. A wave of violence swept the country shortly before and during the latest municipal elections. There were assassinations in Milan, Naples and Florence and acts of sabotage on railways. Bombs were planted in the offices of local government bodies in which the Communists hold strong positions. Nor is this list of fascist crimes complete.

The French Communist Party has repeatedly protested in the past year against the "fierce anti-communist campaign" in the country. Communists are forbidden to carry on propaganda work in the enterprises. Andree Lefrere, a Communist member of the Paris Council, was not allowed to present an account of her activity to the electorate, although this is a right granted by law to every elected person. This happened in "democratic" France. Speaking at a Central Committee meeting, General Secretary Georges Marchais said: "The country's leaders, right-wing politicians, radio and television, major newspapers, the employers' press—in short all of the big bourgeoisie's mass media—are mustered against us. They misrepresent our policies and our goals, resorting to crude lies as well as to biased selection of information, distorting our documents, grossly exaggerating certain facts while ignoring or doctoring others . . ." (*L'Humanite*, May 29, 1975).

In Britain, Dennis Warren a Communist trade unionist, has been in jail for two years now although the country's progressive opinion demands his release. A building worker with five children, he was arrested for leading a picket during a general strike of builders. The authorities seized him under a law against "conspiracy" dating from 1875. For the first time in this century this law was used against pickets. Speaking in court, Dennis Warren rightly described his arrest as an act of "class vengeance".

Press reports show that right-wing imperialist forces are trying to stop the Communist movement in Asia as well, though the opportunities for anti-communist action are not the same everywhere. In Indonesia two Communists, Gatot Sutario and Joko Untunga, were sentenced to death on a

charge of reviving Communist activity. A third defendant died during the trial. In India reactionary violence assumed so dangerous a scale last summer as to pose what the Communists described as a real danger of a counter-revolutionary dictatorship and reversal of the country's progressive policy of independent economic development and political sovereignty. The Communist Party of Japan recently protested against police surveillance of its members and other democrats.

The United States is celebrating its bicentenary. Anniversary speeches heap praises on the American social system and way of life. "Democratic", "free" and "popular" stand out among the expressions used. But modern American history is also a record of brutal persecution of Communists and democrats. The latest exposure of CIA and FBI crimes brought to light the infamous methods used by these organisations. Nor is all this a thing of the past, for life remains hard for US Communists. To cite an example, Philip Burns, a high-school teacher at Plainfield, was discharged in spite of public protest just because he is a Communist.

It is in this way, by taking on diverse guises and using diverse methods, that reaction persecutes us Communists, as well as other democrats and progressives.

Reactionary offensives today generally assume an anti-communist character. Anti-communism has been the pivot of the bourgeoisie's overall class strategy ever since the Communists emerged as the party of the working class.

The first legal action against Communists, the notorious Cologne trial of 1852, was designed to rout "Marx's party". Ever since then, for more than a hundred years the contest between communism and anti-communism has been central to the ideological and political struggle going on in the world.

Why are Communists persecuted so openly and by such refined methods for essentially the most humane convictions? Because this contest is expressive of irreconcilable contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between the forces of reaction and those of progress. With the passage of time, the imperialists revise the methods of their anti-Communist strategy, but its aims do not change: while they cannot destroy Communist parties physically (the strength of the communist movement today is well known), they try to undermine their positions and isolate them from the masses; they slander them and take repressive measures against the more active Communists so as to prevent a fusion of the labour and democratic movements with the working-class vanguard and check the inexorable advance of the world revolutionary process.

Experience shows that the weaker the positions of imperialism and the more palpable the gains of progressive forces, the greater is the scope of

the struggle against Communists, against the revolutionary world outlook of our time.

What is the reason for the intensified attacks of reaction? They are obviously due, first of all, to a weakening of the positions of imperialism. A protracted economic crisis is aggravating and denuding the contradictions of the capitalist system, intensifying social upheavals and calling into question the system itself. Besides, imperialism has suffered military and political defeats and lost its domination and influence in many parts of the globe (events in Southeast Asia are a good illustration). In spite of reactionary resistance, detente has gained much ground, which is a tremendous achievement of socialism and other forces of peace and progress.

The monopoly bourgeoisie and reactionaries generally are greatly concerned about the prospects of Communists coming to power in a number of countries in alliance with other progressives, with the support of millions of working people. The entire bourgeois press is sounding an alarm. At the beginning of this year, the *New York Times* wondered editorially what the United States could or should do in view of Communist gains all over Europe, from Portugal to Greece, specifically in France, Spain and Italy. This is a noteworthy fact: many newspapers calling themselves independent, as well as many "independent" ideologists, are eager to defend democracy with might and main, to uphold the freedom of action of diverse political movements, but only as long as the pillars of capitalism are not affected. They forget all about freedom, democracy and independence on hearing the word "Communist". And they consider all means fair in fighting the Communists.

The current offensive of reaction is being conducted under the slogan of "defending democracy". But history has shown more than once that by "defending" democracy against the "danger from the left", advocates of anti-communism and those who implement its strategy clear the decks for rightists, for the most anti-democratic forces of our time. The record of German fascism shows this only too plainly. Beginning with anti-communism the nazis soon revealed their true nature as the worst enemies of mankind. Who has failed to learn the lessons of the past, can see the same today: the fascist dictatorship in Chile, the reactionary regimes in Uruguay and some other countries are a grave menace to other countries and peoples as well.

Many will remember the events in Brescia, Italy, where the fascists staged a massacre during peaceful rallies in the spring of 1974. The working people countered this by a general strike and protest demonstrations. But what made fascist terror possible?

"For many years and even decades," Enrico Berlinguer said at a plenum after these events, "the authorities were inclined to regard the working-class

movement, the trade unions and, above all, the Communists as 'subversive elements'. At the same time they regard the criminal actions of really subversive elements and extremists, namely, the rightists and fascists, as partly a reaction of adherents of law and order, 'a reaction that, while excessive, was useful in its way because it could serve as a counterweight to the working-class movement" (*L'Unita*, June 4, 1974).

It would be naive to imagine that anti-communism means only struggle against Communists. The persecution of Communists was described by Marx as the prelude to a "crusade" against all dissenters, Lenin, who warned against excessive illusions about the "democracy" of bourgeois governments and states, saw a law of bourgeois democracy in the fact that whenever there is a serious political divergence dangerous to the bourgeoisie, the latter comes close to a "pogrom or civil war" (*Coll. Works*, Vol 28, p. 245).

The facts show that law in action.

In West Germany up to 800,000 people had to pass a "loyalty test" under the "law on radicals". This "law" has already affected about 2,000 progressives, including Social-Democrats. Professor Dieter Narr, a Social-Democrat and well-known scholar, was refused a post in a higher educational institution because he maintained contacts with the antiwar "Easter march" movement. Another Social-Democrat, Charlotte Niess, was refused a judge's post because she is a board member of the Association of Democratic Lawyers. In France the authorities persecute active trade unionists and in Chile repressions have spread even to the church.

Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay, rightly said that a cudgel swung against Communists also hits every anti-imperialist movement. Those who are indifferent to the persecution of Communists today and, indeed, abet it may become its victims tomorrow. This, too, has occurred many times before.

Communists are well aware of the danger which these developments present to social progress in general and never stop fighting, no matter how hard conditions become.

The Communists of Guatemala are working with fresh energy, having restored their leadership and unity after the telling blows struck by reaction. In spite of repression and intimidation, mass demonstrations take place in the country. Led by Communists and other progressives, they are an open challenge by the working people to a government of usurpers.

West German Communists campaign in common with other progressives against the "law on radicals", exposing its anti-democratic, anti-constitutional bias. They organise protest rallies and demonstrations, public discussions and conferences, bring out various kinds of information and dis-

tribute leaflets in the streets. They have already collected over one million signatures to a document demanding repeal of the law.

However, our task is not only self-defence, not only upholding this or that demand or right. We see the chief task in strengthening our organisa-tion, winning the masses, depriving rightist trends of their social basis by exposing their nature and thereby undermining the positions of imperialism.

Experience gained over many years shows that in any country a powerful alliance of all genuine democrats and all progressive movements, whose unity the Communists advocate, can become a force capable of effectively resisting and ending repression. In the world arena, this force is, first and foremost, international Communist solidarity, the concrete and effective force which has already saved thousands of lives and tied the hands of fascists on more than one occasion. Its impact on world events is growing. The Communists, inspired by what they see as inviolable internationalist principles, must set an example of unity and solidarity in the face of reaction, especially when the lives of our comrades are in danger and when it is a question of confidence in our common cause and loyalty to it, of ensuring the triumph of our ideals.

Speaking of the Paris Commune, the first workers' state in history crushed and destroyed by reaction, Lenin wrote: "...Paris lost about 100,000 of its best people, including some of the finest workers in all trades.

"The bourgeoisie were satisfied. 'Now we have finished with socialism for a long time,' said their leader, the bloodthirsty dwarf, Thiers, after he and his generals had drowned the proletariat of Paris in blood. But these bourgeois crows croaked in vain. Less than six years after the suppression of the Commune, when many of its champions were still pining in prison or in exile, a new working-class movement arose in France. A new socialist generation, enriched by the experience of their predecessors and no whit discouraged by their defeat, picked up the flag which had fallen from the hands of the fighters in the cause of the Commune and bore it boldly and confidently forward. Their battle-cry was: "Long live the social revolution! Long live the Commune!" And in another few years, the new workers' party and the agitational work launched by it throughout the country compelled the ruling classes to release Communards who were still kept in prison by the government" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 17, pp 142-143)

These words sound most revealing today.

We are convinced that the communist movement is invincible and that socialism will triumph. But we are well aware that imperialism does not surrender its positions without fierce resistance. We still have to carry on a stubborn fight that will be successful only if we combine vigorous action in each country with growing international solidarity and the growing unity and cohesion of our forces.

A Communist Mayor for Nazareth

Zahi Karkabi

The Communists of Israel are doing all they can to rally the masses in the struggle for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East, the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all occupied lands, recognition of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, and the establishment of a lasting peace in our region. At the same time the Communist Party pays the closest attention to the everyday needs and demands of the working people. It sees one of its paramount tasks in blocking the skyrocketing prices and the rapidly failing standard of living, and defending the democratic and civil freedoms, the economic and social rights of the people. In the atmosphere of chauvinism, militarism and anti-communism prevailing in the country the Party, despite enormous difficulties, is persistently strengthening contacts with the working class and the masses, spreading its influence in society. The CPI makes active use of all forms and methods of political struggle, including elections to the Knesset, municipal councils in the cities and local councils in the villages.

The local authorities in Israel still have their importance in spite of the continuous narrowing of their rights by the government. They are responsible for administering the local affairs of the population such as education, health services, public utilities, collecting local taxes.

The CPI invariably takes part in municipal elections, with the ruling Zionist parties doing their best to prevent the Party candidates from being elected, and even more from becoming partners in the coalition on this or that council. Still the growing prestige of the Party, and its policy of building democratic fronts in the elections have enabled it to send its representatives to many city and village councils, and to become a partner in coalitions.

Our Party scored a particularly sweeping victory in the municipal elections of December 9, 1975, in Nazareth (Galilee). For the first time a Communist, Comrade Tawfiq Zayyad, member of the CC of the CPI and Knesset deputy and also a well-known Arab poet, was elected to the post of mayor of this biggest Arab city in Israel, receiving 67.3 per cent of the votes. The Democratic Front of Nazareth, initiated and led by the Communist Party of Israel, won 11 of the council's 17 seats.[1] This was a big defeat for the policy of racial discrimination and a major victory for the people of Nazareth.

Nazareth, a city with a rapidly growing Arab population,[2] developed from a small town with a population of 15,000 in 1948 into a city with a population of 40,000 in 1975. The population growth, as well as the authorities' discriminatory policies brought the city into a very difficult situation.

Until 1974 the majority of the municipal council was of supporters of the Zionist ruling parties. They supported the government's reactionary domestic and aggressive and expansionist foreign policies. The former mayors and municipal councillors, who supported the Zionist leadership of the country, took no exception to the government's confiscation of big tracts of land of Nazareth for the purpose of building the Upper (Jewish) Nazareth.[3] They accepted the discrimination of the city in all that concerns the social services to the population and other aspects.[4]

The former administration neglected the interests of the city and its population. Corruption and protectionism flourished. The acute problems facing the population did not find their solution. To this day the city lacks adequate sanitary services, electricity, water supply and sewerage systems. Not a single factory has been built since 1948, while the very few which were in the city had to be closed because of the policy of racial discrimi-

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[1] Other seats shared by the ruling Labour Party (4) and National Religious Party (2).

[2] In the 1950s the so-called (Jewish) Nazareth began to be built near ancient Nazareth (according to tradition the boyhood home of Jesus Christ) in keeping with the Zionist leadership's programme of "Judaising" the Galilee. The land for Upper Nazareth was confiscated from Arab Nazareth and from neighbouring Arab villages. It is intended for Jewish immigrants. The new city (population 20,000) with modern industrial enterprises and social institutions has a municipality of its own.

[3] The area of Nazareth municipality has shrunk from 15,000 dunams (1 dunam around 0.1 hectare) in 1948 to 7,500 dunams in 1975. Nazarath is suffocating because of lack of new areas to expand and develop.

[4] The government assistance to the municipality of Nazareth ranges between 40 Israeli pounds per person every year while the assistance given to Jewish municipalities is about 250 Israeli pounds per person.

nation. As a result two-thirds of the adult male population have ... far from their homes.

The Communist faction in the municipal council waged a persistent militant struggle for the daily interests and demands of the population Nazareth. It combined struggle inside the council with action outside drawing on the masses and winning the support of progressive organi... tions. The Communists' cooperation with them expanded and gained stren... th, thus paving the way to joint action. The most important action take... by the Party and these organisations was the successful general strike o... April 4, 1975, against the authorities' intention to increase the municipa... tax.

The Communists owe their success also to the fact that in their propaganda they connect the further aggravation of local problems with the government's general policy of war and occupation. They explain, for instance, that the lack of funds to build schools and improve the different social services is a result of the steadily growing military spending. This explanation helps to raise the political consciousness of the masses, and enables the Party to mobilise them more actively in the struggle for a just peace in the Middle East.

Under the pressure of the masses the former mayor of Nazareth had to resign. The Minister of the Interior dissolved the municipal council and appointed a committee of government employees to administer the city. The Communist Party in Nazareth called for early elections to a new municipal council, and when its request was not accepted, it appealed to the High Court of Justice asking for interference. The result was a decision to hold elections in December 1975. The prestige and influence of the Communist Party in Nazareth (it received 42 per cent of the votes in the municipal elections of 1970), and the general opposition of the population to the racial policy of the government and the pro-government majority on the municipal council towards Nazareth, created the conditions for rallying the progressive forces. The Democratic Front included the Communist Party, the Association of Intellectuals, the Organisation of Merchants and Artisans, the University Students of Nazareth, and other progressive elements.

Immediately after its establishment the front carried out active work: in every quarter of the city groups of activists were organised, which conducted explanatory work among the population.

The programme of the front states in detail the suggested solution for every problem facing the city. The front sees one of its main tasks in the struggle for the complete equality of the Arab population, against all discrimination and the plans of forcible "Judaising", as well as against the plans of confiscating Arab land in Nazareth and elsewhere.

The programme also states that the front is an alliance of forces whose

...itical views are different, but who are all agreed on the necessity of strengthening the Jewish-Arab understanding. The relations between the two peoples, the programme says, must be based on mutual respect for the rights of each of them.

The Zionist ruling parties, exploiting religious and communal feelings,[5] made repeated, though unsuccessful, attempts to undermine the front and prevent its candidate, Tawfiq Zayyad, from being elected to the post of mayor. Ministers came to Nazareth, spoke at public meetings, persuaded the people not to vote for the front, going to the length of open threats and provocations. For instance, Labour Minister Moshe Baran said that the front was "subversient to Soviet imperialism" and that its candidate "may be an agent of Arafat". But all attempts at intimidation and fraud misfired. The Democratic Front of Nazareth, which is now responsible for administering the city, is planning steps to deal with its pressing problems. The front is looking for ways to strengthen its ties with the population of the city in order to mobilise their support and their initiative. Popular committees are being established in all the quarters of the city to maintain permanent link with the population. Much importance attaches to publicity: from now on all municipal council sittings will be public. It is planned to clear the city administration of corrupt elements.

The election results caused panic in the Zionist circles of Israel. They also alarmed the foreign patrons of the Israeli Zionists, as evidenced by the numerous imperialist press comments on this event.

The Communist Party of Israel achieved an important victory in Nazareth. This victory shows that the Party is following a correct road, combining the struggle for the solution of major problems engendered by the Middle East crisis with the struggle for the day-to-day interests of the masses, in defence of their daily demands. This has reaffirmed the correctness of the line towards unity with all those who are ready to take part in the struggle for the interests of the masses both on the scale of the whole country and in each factory, each city quarter and each village.

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[5] The population of Nazareth consists of the Christian and the Moslem communities.

Ten Years in a Revolutionary-Democratic Government

Omar al-Sibai

Q. For ten years now the Syrian CP has been in the government, along with different other progressive political forces. What have been the results?

A. The question of Communist participation in government is necessarily linked with the situation in the country and the nature of that government. Down the years, we have been illegal, semi-legal and legal, depending on the political set-up. After February 23, 1966, and especially after November 1970, opportunities appeared to work at parliamentary and governmental levels, and to forge a broad front of progressive forces. Revolutionary democrats oriented on socialism assumed leadership in the Arab Socialist Baath Party and in the country.[1] This is why the Central Committee of the Syrian CP agreed for Communists to participate in the government. In the new conditions it meant greater influence of Communists and all other progressive forces on the country's development.

There were three basic factors behind our move:

— alliance with the Arab Socialist Baath Party and other progressive national forces;

— preservation of SCP independence, that is, freedom to proclaim and follow our own political line;

— consistent promotion of the working people's interests, promotion of their demands.

Time has shown that our decision was sound. An agrarian reform is under way with the active support of the Communists, big enterprises have been nationalised, and there have been other progressive social and economic developments. The rate of economic growth and industrialisation has increased visibly since November 1970. The National Progressive Front brought together the leading parties and organisations on a revolutionary-democratic platform. Syria has held its first local elections. A Constitution

[1] On February 23, 1966, the Left Baathists assumed leadership in the Party and in the country. They set progressive social aims, and follow an anti-imperialist policy in international affairs, in particular, on the Middle East problem. Their positions became stronger still in November 1970, when the military wing headed by Hafez Assad moved into the leadership.

has been adopted, and there is an elective People's Council.

The Arab Socialist Baath Party played the leading role in all these moves. But Communist participation in government, coupled with the Party's organisational and political work among the masses, has contributed greatly to a consistent and faithful implementation of the reforms, and helped to consolidate the progressive national regime, Syria's international prestige, and her vanguard role in the Arab national-liberation movement. Our participation in the government has helped defend the interests of the working people, promote the state sector in the economy, and build up the country's economic potential. Also, it facilitated closer and broader relations with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community.

Q. How is the struggle for progressive social aims reflected in your work as a minister? What are the practical forms of cooperation among representatives of different parties in the government.

A. The ministry I have been entrusted with controls branches of crucial importance for Syria's economy and defence—transport and communications. The programmes worked out to assure development are helping to raise the country's economic potential and living standards. They also conform with the general objectives set by the revolutionary forces in the National Patriotic Front, including the Communist Party. This is the practical basis for cooperation in specific fields.

We have accomplished much. A railway has been built joining the northern agricultural areas with the Mediterranean. A new motor-road connects the main Syrian cities The network of roads and highways linking towns and villages has been expanded. Communications have improved, with the number of telephones quadrupling in four years.

I have cordial relations with the other members of the government, with the Baathists, with all who accept the common platform of the National Patriotic Front and believe that unity of all progressive forces is in the country's interests.

Certainly, difficulties arise from time to time in the government, and also in the Ministry. But we are coping with them. The Communist Party's criticism of the regime's vacillation and occasional inconsistency, is not an act of opposition to the revolutionary-democratic government, and is only meant to make it stronger. The Party regards its alliance with the revolutionary democrats (and Khaled Baghdash, General Secretary of our Central Committee, stressed this at the 4th SCP Congress in 1974) as a long-term arrangement. It is convinced that many revolutionary democrats will ultimately accept scientific socialism, that it will be possible to go over gradually from the stage of non-capitalist development to the building of socialism.

Meeting of Central Committee Secretaries of Communists and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries

A meeting of Central Committee secretaries of the Communist and Workers' parties of socialist countries on international and ideological questions was held in Warsaw on January 26. The Bulgarian Communist Party was represented by Alexander Lilov, Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary, and Konstantin Tellalov, Central Committee secretary; the Communist Party of Cuba by Raul Garcia Pelaez, Secretariat member: the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia by Josef Havlin, Central Committee secretary; the Socialist Unity Party of Germany by Kurt Hager, Hermann Axen, and Werner Lamberz, Political Bureau members and Central Committee secretaries; the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party by Miklos Ovari, Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary, and Imre Gyori, Central Committee secretary; the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party by Dojidiin Chimiddorzh, Central Committee secretary; the Polish United Workers' Party by Jan Szydlak, Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary, Jerzy Lukaszewicz, alternate member of Political Bureau and Central Committee secretary, and Ryszard Frelek, Central Committee secretary; the Rumanian Communist Party by Stefan Andrei, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee and Central Committee secretary; the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by Boris Ponomaryov, alternate member of Political Bureau and Central Committee secretary, and Konstantin Katushev, Central Committee secretary. Also taking part were the heads and deputy heads and leading functionaries of the international and ideological departments of the Central Committees of the respective fraternal parties.

The meeting was opened by Jan Szydlak. The speakers were Alexander

Lilov, Miklos Ovari, Kurt Hager, Raul Garcia Pelaez, Dejidiin Chimiddorzh, Jan Szydlak, Stefan Andrei, Boris Ponomaryov and Josef Havlin.

The participants exchanged views on topical ideological and political questions in the light of the present struggle for deepening international detente and of the results of the European Security Conference.

It was noted with satisfaction that in the recent period there has been marked progress in multilateral and bilateral ideological cooperation of the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism in many spheres of information and propaganda, social sciences, education, publishing, the arts, culture, tourism, and in the activity of public organisations. This furthers continuous growth of cooperation in socialist and communist construction in each country, and consolidates the unity of the community of socialist states, their cooperation on the international scene.

The meeting stressed the ideological and political importance of the festivities on the 30th anniversary of the victory over fascism, the jubilees and other significant political events in the life of the fraternal parties and countries.

All participants stressed the historic importance of the European Security Conference, which offers opportunities for consolidating European security in the interest of all the peoples of the continent, the cause of world peace and cooperation. The results of the Helsinki Conference have created opportunities for mutually advantageous cooperation of states, irrespective of their social systems, in the economy, culture, science, education, information media and contacts between people based on strict observance of equality and sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.

The participants stressed that their countries, as recorded in official documents and statements, will in every way promote all the principles and commitments envisaged in the Final Act of the European Security Conference, and support the initiatives of all public forces to this effect.

The meeting emphasised the need for further efforts to deepen and materialise detente in every way, to end the arms drive and assure disarmament, to extend international cooperation and strengthen peace and security on all continents. The participants consider it important to invigorate the struggle against attempts to distort the content of the home and foreign policies of the socialist countries, and against reactionary imperialist ideology and propaganda, the policy of strength and diktat colonialism and neo-colonialism, anti-communism, fascism and racism. They expressed solidarity with the people of the People's Republic of Angola in their struggle for freedom and independence.

All-round popularisation in the socialist countries and elsewhere of the

achievements of each socialist country in the economy, science, culture, living standards, development of socialist democracy and international affairs is of fundamental importance.

The meeting was held in a purposeful and comradely atmosphere.

Meeting of the Drafting Group

The group preparing the draft of the final document for the conference of European Communist and Workers' parties met in Berlin on January 13-22.

Representatives of 24 fraternal parties took part. On the instructions of the drafting committee, the draft of the final document was comprehensively discussed and further elaborated.

The meeting was held in a constructive and comradely atmosphere.

Decisive Prerequisite for the Overthrow of Fascist Dictatorship

Sebastian Gonzalez

Mass struggle is dicisive for restoring democracy and Chile's revolutionary gains. The Communist Party stressed this in its very first statement after the fascist mutiny. "The working people and the popular masses," we said then, "will recover from this blow and will, beyond any doubt, again take charge of their Fatherland's destiny. As always, we shall lay emphasis on good organisation, unity, and struggle of the masses, on elevating their political consciousness."[1] The Party stresses in each of its statements that there cannot be effective and correct tactics without the closest concern for work with the masses, which is the key and determining condition of victory. The people will be denied the fruits of victory if the dictatorship is eliminated without the active participation of the masses.

Chile is experiencing bloody repressions on a scale unprecedented in our history. The popular movement has been compelled to retreat. Many of its structural links have been destroyed. In this difficulit situation, conciliatory tendencies, on the one hand, and terrorism by small groups, on the other, are particularly dangerous. They are fraught with lasting adverse consequences for the revolutionary movement. This is why it is important for us to overcome deviations and adhere to Lenin's principles. "Our principal and fundamental task is to facilitate the political development and the political organisation of the working class," wrote Lenin. "Those who push this task into the background, who refuse to subordinate to it all special tasks and particular methods of struggle, are following a false path and causing serious harm to the movement. And it is beong pushed into the back-

[1] *Al Pueblo Chileno*, Oct. 11, 1973. Edicion Clandestina.

ground, firstly, by those who call upon revolutionaries to employ only the forces of isolated conspiratorial circles cut off from the working-class movement in the struggle against the government. It is being pushed into the background, secondly, by those who restrict the content and scope of political propaganda, agitation and organisation; who think it fit and proper to treat the workers to 'politics' only at exceptional moments in their lives, only on festive occasions; who too solicitously substitute demands for partial concessions from the autocracy for the political struggle against the autocracy and who do not go to sufficient lengths to ensure that these demands for partial concessions are raised to the status of a systematic, implacable struggle of a revolutionary, working-class party against the autocracy" (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 4, p 369).

To build up mass action, we must first determine the revolutionary line through a correct assessment of the relation of forces. This will enable us to define and specify the tasks of the current revolutionary period, to pinpoint the main contradiction and, consequently, to identify the main enemies, as well as possible allies of the working class, which rally to its side in the process of the struggle, and also to determine those strata that can be neutralised. By virtue of its revolutionary content, such a line is readily accepted by the masses, and leads them into battle with the conviction that the chosen road is the road to victory. These questions are fundamental to the struggle for an anti-fascist front, and were reaffirmed by our Party jointly with other Popular Unity forces.

At once, ideological struggle for the unity of the working class and other revolutionary forces on the basis of the afore-mentioned line took top priority. We responded to criticism of our positions with convicing arguments or necessary explanations, but, more important still, found the proof of our approach in the struggle itself.

In the case of Chile, the anti-fascist line confirms the conclusions of the Havana Conference of Latin American Communist Parties. "It is clear," said its Declaration, "that the Latin American peoples cannot attain real progress without removing from political power the representatives of the classes and strata allied with imperialism. In our countries, profound socio-economic changes are impossible, not to speak of realising socialism, without eliminating the oppression on the part of US imperialism and the domination of transnational corporations".

In the political situation that has resulted from the fascist coup, the contradiction between the people of Chile, on the one hand, and Yankee imperialism and its ally (the local monopoly and landed oligarchy), on the other, is still the main contradiction. Prior to the victory of the Popular Unity government, the oligarchy adhered to more or less democratic forms of rule. Now it has fallen back on fascism as the only means of retaining

its predominance, and regaining and extending the privileges it lost during the three years of revolutionary government. Consequently, the anti-fascist front is a form of the anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist front. So, in following this revolutionary line it is important to maintain its continuity, and also assure further development.

Safeguarding the mass organisations created by the people in many years of struggle and assuring that revolutionaries participate in them, i.e., securing ties with the masses, has been the Party's central objective throughout the two years of the fascist dictatorship. This applies first and foremost to the trade union organisation of the working class and other working people, tenants' committees, maternal centres, student organisations, cultural centres, sports societies, and the like. "The anti-fascist front will arise chiefly at grassroots level, in the people's organisations, wherever people live, work, learn and rest," our Party pointed out. "That is where revolutionaries must do their work to unite the majority, to promote its aspirations, the realisation of which depends ultimately on what kind of government rules the country. The prime duty of every anti-fascist is to participate in the mass organisations. Fascism tries to prevent the public organisations of the Chilean people from showing independence........ This is why we anti-fascists must first of all safeguard and build up the large variety of organisations created by the people in the long struggle for its interests. To abandon these organisations in face of the difficulties created by the dictatorship is tantamount to surrender, playing into the hands of the fascists, allowing despicable collaborationists to assume leadership in them, depriving the people of its weapon— organisation—and exposing the country to abuse by the minority."[2]

This orientation, adopted jointly with our allies and other democratic forces has been fruitful. Most of the people's organisations continue to function. Certainly, their situation cannot be compared with what it was under the people's government: each day brings them new and serious difficulties. Democratic procedure has been wiped out. In most of them, tested leaders have been replaced by junta appointees. But nothing can stop them from expressing the interests of the people as they had done before, and to pursue a struggle, very severe in some sectors. In certain cases the junta's menials have been isolated, in others they have been compelled to go along with the immediate demands of the working people.

The developments in the trade union movement are incontestably the most important. In the second year of the dictatorship, the working people succeeded in regaining the right to celebrate May Day as a class holiday: attempts to organise official "celebrations" failed. The working people

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[2] *Al Partido y al Pueblo de Chile*, Dec. 1974. Edicion Clandestina.

held a demonstration and hundreds of meetings, which the junta h. outlawed when it understood that the farce it rigged up had fallen thr...

Twenty-four national trade union federations representing the ... majority of the working people rejected the labour legislation proposed by the junta, in particular the labour code the dictatorship tried to introduce but has not been able to saddle on the peaple in its original shape. The discussion of the junta's projects demonstrated the people's determination to safeguard the principle of a united trade union organisation against the parallelism proposed by the fascists. Irrespective of the final text of the imposed document, the defence of trade union unity by the vast majority is an unquestionably important victory for the working class.

The struggle for economic demands—higher wages and more jobs—is also becoming more intensive and is often joined by small and medium proprietors. In many cases the workers themselves, "without leaders", assume collective responsibility for sheltering activists against repressions or by taking measures to avert repressions. The fascists have been compelled to make certain, as a rule minor, concessions. But the main thing is that mass activity is expanding and the masses are regaining confidence. Popular Unity and Christain-Democratic Party organs responsible for trade union work have drawn up a national platform that includes political, as well as economic, demands. The floodtide of popular struggle is beginning to breach the dam put up by the fascists, and this is of immense political significance.

Strong ties with the masses are essential in preparing for the "final battle" against the dictatorship. By persevering, patient and tireless efforts, we are helping the working people to live through the present difficult times, and the working class to restore and unite its ranks, to raise its political consciousness, thus securing better positions for the decisive battles to come.

The revolutionary forces have to contend with violence and brutal repression. They work in the conditions of a forced retreat. There is no revolutionary situation in the country, though there are signs that it is beginning to mature. This is a period of gathering strength when "a prolonged effort to educate and organise the masses of the proletariat becomes particularly important. . . . This preparation must be more serious, taking account of higher and more concrete tasks" (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 15, p. 351).

We have taken on the job of defending the gains of the working class and of the people in the most difficult period of its history. All the work done so far is not entirely free of flaws and inaccuracies. But the Party is learning from the march, correcting mistakes, and improving its activity. From the very beginning, top priority went to the struggle against defeatist sen-

ments and all varieties of nihilism, in order to raise mass work to a higher level.

The enemy stops at nothing to discredit the Popular Unity government, compounding the real difficulties with slander. Repulsing the attacks, we do not hesitate to use criticism and self-criticism, because it helps the masses to understand the past and to draw lessons for the future. Victory in the ideological battle will enable us to miantain the political consciousness of the working class persecuted by fascism, and will facilitate the struggle for a new type of government. The results are already visible, and are also reflected in the behaviour of the middle strata. This is facilitated by the actions and policy of the fascists, which precipitated a national disaster. Comparisons are helping people to draw conclusions.

Chile is no exception as regards a typically fascist nationalist hysteria. The dictatorship resorts to great-power chauvinism or small-nation nationalism ("winning the leading role in Latin America" and "we are a small country attacked by two superpowers"), depending on the aim it wants to achieve. It uses nationalist ideology chiefly to gain a grip on the petty bourgeoisie, to corrupt the youth and to assure obedience of the armed forces.

Our Party adheres to patriotic proletarian positions linked unbreakably with consistent internationalism. It exposes chauvinism, while defending progressive national values.

The fight over this issue between the working class and fascism is yielding its first favourable results. Chiming in with the mass sentiment, the Catholic church has come out against chauvinism, against "excessive and rapturous praise of the motherland, which turns it into an idol", against fascist attempts to describe active opponents of the dictatorship as "antipatriotics", against the "aggressive nationalism trying to assert the superiority of one's own motherland, while belittling that of others", and, last but not least, against fascism's denunciations of "foreign" ideologies.[3]

Genuinely patriotic and consistently internationalist ideas free from all types of national nihilism, are of immense significance for the development of the anti-fascist front.

The Party is doing extensive explicative work among the masses also on questions of democracy. Fascism is the complete opposite of democracy, but it cannot and will never wipe out the democratic traditions created chiefly by the struggle of the working class and the people. We defend these traditions and, at the same time, combat all distortions of the Marxists' attitude to democracy. "Capitalism in general and imperialism in particular," Lenin said, "turn democracy into an illusion—though at the same time capitalism engenders democratic aspirations in the masses, creates democratic institutions, aggravates the antagonism between imperialism's denial

[3] "Evangelio y Paz", *Mensaje* No. 243, 1975.

of democracy and the mass striving for democracy. Capitalism and imperialism can be overthrown only by economic revolution. They cannot be overthrown by democratic transformations, even the most ideal. But a proletariat not schooled in struggle for democracy is incapable of performing an economic revolution' (Vol. 23, pp. 24-25).

It is our purpose to make the entire nation understand the meaning of what has happened in our country. In our time, nothing but advance to socialism can guarantee democracy. Its understanding of this has made the working class the main force in the struggle for democracy. Fascism only intensifies this tendency. This tends to strengthen the alliance of the working class with the middle strata, which have a stake in democracy by virtue of their social situation. This process is impossible if a negative attitude to law prevails in the revolutionary movement. And it is incomplete if we do not unite the struggle for democracy with the struggle for liberating the masses from all prejudices impeding completion of the anti-fascist struggle with the ultimate destruction of fascism's social base. This means that the concept of democracy has a revolutionary-democratic content. It is not a proletarian content, but is developing in that direction.

Our ideological confrontation with fascism was a prerequisite for reviving the mass movement. By bringing our view to the people in a clear and understandable way we frustrate fascist attempts to harden the reactionary-engineered split.

Our Party emphasises that only grassroots unity can be viable and durable. But we Communists are fully aware that the ideology of different parties, including the bourgeois parties, has left its imprint on the masses. That applies to the working class and even more so to the middle strata. Besides, Chile, like other countries, for a relatively long time had ingrained bourgeois-democratic customs and traditional parties whose influence on the masses is deeply rooted

Accentuating mass work does not mean underestimating the importance of unity agreements at the top. Anti-fascist unity must develop on the basis already created by the people. And that basis is the alliance of Socialists and Communists—the chief representatives of the working class—and strengthening Popular Unity, which represents the politically aware sections of the people. We are concentrating on raising the quality of that unity. We take into account the shortcomings in the united leadership of the Socialists and Communists and also of our allies, notably such a mass party as the Radicals. These shortcomings were one of the main reasons for our defeat

Unity of the working class based on a principled platform is a key factor in improving the quality of the alliance. That is a priority task both within our own Party and within the alliance. We are endeavouring to show the petty-bourgeois revolutionaries who claim to support Marxism-Leninism

make a bigger contribution to the revolutionary process when they come close to the positions of the proletariat and, conversely, damage and undermine that process when they slide into bogus revolutionism, that nutrative medium not only for "leftism", but also for policies of conciliation and compromise. Hence, wihle working for united action of the proletariat and the radical petty bourgeoisie, the working-class party cannot, and must not, abandon its own independence, its own views and positions. That is the only way of creating a revolutionary front which will not collapse as a result of internal discords or mistakes in selecting aims, and will prove capable of properly leading the anti-fascist alliance.

The qualitative strengthening of Popular Unity is of exceptional importance. However, the existing situation, our Manifesto points out, "makes it necessary to move ahead towards joint action and unity with other sections of the people which did not support the popular government but today are the victims of dictatorship tyranny."[1]

In this context, it is especially important to achieve unity with the Catholic masses grouped around the Christian-Democratic Party. We have urged that party to act on our proposals for unity, reminding it of the grave responsibility devolving on those who maintain the present divisions. So far, most of its leaders have avoided unity. Speaking for certain sections of the bourgeoisie. they first tried to share power with the fascists, whom they helped to come to power. Now they are toying with the idea of replacing the junta by a bourgeois regime under their control. Both variants ignore the interests of the Catholic masses.

In Chile fascism is acting with relentless consistency, does not tolerate the activity of reformist elements, does not want cooperation with any democratic forces, even with representatives of some sections of the bourgeoisie. Its aim is simply to make the whole of society subservient to local and foreign big capital. It is out to destroy the Christian-Democrat Party (now virtually outlawed) and to this end it uses a combination of corruption and repression. Some Demochristian leaders are not aware of that, but others, and the Christian masses, are very much alive to what is happening in the country. And it is with these forces that a dialogue is beginning. and also joint action and agreement on concrete issues. Unity accords with the vital interests of the workers and rural poor who support the Demochristians and also with the interests of the middle strata, who make up the mass base of the party. If the Demochristians were to join an anti-fascist front, the alliance of the working class and middle strata would be raised to a higher level and there would be the guarantee—the more reliable, the closer our unity—against vacillation of the anti-fascist bourgeoisie and against the danger of a bourgeois way out of the crisis.

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[1] *Al Partido y al Pueblo de Chile*. Dec. 1974. Edicion Clandestina.

The main trends in Chilean life suggest that such a unity is possible. Fascist attacks on the Catholic Church because a large part of it condemns violation of human and social rights, underscore the necessity and urgency of such an alliance.

A crucial factor in building up the anti-fascist front—irrespective of what forms of struggle it will employ—is a situation in the armed forces favouring the revolutionary-democratic process. The lessons of our defeat show that, whether employing peaceful or non-peaceful means, every revolution has to face that problem. Our Party has self-critically analysed its mistakes in this respect and is now correcting them. The existence of a fascist regime makes it much more likely that, faced with determined resistance by the people, the reactionaries will unleash a civil war to crush the mass movement demanding their removal from power. We take that into account; we cannot and should not preclude such an eventuality. But we are against all talk of its fatal inevitability, for such talk is used only to justify the terrorist concept of revolutionary struggle.

There is dialectical uniformity in the main direction of the revolutionary process. Whether peaceful or non-peaceful, the struggle always requires patient and persevering education of the masses to create an alignment of political forces favourable to the revolution. But we must go beyond that and transform this favourable political alignment into a similar alignment of military forces, regarding this as a component part of our mass work. We should use appropriate forms of work to help the masses more clearly to see the class character of the state and its institutions and the need for their radical restructuring. Besides, we must extent mass work among servicemen, help them join the struggle against fascist domination in the armed forces and the country. Of course, the responsibility of the revolutionary party in this area does not end with that, but this is a very important aspect and it could well become decisive.

The vast majority of servicemen come from the common people. And the greater the poverty and corruption, the stronger becomes the popular resentment and the stronger its expression in the armed forces. Demagogy and savage repressions in the armed forces will not work forever. The road will be paved for democratic and anti-fascist servicemen to play their part in the people's struggle. Our exposure of fascist demagogy helps to pave that road.

Illegal and mass work are inseparable components of anti-fascist unity and, properly organised, complement each other. Mass work can be successful only if it is backed by illegal units of the Party and other revolutionary political forces. For only the illegal organisation can expose the junta and all its misdeeds, combat its man-hating ideology and provide organisation, leadership and unity of mass action.

Before the fascist coup the Party enjoyed 15 years of legality. Most Party cadres were widely known and about 80 per cent of the members had had no experience of illegal work in a climate of harsh repression. Immediately after the coup we were faced with formidable difficulties. In the main, they have been overcome, despite the heavy blows dealt our Party. At present we have restructured the Party, organised regular publication, in thousands of copies, of a weekly central organ and a youth paper. We have maintained firm ties with the masses and are developing our agitation, using a variety of means, often technically primitive but enabling us to bring hundreds, even thousands, into this work.

It is no boast to say that the fascists will break their teeth trying to crush our Party. "The Communist Party and its youth organisation are invincible because they respond to the vital needs of the working class and people of Chile".[5]

As in the days of legality, our mass activity is based on close ties with the working class and other sections of the people.

We know that we can expect more blows, but under all circumstances the Party will continue and expand its activity. The enlistment of new cadres, above all young people, makes for continuity of revolutionary leadership of the masses.

Contact with other organisations, notably the Socialist Party and other Popular Unity affiliates, was disrupted at times by the fascist repression, but is now being steadily strengthened.

Our work of organisation involves political and ideological rather than technical problems. Here, too, we have to combat tendencies which, in the end, would weaken, even destroy the Communist and Socialist parties and the Popular Unity. Some bourgeois leaders invite us to follow them, limp in their wake as it were, so as to avoid more repressions and not frighten away the borugeoisie. Then there is the proposal of some petty-bourgeois leaders to set up so-called resistance committees as unitarian basic organisations bringing together the "best" people irrespective of party affiliation. Their slogans contain words near and dear to the people: "resistance", "unity". But in reality all their work is directed at undermining unity of the parties and, consequently, unity of the resistance movement. With no central body to direct them, these committees could easily become prey to police provocation

We reject both plans. Instead we have reached agreement with our allies to orgainse anti-fascist committees representing the various parties, all the forces that make up the alliance, but with the working class retaining its independent position.

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[5] *Al Partido y al Pueblo de Chile* Dec. 1975 Edicion Clandestina.

We try to assimilate the experience of the international revolutionary movement and adapt it to our conditions. Our Party regards every comment, every observation as a form of solidarity with our people. The fascists are drawing on the experience of the US, Brazilian, Uruguayan and other police, and it would be a crime for us not to learn from the experience of the heroic struggle of the Communists and anti-fascists of other countries.

But there have been suggestions of another kind. Some petty-bourgeois elements maintain that there is no anti-fascist resistance in Chile because the accent is not on armed struggle. Similar views have been expressed in Chile too.

Doubtlessly, the intentions behind these suggestions are of the noblest: some people want to see the dictatorship overthrown by a brief, powerful struggle. We share that desire, but certainly not the policy behind it. Those who sincerely express this impatience confuse momentary effect with its practical values. They underestimate the need for persistent effort to educate and organise the masses. Nor do they appreciate the fact that the absence of terrorist acts in Chile is not a bad, but a good feature of the movement, for violence without participation of the masses can only help the enemy, not the revolution.

We revolutionaries learned a long time ago that the class instinct of our enemy is not a bad gauge to measure the correctness of revolutionary policy and practice. One more proof of that is provided by *Mercurio*, mouthpiece of the Chilean reactionaries: "Despite the success of this operation[6], it should be pointed out that the Communist Party is still the main enemy. Its local organisational structure is intact throughout the country. Other methods are being employed to paralyse the administration. The Communist Party is still active in the universities, among cultural workers, in the trade unions, is penetrating Church circles, is supported by the international campaign against our country, is working towards a united front and, in general, stints neitheir time nor energy to achieve its revenge."[7]

Leaving aside the slanderous tone and content of this item, the fact remains that fascism fears mass resistance which, we Communists and our allies are steadily expanding. It sees in this resistance a sure portent of its defeat.

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[6] Reference is to the murder of Dagoberto Perez, a leader of the Left Revolutionary Movement.—*Ed.*

[7] *Mercurio*, Oct. 19, 1975.

Rumania's School System

Paul Niculescu-Mizil

The Rumanian Communist Party devotes much attention to public education, an effective instrument of raising society's general standard of knowledge, enlightenment and culture, an important sphere of the socialist revolution, of socialist and communist construction.

"The main factor in the education of every member of society in our epoch," said Party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, "is the school, or the main channel through which we spread science and culture, enrich the mind, would the character and civic sense of the younger generation. The school must train both excellent specialists and forward-looking citizens possessing extensive knowledge and initiative, receptive to all that is new and progressive, and endowed with a keen sense of responsibility and public duty."[1]

In the thirty-odd years since Rumania was freed from fascism, the public education system brought into being by the socialist revolution has changed beyond recognition. Illiteracy (which stood at about 35 per cent before World War II) has been wiped out: eight-year schooling is compulsory; specialised and higher education have expanded greatly. School and university enrolment has increased from 1,780,000 in 1938 to more than five million today The state bears all the costs of education. Schoolchildren of all grades, from the first to the twelfth, are provided with free textbooks, and a large number of pupils and students receive state grants. Enormous changes have taken place in the content and pattern of education. which is based on dialectical materialist principles and the newest achievements of science and culture.

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[1] Nicolae Ceausescu, *Romania pe drumul construirii societatii socialiste multilateral dezvoltate*. Vol. 4, Editura Politica, 1970, p. 323.

We note with satisfaction that due to sustained efforts ... Party and society, our schools make a valuable contribution ... training of specialists needed for building socialism and raising ... people's cultural standards.

The new programme of the Communist Party adopted at its ... Congress is aimed at building a comprehensive developed soci... society and promoting Rumania's advance to communism. The programme proceeds from Marxist-Leninist teachings with due regard to Rumanian conditions and takes account of the progress made by our country in socialist construction. It provides the theoretical basis for the strategic and tactical lines on which Rumania can make rapid social and economic progress and join the ranks of developed countries.

The programme stresses that its implementation hinges on training competent personnel. In drafting its education programme and policy, the Party's starting point was the fundamental thesis that communist society, whose main features were defined by the founders of Marxism-Leninism, implies a considerable growth of the productive forces and the development of production relations based on cooperation and mutual assistance and, furthermore, the formation of people versed in science and culture, well-trained professionally, with a philosophical understanding of the world and society, and integrated in the country's socio-political life. At this stage, the fundamental task set by the Party before the school is to contribute as fully as possible to the people's effort to carry out development plans and go over to a comprehensively developed socialist, and, subsequently communist, society.

Our Party has worked out a programme for the advancement of public education and formulated the tasks of schools for the new five-year period and for the years 1980-90. The June 1973 meeting of the CC RCP played an important part in drafting the programme.

The basic guidelines of the programme are: training personnel in accordance with the needs and requirements of socio-economic development; raising the standards of scientific, cultural and professional knowledge in keeping with the requirements of scientific and technological progress; assuring the open character of public education, so that graduates from one level may go on to next; democratising public education; introducing the principle of continuous instruction; schooling the younger generation politically and ideologically in the spirit of dialectical and historical materialism.

We attach great importance to measures to expand pre-school education, introduce universal compulsory ten-year, and in the long term 12-year, education, expand the network of lycees (specialised

schools) as a key component of the public education system,[2] develop higher education, strengthen links between the education system and production and research, raise the standards of instruction of social subjects and overall educational work among pupils and students, promote the study of foreign languages, enhance the ideological, political and professional standards of teaching personnel, set up more evening schools and expand education by correspondence.

The Party's vast programme for developing and perfecting public education has an historic role to play in socialist construction, not only by supplying the country with needed personnel, but also by raising the people's cultural standards, removing the essential distinctions between physical and mental labour, and achieving the social homogeneity of society—a requisite of the transition to communism.

Universal ten-year education is to become compulsory by 1980, and 12-year, by 1990.

Compulsory ten-year education comprises eight years at a general education school and two years at a lycee. Those who have received a ten-year education can continue their studies at a lycee for another two years or go to work—either immediately or after vocational training. They can also complete lycee education in evening classes.

In 1947, 55 per cent of eight-year school-leavers went on to the first year at a lycee and in 1975 more than 90 per cent. Thus ten-year education has become almost universal, a process we must carry to completion.

The introduction of universal ten-year education is a measure of decisive economic, social and political significance. As of next year, young people joining the work force will have at last a ten year education, to be extended to twelve-year schooling afterwards. This qualitative leap will bring the younger generation into socially useful labour more smoothly and will have a most beneficial impact on labour productivity, the people's cultural standards and progress in every public sphere.

Now that ten-year education is compulsory, schools are faced with the exacting task of giving high-standard instruction to all young people. This means that teachers must devote special attention to every pupil and see to it that they do not lag, let alone fail to get their promotion. They must do this at the early stage of instruction.

[2] Our educational structure is as follows: pre-school education (from age 3 to six years of age); general education comprising two cycles: elementary (four grades) and secondary (next four grades) lycee. Lycee graduates can go on to an institution of higher learning.

in elementary schools, which calls for persevering effort to improve educational standards and the content and methods of instruction and differentiate the approach to pupils so as to foster the abilities of each and impart habits of study and work, discipline and respect for order. To make instruction more effective, schools should enlist the assistance of families, mass organisations and government agencies.

Expanding pre school education plays an important part in preparing children for school and raising the standard of education at the initial stage of instruction. Rumania's kindergartens today take care of over 72 per cent of children between three and six years of age and 92 per cent of five-year-old children. We strive to ensure the fulfilment by 1980 of a task set in the guidelines of the 11th Party Congress, namely, extending pre-school education to not less than 80 per cent of children between three and six years of age.

The pre-revolutionary lycee was an establishment for the select and catered to a tiny part of the youth. Lycee education today is becoming compulsory for the whole younger generation. This necessitates a thorough revision of the object and content of lycee education to introduce substantial changes. Regardless of their specialisation, all lycees must provide instruction in the natural sciences (mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology), the humanities and socio-political disciplines (Rumanian language and literature, two modern foreign languages, ideological disciplines), as well as instruction in some trade. Schoolleavers should be prepared both for going on to a higher school (according to the number of vacancies) and for skilled jobs. Lycee education will help young people to integrate in public life, promote high cultural and professional standards. It will also help to democratise public education and provide equal opportunities for all young people.

Where the first eight years of instruction follow one syllabus in all schools, lycee education is differentiated. Lycees fall into eight basic types: industrial, industrial-agricultural and forestry, economic medical, pedagogical, natural sciences, humanities, and the arts, each with a definite specialisation. But all of them acquiant their pupils with the main aspects of economic and public activity to prevent too narrow specialisation. This has reduced the number of special subjects from 110 to 71.

It is most important to establish the optimum proportion between the number of lycee pupils specialising in the natural sciences or the humanities, on the one hand, and industrial and other lycees, on the other. The June 1973 plenum of the Central Committee set that proportion at 30:70 (against 28:72 in 1974/75 and 27:73 this year).

Most young people going on to the lycee of their choice (an opportunity in no way restricted by entrance examinations) are mostly attracted to the industrial and technological sphere, which is in line, generally speaking, with social requirements and the Party's policy.

The new organisation of lycees was tested for several years and is establishing itself as a form of training personnel suitable for our conditions. It is now becoming universal.

In the light of the foregoing, it should be clear why the place and role of specialised schools in the public education system have changed. Inasmuch as universal compulsory ten-year education frunishes young people with the requisite scientific knowledge and culture, specialised schools, which will only admit persons having received this education, are to provide exclusively technical and vocational training. The length of study in specialised schools will be appreciably reduced—to six or at most eighteen months. All this will enhance the role of specialised schools in training skilled workers and in raising the professional and technical standards of this type of public education.

Rumania's system of higher education consists of 42 institutions belonging to 19 university centres. On the whole they meet the country's requirements. This academic year they have more than 180,000 students, including those taking refresher courses, or 86 for every 10,000 population. By 1990 the number of students is expected to increase to 130 per 10,000. The 11th Party Congress resolved that in future the higher education system should meet the demand for diplomaed personnel by expanding the existing institutions. Notably, technological institutes will expand considerably to accept at least 83,000 students by 1980. Alongside four, five and six-year courses there will also be three-year accelerated training courses, especially for technical sciences.

Increased attention is devoted to evening studies (especially in branches of higher schools at major enterprises) and correspondence courses.

The Party programme's basic requirement in regard to higher education is to ensure qualitative improvement of the content, methods and equipment of the education process. It accentuates improvement of specialisation in higher schools Analysis has revealed that a typical drawback of the education system was excessive specialisation, which is out of keeping with present-day requirements of industry and of scientific and technological progress. The new system of specialisation gears higher schools to training broadly educated workers in accordance with the requirements of the

main branches of the economy, science and culture. Thirty-five basic professions have been defined. They comprise 81 specialities instead of the earlier 155.

General instruction in the first years (whose number depends on education forms and specialisation) is followed by the study of specialised disciplines, practical courses and submission of a graduation paper. This ensures the unity of general education and specialised knowledge and skills and enables graduates to adjust to their jobs without delay and respond promptly to changes caused by the advance of science and technology and modernisation of production.

The new syllabuses and curricula take into account all the latest achievements of science. In the case of higher technical schools, they reflect scientifically sound proportions of such disciplines as mathematics, physics and chemistry in the study process. Courses in designing have been introduced, instruction in management and industrial organisation has been improved, and so has legal training.

In improving the higher education system, we seek more active participation by students in the study process, greater use of methods and aids stimulating innovation, self-instruction, participation in research, and the acquisition of practical skills indispensable to every future specialist.

The main accent is on linking up public education with production and research. "The main feature of the policy of improving public education," N. Ceausescu said, "will consist in fusing education with research and production. Schools, above all higher schools, will become powerful educational, research and production centres contributing actively and effectively to the overall progress of the socialist economy and culture."[3]

The Party's attitude to this matter is based on the fundamental Marxist-Leninist thesis of the fruitfulness of linking theory with practice, knowledge with labour. It was in the **Communist Manifesto** that the classics of Marxism first insisted on linking education with material production.[4] Upholding the principle of polytechnical education and urging close connection between school and life, in particular production, Lenin pointed out that "an ideal future society cannot be conceived without the combination of education with the productive labour of the younger generation: neither training and education without productive labour, nor productive labour without parallel training and education could be raised to the degree re-

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[3] Nicolae Ceausescu. *Romania pe drumul construirii societatii socialiste multilateral dezvoltate*. Vol. 10. Editura Politica, 1974, p. 646.

[4] Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*. Vol. 1, p. 127.

quired by the present level of technology and the state of scientific knowledge" (**Coll. Works**, Vol. 2, p. 472).

This advice is still relevant, for never before has there been so strong a connection between science and education, on the one hand, and the requirements of social development, the problems of raising production efficiency and labour productivity—prime factors for economic growth, an improving standard of life and a flourishing culture—on the other. Education can no longer be restricted to the classroom or even the laboratory. It should take place in the production sphere itself and link up with industrial, agricultural and other types of labour.

We believe a child should begin acquiring skills suitable for its age as soon as it finds itself in a kindergarten. With schoolchildren the emphasis should be on mastering wood—and metal-working, the fundamentals of electrical engineering, and so on. Pupils should learn various kinds of physical labour so as to choose their future profession the more effectively. In lycees, vocational training implies mastering a trade reasonably well and gaining proficiency to become a skilled worker on leaving school. In industrial lycees, this training takes up about 37 per cent of the time and as much as 55 per cent if technological subjects are included. A task of decisive importance is to fit out work places in school workshops or in factories at which pupils can put out industrial products and make school equipment under the guidance of teachers and according to production plans.

Higher education institutions have their own forms of contact with production and research. Speaking at a conference of academic personnel in 1974, Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Party, President of the SRR, called on them to reorganise both the content and the organisation of instruction on new revolutionary lines in the next few years. We consider that every higher school should also be a production and research unit in which students can join in production under their teacher's guidance and in accordance with the curriculum and contribute to research in the closing years of study.

Higher schools are acquiring ample facilities for producing sets of machinery and plant, up-to-date apparatus and new materials. Teachers should take a more active part in the advancement of science, technology and culture. In view of this research themes are included in the plans of central research institutions and academies of sciences.

These developments are exemplified by the Bucharest National Centre of Physics, which comprises a nuclear physics institute, a physics institute, the physics department of the university, a lycee

and enterprises manufacturing apparatus. They are closely interconnected and this finds expression in a three-in-one plan of research, personnel training and production. Education is combined with production and research, and vice versa. Students combine study and work, and at the final stages they join in research and technological development. Teachers do research and the more competent research and production experts also work as teachers.

Or take another example. Five agricultural institutes were allocated 11,200 hectares of land on which they set up experimental stations for crop and stock farming. The stations are organised on the pattern of farms and have production plans which are included in the plans of state trusts. The stations and the farms run by them are headed by teachers, who guide the work of students. Classes are scheduled in keeping with farming operations to enable students to take part in seasonal work. Research is carried on within the framework of the plans of agricultural and forestry academies. A year has passed since the system was adopted and we note with satisfaction that the results achieved in both study and production are greater than in many agricultural enterprises engaged in the same activity. Future agronomists are thus better trained, and there is a higher overall standard of education.

The Party's national policy guarantees the working people's participation in the management of society and in every public activity on an equal footing, irrespective of nationality. Young people of any nationality can enter any educational institution. The Constitution guarantees all citizens instruction in their mother tongue. In the 3,513 children's establishments and schools of various categories existing today, instruction is carried on in Hungarian, German, Serb, Slovak, Ukrainian, Czech, Greek or Bulgarian. There are also higher schools or school departments which conduct instruction in the languages of all these ethnic groups. In all, about 318,000 members of national minorities take instruction in their mother tongue in pre-school institutions and various schools under the guidance of over 15,000 teachers. Needless to say, they are supplied with textbooks in the appropriate languages. We want schools to help young people of diverse nationalities living together to master both Rumanian and their mother tongue. Rumanian children in areas inhabited by non-Rumanians are encourged to learn the latter's language.

This approach to education is an important factor for implementing our Party's Marxist-Leninist national policy and strengthening the brotherhood of all working people, Rumanians and non-Rumanians alike—an impressive achievement of the socialist system.

Educational institutions should train both competent specialists

and politically conscious citizens contributing to the advancement and prosperity of their country and devoted to the ideas of socialism, international solidarity and working people's brotherhood.

The Central Committee has approved a universal system of teaching social sciences according to type of institution. What the system emphasises is not mechanically assimilating this or that proposition or formulation but mastering the creative spirit and revolutionary substance of Marxism-Leninism. We want future specialists to be able to analyse specific situations and problems in nature, society and intellectual activity from the fundamental positions of our Party. Study of the RCP programme and the application of Marxism-Leninism in Rumanian conditions are seen as priority tasks. We impress on young people's minds the need to protect public property, do their job with a sense of responsibility, combat selfishness and individualism and foster socialist humanism, socialist morals and justice. We cultivate their socialist patriotism and internationalism.

We regard ethical and political education as a most important task not only of every social science chair but every echelon of the public education system, and all teachers who must take an active part in moulding the map of the future.

Success of the Party's educational policy depends on the professional, scientific, political and ideological competence of teachers. The number of teachers and educators trained since Rumania set out to build socialism exceeds 230,000, against 55,000 in the 1938-39 academic year.

We devote special attention to the training of teachers, to whom we strive to impart scientific, cultural and professional knowledge. We equip them with advanced methods of instruction, meaning also the use of up-to-date technical facilities and visual aids. We consider it important that teachers should carry on their studies after graduation, that is, after they have begun to teach others. Teachers train those who will succeed us, those who will live and work in the decades ahead and become the motive power of society, builders of communism. This means that they should always be perceptive to all that is new in life, science and technology, and should steadfastly improve their knowledge and skill. As for educating people, they can do it properly only if they are real citizens setting young people an example of life and work for the good of the people, an example of service in the cause of socialism and communism.

Every working person must constantly improve his professional training or he will lag behind scientific and technological progress. Our Party regards education and instruction as a continuous process needed for the civic and professional development of the individual

In 1971 we established a national advanced training system to improve professional knowledge and skill. The system comprises 25 specialised centres and institutes. Every year it offers refresher and extension courses to almost two million people. To some this means training at the place of work, while others take classes in special groups or individually, at home or abroad, take post-graduate classes, work on their doctor's degree, and so on. The law binds ministries, factories and offices to provide every facility for refresher and extension training and for the planning and implementation of requisite curricula and measures. An effort is made to combat formalism and assure efficiency and mastery of every valuable innovation, every achievement in technology, organisation and management.

Our Party works to extend socialist democracy by bringing the *public into the solution of more and more management problems.* This also applies to public education, in which the role of collective leadership in educational institutions (teachers' councils and senates) as well as in the Ministry of Education is increasing. These agencies secure aid from teachers, youth organisations, trade unions, scientists and students, of all who have a stake in decision making and in the fulfilment of the difficult overall tasks facing the educational system.

The growing fusion of education with production and research and extensive social and cultural integration translate themselves into close cooperation between schools, on the one hand, and factories, ministries and other government departments, central and local authorities, on the other. The principles of factory patronage of schools and of double subordination of technical schools and universities (to the Ministry of Education, on the one hand, and the ministries for which personnel is trained, on the other) are firmly applied. It is also very important to step up co-operation between school and family. Connections between them are maintained by the parents' committees at school and national level.

Communists and Party organisations active in the educational sphere play a special role in instruction and education. Almost half the teachers are Party members and in higher schools Communists make up 68 per cent. They are a powerful source of revolutionary energy, competence and efficiency. They set an example by their exacting approach to their duties and by the sense of social and political responsibility they show in mobilising teachers to carry out the Party's educational policy. In public education as in other fields Party guidance is an earnest of achieving all our aims.

The Rumanian Communist Party considers that our educational system can and must become a decisive factor in speeding social and

cultural progress. All educational workers and all students work with a will to carry out the Party's home and foreign policy and realise an advanced education system based on the latest achievements of science, technology and culture and closely linked with the life and objectives of Rumanian society. They contribute their share to the advance of socialist Rumania to new heights of culture and prosperity in accordance with the great goals set by the RCP Programme.

The Balance of World Forces and the Middle East Crisis

Naim Ashhab

Events in the Middle East show that the coalition of imperialists and Israeli Zionists has never had any interest in a fair settlement of the conflict poisoning the atmosphere in our region. Moreover, the parties to the coalition try to block every constructive effort towards settlement. They do all they can to keep the war smouldering and to preserve in this way a situation that may at any moment lead to new flare-up of the crisis.

The purpose of the unholy alliance of the imperialists and Zionists is to strike at the Arab people of Palestine, to deny them their legitimate rights, especially the establishment of a national state, expand Israeli territory at the expense of neighbour countries, stop the Arab liberation movement and, if possible, force it to retreat (this, in effect was the aim of the 1948, 1956 and 1967 wars). The imperialist-Zionist alliance compels the Arab countries, first of all those neighbouring on Israel, to divert manpower and spend a large part of their still modest national income on defence against the constant threat of a trencherous attack. In this way the enemies of Arab countries try to rob them of the possibility of overcoming their hated colonial past, making rapid social and economic progress to eliminate backwardness, and to leave them defenceless against imperialist pressure.

The designs of the imperialists and Zionists have lately assumed a particularly sinister character. Enemy pressure is mounting as the content of the Arab national-liberation movement deepens and as trends towards re-establishing the sovereign right of Arab states of the Middle East to their natural resources, especially oil, and to

economic liberation and social progress grow stronger within the movement.

World opinion is increasingly aware of the imperative need to call a halt to Israeli aggression and find a just solution to the problem of the Arab people of Palestine, the flouting of whose rights has been at the root of the Middle East crisis for more than 25 years.

Imperialism's capability of direct military interference in the affairs of other countries is diminishing. The balance of world forces is changing steadily against it. A clear indication of this is the recognition of the principles of peaceful coexistence by the rulers of imperialist powers and the process of international detente.[1]

In these circumstances, the more bellicose imperialist forces find it particularly important to strengthen such centres of aggression as Israel. They use every means to impede the well-known resolutions of the UN Security Council and General Assembly and prevent the Geneva conference that could pave the way for a genuinely peaceful settlement of the Middle East crisis. The imperialist-Zionist coalition is trying to find a solution in its own favour with the help of US secret diplomacy. This virtually rules out a comprehensive and fair settlement, although conditions are propitious and have been so especially since the October 1973 war. One of them is the fact that the myth of the "absolute military superiority" of Israel over the Arab countries has been dispelled.

The recent (September 1975) Egyptian-Israeli agreement on Sinai is an obvious attempt to substitute a partial and unilateral settlement for a comprehensive and equitable one. The US-Israeli alliance sees this agreement as a means of disrupting Arab unity, sowing discord among the Arab countries involved in the conflict, subjecting each to pressure and blackmail, burying the problem of Palestine and reducing Soviet participation in a Middle East settlement to a minimum. The Sinai agreement strengthened the hand of Israel, gave Washington greater hopes of changing the situation in the area to its own advantage, and thus revived the threat of resumption of the armed conflict. The Middle East remains an area of tension and presents a danger of war.

However, the agreement is only a passing gain of the imperialists and Israeli Zionists, for it runs counter to the general trend of international development and to the overall course of events in the

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[1] It may be mentioned that the Zionists do their utmost to undermine detente. This is seen in the recent Paris conference of the World Jewish Organisation and the planned World Zionist Congress in Brussels, whose date has been deliberately set for a week before the opening of the 25th Congress of the CPSU and whose agenda will include provocative item, 'The persecution of Jews in the Soviet Union.'

Arab world itself. This was evidenced by the outcome of the October 1973 war, the major successes achieved by the Arab people of Palestine in the struggle to regain their national rights, and the Arab countries' continuing offensive against the positions of foreign capitalist monopolies. The Sinai agreement should not therefore be regarded as indicative of a slackening of the Arab liberation movement, let alone as a sign of its dissociation from other revolutionary contingents fighting for national liberation in various regions. The reason why it was concluded lies in the character of the current stage of the liberation struggle in our area.

A very important aspect of this stage is the ever more pronounced interlocking of national liberation tasks, specifically that of expelling Israel *from occupied territory, with essentially social tasks.*

Certain strata and classes in our countries are alarmed by the growing political consciousness of the working people. They see it as a menace to their social positions and privileges. The enemies of the national-liberation movement are exploiting and aggravating the class contradictions in Arab society. They instil fear of the working people in the privileged, on the one hand, and seduce them with deals allegedly capable of solving, among others, the problem of occupation, on the other. Deals of this kind are usually made behind the back of the masses in order to consolidate the rule of the privileged. The later are told that they can overcome their growing economic difficulties through more extensive relations wtih capitalist monopolies, that is, with neocolonialism. The privileged upper crust often accepts this view and adopts an "open door" policy.

What gives the present stage of the national-liberation movement in our region a distinctive quality is also the influence of another important factor—the growing activity of reactionary Arab regimes linked with imperialism, such as the Saudi Arabian regime. Enormous profits derived from oil enable them to step up subversive and destructive activities, taking advantage, above all, of the growing economic difficulties of the countries directly facing Israel.

Lastly, external forces hostile to the Arab people try (this is also typical of the present stage of the national-liberation movement in our region) to use the class limitations of certain influential anti imperialist petty-bourgeois elements. These forces inspire, encourage and aggravate differences of secondary importance within the national-liberation movement, pretending that they are insurmount able; they foment anti-Communist sentiments among members of the petty bourgeoisie, urge them to distrust the idea of alliance with the Communists, support their tendency to restrict the activity of Communist parties, and minimise the importance of Soviet aid in

various fields. The enemy wants to provide the conciliatory petty-bourgeois elements with ideological arguments to justify their policy of building up economic relations with imperialist countries. The enemy presents these elements with theories defaming the principled foreign policy of the Soviet Union, particularly its struggle for peaceful coexistence, described as "conciliation" with US imperialism. These theories are actively spread, in particular, by the Maoist clique and objectively serve the interests of the most aggressive imperialist forces. They are intended to undermine anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist unity and isolate the Arab national-liberation movement from its most loyal and powerful allies.

In this situation, progressive forces in the Arab world must resist two wrong tendencies that surface from time to time in the policy of certain influential elements of the nationalist movement. Exponents of one of these tendencies fully exclude the petty bourgeoisie because they consider that it has already fulfilled its revolutionary role. Exponents of the other tendency take a conciliating stand on the petty bourgeoisie, especially in regard to its conservative and frankly reactionary sentiments. Both tendencies must be countered by a policy fully taking account of the differentiation of the petty bourgeoisie now in progress. There must be a differentiated approach to forces that incline more and more to conservatism and those that remain revolutionary and firmly oppose the reactionary conspiracies of the imperialists and Israeli Zionists.

Thus, our Party considers that the Arab national-liberation movement is injured by right and "left"-wing deviations whose exponents objectively hamper, in both word and deed, the effort to accomplish genuine liberation tasks. The main threat today is posed by right-wing forces, which make deals with the imperialist-Zionist coalition.

After the Sinai agreement, the imperialists and Zionists and their allies, the Arab reactionaries, were especially active in their cunning manoeuvres to undermine the Arab national-liberation movement, disunite its forces and exacerbate differences between them. This is exemplified, above all, by the events of recent months in Lebanon. Reactionary, isolationist and pro-fascist forces, abetted by the imperialist-Zionist coalition in conjunction with Arab reaction pushed the crisis in that country to menacing dimensions. They endangered the unity and independence of the state of Lebanon and its very existence and, moreover, created an explosive situation that could trigger a new war in the Middle East at any moment. This trend of development is in accordance with US and Israeli plans to make the most of the opportunities furnished by the Sinai agreement. The

exclusion of the Egyptian front from the conflict and the construction of US spy stations in Sinai enable the imperialists to increase pressure on Syria and prepare to strike at it and the Palestine resistance led by the PLO. This organisation, which is winning ever greater international support for the Arab people of Palestine, is an obstacle to the insidious schemes of imperialism and Zionism in our region.

Our enemies are hatching monstrous plans. They would like to wipe some of today's Arab countries off the map and replace them by small states functioning on the principles of religious communities and dependent on imperialism (like Israel).

In analysing the Lebanese events, one is struck by the extensive coordination of operations between the US and Israeli imperialists, on the one hand, and the conspirators, on the other. These received American arms before the eyes of the leadership of the Lebanese armed forces.[2] And when the conspirators' armed units needed a respite or wanted to regroup or rearm, Israeli planes launched barbarous raids on Palestinian refugee camps, killing hundreds of people. The attacks of pro fascist forces and Israeli air raids on refugee camps were aimed at involving the PLO in the fighting, for the imperialists and Zionists were seeking a pretext to intervene openly in Lebanon.

At this writing (end of January 1976), the situation in Lebanon is getting back to normal but still remains troubled. This imperialist Zionist bloc has not given up its subversive plans.

The Israeli authorities are simultaneously stepping up terror in the occupied Arab territories. The invaders' methods include prison, torture, and destruction of homes. Terror is directed against all patriotic forces—Communists, guerrillas, unaligned freedom fighters. Colonial expatriation has assumed a dangerous scale. A persistent effort is being made to undermine the economy of the occupied areas and tie them more and more to the economic structures of Israel, a development which is certain to result in greater oppression and more hardship for the local population. The national culture of the Arab people of Palestine is persecuted. Added to this are renewed attempts by the Israeli authorities to set up in the occupied areas a puppet political administration known as "civilian administration" and to oppose it to the PLO, the only lawful spokesman of the Palestinian people. In this manner, the Israeli invaders expect to undermine the legitimate effort of the Arab pople of Palestine t[illegible]

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[2] By the middle of January, part of the Lebanese army virtually gone into action on the conspirators' side.

establish their own independent national state. Their purpose is to convert the occupied areas into an Israeli protectorate, as the so called Allon plan[3] shows among others. This is a far from complete list of indications of Israel's intention to "establish itself" on the territories it has overrun. Ever since the Sinai agreement was signed, these attempts have been so persistent as to alarm even the Jordanian authorities, which have begun to condemn it, if so far cautiously.

On every occasion the Israeli authorities stubbornly repeat that they will never allow the Arab people of Palestine to found an independent national state. They boycotted the January meeting of the UN Security Council on the Middle East crisis because they did not want the PLO delegation to take part in the debate. The United States, in turn, vetoed the resolution confirming the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right to establish their national state, and demanding the withdrawal of Israel from all the territories it occupied in June 1967. As for the Prime Minister of Israel, he said in so many words that his government would not revise its position on the PLO even if the latter were to recognise the State of Israel. He said Israel would take up arms to prevent a settlement respecting the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine.[4] This reveals the true character of the Israeli rulers, who protested to world opinion for more than a quarter century that they were only concerned with "self-defence", and once more shows that the US Israeli alliance is against genuine peace in the Middle East.

Imperialism and reaction also attack the Arab national-liberation movement in other areas. The conspiracy against democratic Yemen and its gains is becoming ever more dangerous. The enemies of the new republic expect to strike at it by taking advantage of its economic difficulties. In the Maghreb, the imperialists are fomenting tensions over the fate of the Western Sahara in an effort to complicate the position of Algeria's progressive regime.

The increased subversive activity of Iranian reaction and its interference in the internal affairs of the Arab world cause growing concern. It plays a leading role in attempts to suppress the national

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[3] A plan worked out by Israel's deputy Prime Minister, Yigal Allon which provides for the establishment of Israeli settlement zones in the occupied areas and proposes the River Jordan as the "security boundary" of Israel. -*Ed.*

[4] At a meeting of the General Zionist Council in January 1970, Rabin said that the military might of Israel made for the success of its political manoeuvres. He added that PLO participation in Security Council meetings is an obstacle to peace and creates a danger sooner than people would think (*Al-Ittihad*, January 6, 1976).

revolution in Oman. To disguise its participation in the struggle against the liberation movement on the Arabian Peninsula, its virtual collusion with the Israeli invaders and its oil deliveries to Israel, the Iranian regime grants cash loans to this or that Arab country and even puts its signature to declarations recognising the Arabs' right to the restitution of their lands and the restoration of their flouted rights. However, it is now clear to many that that signature is worthless.

What the imperialists of various countries and the reactionary forces of the Middle East have in common in spite of their different positions, is deep hatred for the Arab national-liberation movement and dread of the prospect of its further progress, which would affect their interests.

The contradictory processes in the Middle East raise many a question. Can the Arab national-liberation movement repel the massive attacks of external and internal enemies? Is it possible that imperielism, which is forced to retreat everywhere and is now going through its worst crisis since World War II, has found its "second youth" in our region? Will it really be able to shape the destiny of this region?

The Jordanian Communist Party does not shut its eyes to the serious difficulties facing the Arab national-liberation movement. But we are certin that it will overcome them. This conclusion is supported by both the general trend of world development and the fact that the movement has a solid basis and has had not only telling reverses but decisive victories as well. In the past quarter century, it has made tremendous gains in a number of countries in fighting for political, economic and social liberation, although the scale of the struggle was much more limited in the past and the international climate less favourable than today. Recent developments, especially the outcome of the October 1973 war, made us feel still more confident. More and more often, contingents of the Arab national-liberation movement beat off the attacks of their enemies—imperialism, Zionism and reaction—and strengthen their positions.

US and Israeli attempts to bar the Arab people of Palestine from a serious discussion of the Middle East crisis or at least delay their participation in it, have failed. World opinion and the overwhelming majority of independent members of the UN recognise that the crisis cannot be settled without the Palestinians. The Israeli-Zionist leadership and its backer, Washington, find themselves in increasing isolation due to the sustained struggle of the Arab people of Palestine, the PLO's more and more realistic foreign policy, solidarity

and international support, especially on the part of the socialist community.

In spite of savage terror, the Israeli occupation authorities were unable to carry out their plan of setting up a "civilian administration". The struggle against it developed into the Arab population's biggest action since the beginning of the occupation. There were strikes and mass demonstrtions for almost a month (October-November 1975). While the armed struggle continues, the masses build up their unity in fighting for the establishment of a national state in the lands freed from Israeli occupation and strengthen their links with the leadership of the government, the Palestinian National Front, which is part of the PLO.

Dashed were the US and Israeli hopes of involving Syria in partial and unilateral Middle East solutions and thereby undermining its unity with the PLO. The illusion that the Soviet Union would have no part in a settlement of the crisis was dispelled. And all attempts to put off the Geneva peace conference indefinitely are bound to fail.

The intrigues of the Lebanese reactionaries and separatists making common cause with imperialism and the Zionist authorities of Israel were firmly resisted by progressives and patriots, among whom the fraternal Lebanese Communist Party plays an outstanding part, and suffered a serious defeat.

Important steps are being taken by Arab countries to strengthen their economic independence Not long ago, Iraq completed the nationalisation of foreign property in its oil ndiustry. Libya has nationalised its foreign trade. Arab countries are carrying out numerous projects to speed economic progress.

These and many other facts show that the revolutionary liberation process in the Middle East is irreversible, that the fortunes of the Arab world are and will be decided by its peoples and that international imperialism can only strike isolated blows in our region but is incapable of a global offensive. Nevertheless, its power should not be underestimated. Progressives and democrats in the Arab East are resolved to be vigilant and foil the conspiracies of imperialism, Zionism and domestic reaction.

In discussing problems of the liberation movement and ways and means of solving them, the conference of Arab Communist parties (April 1975) stresed that, apart from promoting national unity in each particular Arab country, it is highly important to extend inter-Arab cooperation and alliance with the socialist community, first of all with the Soviet Union.

The conference deeply analysed the political situation in the countries concerned. Speaking of the evolution of the positions of diverse class and social forces, it said: "In view of the situation in the Arab national-liberation movement, the Communist and Workers' parties of Arab countries consider that the right way to strengthen within this movement progressive patriotic trends opposed to imperialism and reaction, isolate rightist trends and currents and remove all the dangers they are fraught with, is to fight for a bigger role of the working class and its political parties and trade union organisations, for a stronger alliance between it and the peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, other working people and all national democratic forces with a view to accomplishing the tasks that arise at this stage".

Developments in the Middle East are proving this conclusion of the conference correct. We Communists are certain of the final victory of the Arab national-liberation movement and look confidently to the future.

Collective Rebuff to Fascism

The Communist Party of India is waging an unrelenting struggle ainst the intrigues of imperialism and domestic reaction, against ofascist tendencies, for rallying all the progressive and patriotic ces in a united anti-imperialist front. That is why it attached so at importance to the convocation of an international anti-fascist iference, which was held last December in Patna. The conference s attended by delegations from more than 50 countries and repre itatives of many international organisations. It was a powerful inifestation of solidarity with all the peoples opposing imperialism, iction and war.

The news of the forthcoming conference was hailed in India. The eparation and holding of this event provided a splendid opportunity rallying the patriotic forces still closer and for strengthening their s of brotherhood with the international progressive and democra- movement. Millions participated in the preparatory meetings ld in villages, towns and districts throughout the country. They pressed their determination to rebuff the fascist threat For the st time the campaign to prepare for an international conference iched the vast rural areas. This upsurge of the mass movement ame possible due primarily to the joint effort of the Communist ty, National Congress and other democratic parties and organisa ns. In the course of preparing for the conference broad sections the people could see more clearly the true nature of imperialism d get a better idea of the link between the national and interna nal aspects of the struggle against fascism and fascist trends. The ited anti-fascist movement which spread all over India and cul nated in the Patna conference was described by the Party's Cen l Executive Committee as the "single biggest achievement" of the ond half of 1975.

The Patna forum discussed the burning problems of the fight against imperialism and reaction, for peace and social progress, laying special stress on the roie of detente which provides favourable conditions for mass actions against international reaction, against all forms of fascism. Delegates from different countries and continents exposed the activities of the multinational companies and the CIA, their machinations against the democratic and progressive forces of the world. Delegates from developing countries pointed out that, in imposing the local varieties of fascist and other reactionary-nationalist and openly pro-imperialist regimes, imperialism has recourse to religious fanaticism and chauvinism, as well as to feudal ideology. The struggle against fascism in the developing countries—this was specailly stressed at the conference—is inconceivable without determined anti-imperialist battles, without struggle against the local reactionary classes—the social vehicles of pro-fascist tendencies.

European Security and Manoeuvers of the Enemies of Cyprus

Andreas Fantis

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was an unprecedented event of historic significance to all mankind.

Unlike the results of previous conferences, which failed to settle many disputes and contained the seeds of new wars because the treaties imposed by them were unequal, the provisions of the Final Act signed at Helsinki are directed against no one. They serve in equal measure the interests of all European countries and the peoples of the world.

What makes the Final Act a historic document is that it explicitly states the principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. The leaders of 33 European countries, the United States and Canada who signed the Final Act declared their resolve to settle all differences through discussion and negotiation without resorting to the threat of force. This unanimously adopted document can be rightly described as a great charter of peace

The achievements of the Helsinki meeting are the result of long and sustained effort by the socialist community, the international working class and all peace-loving and progressive forces. The decisive role of the Soviet Union, the great vanguard of socialism, was recognised by all fair minded politicians. In line with its Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, which meets the aspirations and vital interests of the peoples and embodies the lofty ideals of socialism, the ideals of peace, freedom, democracy, socio-economic progress, justice and prosperity, and in accordance with the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, the Soviet Union made a decisive contribution to the turn in international relations from tension and cold

war to detente. The treaties, declarations and protocols si... conclusion of summit meetings between leaders of the Soviet and of the United States, West Germany, France and other c... opened a new chapter in the history of international relation... came as a blow to the advocates of the "positions of str... policy, contributed to detente and paved the way for the He... meeting.

The outcome of that meeting is an emphatic confirmation o... Leninist principles and policy of peaceful coexistence, a victory ... the peace forces of the world.

The Helsinki decisions are largely due to the continuous and ac... struggle of the progressive forces. In the two years it took to dr... the Final Act, mass actions helped substantially to create an atmos... phere favourable to the success of the meeting. This is why th... agreements reached in Helsinki are in keeping with the peoples will and express their interests.

All peace supporters, all men of good will, all who want to spare mankind the horrors of nuclear war, must be vigilant and prepared to work for fulfilment of the Helsinki commitments by all governments, including those whose foreign policy still gives reason for serious concern and alarm.

The declared principles have a direct bearing on the just struggle of the Cypriot people. The President of the Cyprus Republic, the only lawful head of our state upheld the just cause of Cyprus at Helsinki. He was addressing both the participants and international public opinion. His speech revealed the nature of the Cyprus question and showed how very closely and directly the struggle of Cyprus is linked with the just, peaceful, democratic principles laid down in the Final Act.

Respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, refraining from the threat or use of force, inviolability of frontiers and non-intervention in internal affairs are ideals championed by every patriot of Cyprus. They are at the basis of the proposals of the government and the National Council for a fair, peaceful, democratic, mutually acceptable and final settlement of the Cyprus question.

The very fact that the principles on which we strive to solve the Cyprus problem coincide with the main provisions of the Final Act provides moral support for our just cause. In other words, our hard struggle is justified from the international point of view since these principles are recognised, proclaimed and accepted by the leaders of all the countries represented at Helsinki.

Objectively, the Final Act is a restraint on the imperialist forces o...

NATO and the chauvinist, militarist elements in Ankara on the Cyprus question. If the US and Turkish leaders really respect the principles they have signed they must abandon their uncompromising policy towards Cyprus. Respect for the Helsinki principles and their application by these governments in settling the Cyprus question will also mean supporting the resolutions of the UN Security Council and General Assembly. On November 21, 1975, the General Assembly approved by an overwhelming majority (117 against 1, with 9 abstentions) a resolution demanding the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Republic of Cyprus and an end to all foreign interference in the internal affairs of the Cypriot people.

The General Assembly also declared for the immediate resumption of talks between representatives of the Greek and Turkish communities of the island on a realistic and construction basis, under the aegis of the UN Secretary-General. Cyprus patriots attach great importance to this document which they regard as an expression of support for their just cause by the majority of the world's countries. So far, the Turkish government has been treating the UN resolutions scornfully, or just ignores them.

Now as never before, the people of Cyprus need the support and solidarity of all democrats, progressives and peace supporters of the world. Extreme reactionaries, advocates of the discredited cold-war policy who are linked with military-industrial complexes, have launched a campaign against detente in an attempt to prevent implementation of the provisions of the Final Act. This is particularly noticeable in our region, where the grave situation in Cyprus is paralleled by the tension in Lebanon. The latest events are indicative of a threat to the sovereignty of Lebanon and peace in the Middle East.

The Helsinki meeting and its Final Act give us a powerful moral weapon. We value this, but feel we must go further. To us, a concrete result of the meeting lies in the fact that the enemies of the cause of Cyprus and of our people's just struggle, have, by their inconsistency, exposed themselves to all governments and international opinion. Peace is indivisible and as in other countries, public opinion in Cyprus calls for the elimination of seats of tension everywhere.

Now that the groundwork has been laid for security and cooperation in Europe, detente has entered a new stage. The progressive forces want detente to extend to every part of the globe. In contrast, the aggressive imperialist forces refuse to accept their defeat in Helsinki and are stepping up their activity, intensifying the arms race and aggravating the situation in the Middle East, the Mediterranean and Southern Africa. While not openly opposing

detente, and often paying lip-service to it, the governments and ruling parties of some capitalist countries block its progress by launching provocative campaign over matters of secondary importance.

Despite all that, however, detente has become the dominant feature of international development. The peoples are more energetically opposing the enemies of peace and security.

The Helsinki meeting will go down in history as a milestone in international relations. It marked the victory of reason, with neither winners nor losers. "Everyone has won: countries of East and West, the peoples of socialist and capitalist countries—parties to alliances and those who are neutral, big and small. This is a gain for all who cherish peace and security on our planet," said L. I. Brezhnev in his Helsinki address.

As the struggle for peace and security goes on, the impact of the Helsinki meeting will be felt ever more strongly. It is necessary to make detente a code of conduct for all countries. From this point of view, the meeting cannot be regarded as completing the fight for peace and peaceful coexistence. In fact, the peace forces will use it as a starting point for new struggles for the good of all mankind.

Political detente must be complemented by military detente To this end, radical measures are needed to stop the arms race, ban the creation of new weapons or systems of weapons of mass destruction and reduce armaments and armed forces in the interests of every nation.

This is particularly imperative and pressing now that, according to estimates by UN experts, military spending in the world has soared to the astronomical figure of 300,000 million dollars a year.

The peoples are understandably alarmed because it has so far been impossible effectively to curb the arms race. An indication of the demand for effective measures in this respect was the decision adopted by the recent meeting of the foreign ministers of non-aligned countries in Peru. It called for an early world disarmament conference, the idea of which was submitted to the United Nations by the Soviet Union and supported by many governments. The UN can, in the spirit of the Helsinki meeting—do much to speed the convening of the conference so as to achieve the great ideal of universal and complete disarmament.

Since Helsinki there have been important bilateral meetings of leaders of countries with different social systems. The agreements they signed to promote friendly relations in the political, economic scientific, technological and cultural fields contributed appreciably to the materialisation of detente.

On the other hand, some politicians claim again that the socialist countries must "pay" for detente by stopping their ideological struggle. Similar demands are made of the Communist parties of capitalist countries. They come from both imperialist quarters and right-wing Social Democratic leaders, those apologists of capitalism.

Communists consider this a fundamental ideological issue. Ever since the rise of Marxism, and more particularly since the Great October Socialist Revolution, the ideological struggle has been part of the general class struggle. Its causes are objective and it continues in the climate of peaceful coexistence.

We explain to the masses that the bourgeoisie will not for a moment desist from ideological campaigns intended to perpetuate its rule. There is ample evidence that our opponents are bent on stepping up the ideological struggle. This, too, is due to objective causes. Faced with a change in the balance of forces in favour of peace and socialism, imperialist strategists devote increasing attention to ideology, a sphere in which they try to make up for lost ground. Enemy propaganda exploits the growing interest in the achievements of existing socialism for its smear campaigns (when it does not ignore them). To divert the attention of their peoples from the economic crisis and the "free world's support of fascist and racist regimes in Chile, South Africa and elsewhere, apologists of imperialism go out of their way to pose as champions of freedom and democracy. Reaction plans and carries out acts of ideological subversion against the socialist community and against democratic, anti-monopoly forces in its own countries.

All this requires of the Communist and Workers' parties more dynamic and effective ideological work. People identify the ideas of socialism, peace, social progress and detente with policies and activities of the Marxist-Leninist parties. It is our paramount duty to encourage this.

The dialectics of revolutionary struggle are such that the favourable changes in the world must be consolidated, wars banished from the life of society, and detente made irreversible.

These aims can be consistently pursued only along the road to socialism. Marxist Leninist parties, the leading force of today, are in the forefront of the struggle for this.

Convincing People That We Are on the Right Path

Valeria Benke

Building a Developed Socialist Society is the title of a recentl published collection of 12 speeches and statements by Janos Kad First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.[1]

The title gives an idea of the content of the speeches made Kadar during the important period from September 1974 to Ju 1975, a time of preparations for the 11th Party Congress, a tim when our people celebrated the 30th anniversary of their countr liberation and victory over fascism. Also in the summer of 19 when the people voted in parliamentary elections for the Part policy, the socialist unity of the nation was demonstrated once ag

Those events prompted the Party to look back, assess the progr made and discuss further tasks.

Kadar's statements show how Party unity strengthened and Party.. links with the masses became closer as ideas matured the prospects of socialist advance were discussed and specified

Wherever Kadar spoke—whether in the Higher Party School or a big engineering plant, at a CC meeting of the Communist You League or a Budapest Party conference, at a Popular Front Cou meeting or a big electoral rally—he invariably dealt with probl of vital importance to the Communists and society as a whole did more than spell them out, for a Communist party, especial ruling one, must do more, it must offer a solution, which is wha working people expect of the party as their leader, guiding th

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[1] Kadar Janos, *A fejlett szocialista tarsadalom epitesenek utjan.* Budapest, K Konyukiado, 1975, 211 pp.

in socialist construction. J. Kadar's new book reveals questions raised by life and sets out the answers given by the Party.

Running through the book the ideas of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Saying that "the Party creatively applies in our national conditions the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, whose validity is international, the general laws of socialist construction and the experience gained by the international working-class movement in struggle" (p. 109), Kadar sees in this an important source of success and an immense socialist creative force. He stresses again and again the unity of internationalist and national interests, the need to combine socialist patriotism with proletarian internationalism and the Communists' responsibility to both the working class of their country and the world Communist movement. A consistent internationalist, Kadar takes a determined stand against national narrow-mindedness and selfishness, against every manifestation of nationalism, anti-Sovietism and, above all, Maoism, which actively resists the anti-imperialist struggle of revolutionary forces. Kadar's speeches, in particular his statement that an internationalist attitude to the Soviet Union is a national duty of every politically conscious citizen, helped largely to give Hungarian society a proper orientation.

The 11th Congress of the HSWP unanimously confirmed its intention to carry on its general line. Kadar's statements give a clear idea of how policies were framed, how not a few of the ideas put forward by Party members or people outside the Party as proposals or criticisms acquired considerable social significance and how political decisions were conceived due to the collective effort of working people or Party organisations and the activity of leading bodies.

In spite of economic and cultural progress and growing social consciousness, our life was not free from certain tensions and contradictions. As we advanced, we came up against problems of long-range development and it was essential to work out solutions in line with the task of building developed socialism while taking into account our conditions and possibilities. The Party, Kadar stressed, can accomplish current tasks of the socialist revolution only if it correctly estimates the situation and properly bears in mind objective and subjective conditions for advance.

We had to find solutions to problems of the further development of class relations in the country, problems bearing on the sources and limits of accumulation of personal property, on distribution according to work, on improving government in a country where power is wielded by the working people and the task of the individual is to serve them. Solutions were also needed for other, equally important

problems, such as how to promote socialist democracy, in particular production democracy, apply the policy of alliance, carry forward the economic management system, ensure the execution of growing Party building tasks and the formulation of new tasks.

Answering all these questions, Janos Kadar points to the need to abide by Leninist principles of work, that is, the principles which our Party has followed for 20 years now. To begin with, he stresses, we must convince people that the path we urge them to take is the right path and then persuade them to follow us. This mutual confidence between the Party and the masses is a requisite of progress in the economic field, in culture and in ideological and political education.

Public discussion of problems makes for greater mutual confidence and promotes socialist democracy. "We must talk to people openly and seriously about a realistically analysed state of affairs, about the real situation, and they will react accordingly" (pp. 167-168). Kadar sets an example of this approach by pointing out that, in particular, runaway inflation in the capitalist world and a sharp increase in raw material prices have inevitably put certain problems before our economy as well. A sober consideration of these problems in drafting our fifth five-year plan entitles us to say that we have a realistic programme whose fulfilment will guarantee economic progress and hence a higher living standard, more effective education and health services and further advances in science and culture.

What enabled us to work out this programme were primarily the conditions created by socialism—a solid and dependable basis at home and a strong socialist "international rear". In contrast with the insecurity typical of the capitalist world, we carefully considered our conception of long-term development for the next 15-20 years. The substance of this conception is to build a developed socialist society and take another step towards our ultimate goal, communism. J. Kadar's speeches show that building this society is a task of today and, to a still greater textent, a great task for the younger generation.

Building a developed socialist society requires special effort to perfect social relations. The guidelines adopted by the Congress for this decisive sphere will be put into effect to the extent that we succeed on the basis of production democracy in imparting a genuinely socialist character to the division of labour and the distribution of incomes. If coupled with appropriate ideological work, all this is bound to raise the people's social consciousness and standard of behaviour.

Speaking of building developed socialism, Kadar calls on Party organisations and every Communist to promote the labour enthu-

siasm of the people and ensure that each is rewarded, both materially and morally, according to the value of the work he puts in. He stresses that this is not merely a matter of remuneration but a cardinal problem of socialist construction, the key to the further development of socialist social relations. It is, in effect, a question of the totality of the economic, labour organisation political and moral factors that actively influence the formation and consolidation of the socialist system of value.

"A developed socialist society is in the making and a social consciousness corresponding to it is taking shape at the same time", said Janos Kadar in a televised speech in the Soviet Union. "To the working people, the important thing is, I think, that a developed socialist society implies a higher level of stable economy than at present, a higher standard of life, more comprehensive knowledge, education and culture. Nor is that all. I am sure our public and many of our sons and daughters realise more and more that a developed socialist society will bring with it a new conception of equality, that is, equal opportunities for a happy life. It will bring with it respect for human dignity and eradicate all vestiges of the humiliation of man. It will take an important step towards closer relations between classes, the elimination of essential distinctions between physical and mental labour, and the free development of the individual" (pp. 177-178).

This is the programme guiding our Party, a programme which the new collection of Janos Kadar's speeches and statements—an important event in Hungarian politics—helps to carry into practice.

A Loyal Son of His Class

H. Vosske, G. Nitsche, *Wilhelm Pieck, Biographischer Abriss*. Deitz Verlag, Berlin, 1975. 406 pp.

Not long ago the Communists, working class and other working people of the German Democratic Republic and Communists and democrats throughout the world observed the 100th anniversary of the birth of Wilhelm Pieck, outstanding leader of the German and international revolutionary working-class movement. Centenary meetings were held in Berlin, Moscow, Prague and numerous other capitals.

On this memorable occasion Dietz Verlag, the Berlin publishing house, brought out *Wilhelm Pieck, Biographischer Abriss* (Wilhelm Pieck: An Outline Biography), a book prepared by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the auspices of the Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Drawing on a vast amount of material some of which was unknown before and which they collected in the GDR, Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the authors, H. Vosske and G. Nitzsche, portray a great revolutionary whose life was inseparable for more than 60 years from the German and international working-class movement. The very first pages of the book reveal the image of a fighter whose distinguishing trait was close connection with his class and perseverance in the struggle for its interests. It is a description of a Communist's modesty and fidelity to principle, of his ability to give his all to the common cause and convince others of his selfless service to the Party and the people, and learn from them.

Pieck associated himself with the working-class movement at an early age, initially as a trade unionist. In the mid-nineties he joined the Social Democratic Party. Awareness of the working people's interests, loyalty to them and a deep knowledge of Marxism made

him an uncompromising fighter against opportunism and bourgeois nationalism. Pieck became a leading spokesman of the revolutionary Left in the German working-class movement. When World War I broke out he sided with Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg against the imperialist war and the infamous betrayal committed by the right-wing Social Democrats.

The Great October Socialist Revolution had a decisive influence on Pieck. Immediately after its victory he, like other left-wingers, identified himself with the Bolsheviks. Thereby he showd his consistency as a member of his class and this characterised all his subsequent revolutionary activity.

Wilhelm Pieck's life was inseparable from the Communist Party of Germany. He was one of its founders and from the founding congress on, for more than 40 years, he was invariably elected to the highest leading committees of the CPG. The authors give a detailed account of Pieck's activity as an associate of Ernst Thalmann and depict the Communists' fight against right-wing opportunism and "left"-wing sectarianism in building up the CPG as a revolutionary mass party.

Much space is given to Pieck's work in the international Communist movement. He represented the CPG in the Comintern and was a member of the latter's Executive Committee from 1928 on and of its Presidium and Secretariat from 1931 on. He was active in the International Red Aid as a member of its Executive Committee throughout its existence.

Pieck met repeatedly with Lenin in his early years in the Comintern and those meetings greatly influenced his activity. "This is particularly evident," the authors write, "in his articles and speeches..." (p. 106).

Many interesting data cited in the book show Pieck's great contribution to the promotion of the CPG's internationalist relations with numerous brother parties.

While the CPG was unable, due mainly to the divisive policy of right-wing Social Democratic leaders to prevent a fascist dictatorship, the Communists were the only closely-knit anti fascist force in spite of the brutal terror that the fascists unleached on coming to power.

Forced to emigrate, Pieck participated throughout the years of nazi dictatorship in organising the CPG's underground fight against fascism and war, for peace, democracy and socialism. The book shows Pieck's contribution to the strategy and tactics of struggle against fascism approved by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern

(1935), to their application in German conditions, to the CPG's creative elaboration of the united and popular front policy and to its implementation.

The Brussels and Bern conferences of the CPG (1935 and 1939) evolved a uniform strategy and tactics for the struggle to overthrow fascism and establish an anti-fascist, democratic system. Pieck made an appreciable contribution to this work. Presenting the main report to the Bern conference, he said that imperialism and militarism must be eliminated by overthrowing the nazi dictatorship. A united working class allied with the working peasantry, urban middle strata and intellectuals must take power into its hands (p. 210). In the period of severe trials when Hitler's hordes still trampled Soviet soil, Pieck was confident that the homeland of the October Revolution and socialism would win the war. Loyal to proletarian internationalsim, he fought unrelentingly on the side of the Soviet Union and its Red Army for victory over fascism. He knew that this victory would save the German people from national catastrophe and would accord with the pressing interests of the German working class.

The authors depict in considerable detail the culminating period in Wilhelm Pieck's life, when a radical change came about in the history of the German people. Liberation from fascist slavery, an achievement to which the Soviet Union contributed in decisive measure, created the prerequisites for forming an alliance of democratic forces and consolidating the political hegemony of the working class in its alliance with the peasants and other working people.

The book shows how Pieck fought for the revolutionary unity of the working class and the cohesion of all anti-fascist democratic forces. His activity as Party Chairman included tremendous effort to bring about the merger of the Communist and Social Democratic parties into the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. In close comradely cooperation with Otto Grotewohl, Pieck played a decisive role in founding a united revolutionary party of the working class which carried forward the Communist Party's line in the new conditions and united all democratic forces around the working class. It was only natural that Pieck became one of the first leaders of the SUPG along with Grotewohl. And when, in October 1949, the German Democratic Republic was founded as a result of further advances of the world revolutionary process, "no one was better suited for the post of the highest representative of the first German worker-peasant state than Wilhelm Pieck."[1]

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[1] *14. Tagung des ZK der SED*, Derlin Dietz Verlag, 1975, p. 107.

The name and work of Pieck, the first President of the German Democratic Republic, were largely instrumental in gaining international prestige and trust by the new state. Numerous examples cited in the book show Pieck's personal part in establishing close, fraternal relations between the GDR and other socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union. His ardent appeal to make friendship with the Soviet Union a cherished cause of all citizens of the GDR found ready response in the hearts of millions and benefited the subsequent development of the republic.

The formation and progress of the German Democratic Republic, the authors write in conclusion, were the crowning piece of Wilhelm Pieck's life and work To the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, his name remanis a call to action. He is always with us in our life and struggle."[2] His legacy lives on in the effort and achievements of all working people of the German Democratic Republic.

Ernst Diehl
Member of Central Committee,
Socialist Unity Party of Germany

[2] Erich Honecker, *Sein Vermachtnis wurde in unserer Republic* erfullt. *Neues Deutschland*, January 3-4, 1976.

Fighter and Thinker

At the time of the October Revolution, Jacques Duclos, then 21, was a private in the French army. A year later he began his revolutionary career side by side with such renowned fighters as Raymond Lefebvre and Paul Vaillant-Couturier. The French Communist Party was founded two years later, and in 1926, at the age of 30, Duclos was elected to its Central Committee and five years after that to the Political Bureau of which he remained a member to his last days. Beginning with the 30s and up to 1943, he was a member of the Comintern Executive Committee and carried out many of its assignments, notably in Germany and Spain.

The life of Jacques Duclos is inseparable from the history of France, its Communist Party and the international Communist movement. That explains the tremendous interest in his Memoirs, the last volume of which came out in 1973 and a supplementary volume, *What I Believe In*, in 1975[1]

One thing that stands out in all Duclos' writings is his boundless energy and optimism based on a profound understanding of the laws governing historical progress and on ability dialectically to assess events and their international implications. This enabled Duclos, fighter and thinker, to draw the firm conclusion: "The future of socialism will not be confined to one country, it will belong to the whole world."[2]

The excerpts from his speeches at meetings of the Central Committee, the National Assembly and the Senate, cited in the Memoirs, show Duclos as one of France's greatest orators. His speeches breathe inspiration, are a call to battle. He developed his natural

[1] J. Duclos. Memoires. En 7 volumes. Paris, Fayard, 1968-1973; J. Duclos. Ce que je crois. Paris, Grasset, 1975. 124 pp.

[2] Memoires. 1959-1969. Et la lutte continue, p. 12.

gift as orator by studying the tribunes born of the Great French Revolution and the French labour movement. Duclos drew inspiration from such figures as Robespierre, Saint-Just and Jaures. But his eloquence was of a different kind. A Communist, in the past a bakery worker, he was a confirmed dialectician, always guided by Marx's definition of dialectics: "The ideal is but the material world reflected by the human mind and translated into forms of thought".[3] This dialectical approach, combined with a deep understanding of history, found expression in Duclos' unshakable faith in the Communist cause and loyalty to internationalism.

After the war, in common with many young Frenchmen, Duclos was "awakened by the Russian revolution". He fully shared the words of Henri Barbusse: "In future people will be judged by their understanding of the USSR."

Like his friend Maurice Thorez, Duclos realised that the first necessity was to develop the struggle in France itself. In 1936, at the time of the Popular Front, he wrote: "We must speak of France... of the oppression by the 200 families... of Lavalle's emergency laws ...of uniting the masses in the fight for bread, freedom and peace."[4]

When the enemy started an anti-Soviet campaign, Duclos retaliated immediately and effectively: "The Land of Soviets is a land without crises and unemployment, a country free of the tyranny of the moneybags and committed to a policy of peace that is also in the interests of the French people."[5]

During the war Duclos and Thorez issued the famous Appeal of July 10, 1940,[6] with its stirring statement: "Never will our great people become a nation of slaves." Those words were to have much wider reverberations on June 22, 1941, when Duclos, head of the Resistence, declared in the underground *Humanite*: "To help the victory of the USSR is to serve the cause of French liberation."[7]

Two episodes that received wide publicity show up Duclos' polemical skill, and also his kinship with the great revolutionaries who had to fight frame-ups, and above all with Georgi Dimitrov, his friend and Comintern associate.

The first episode goes back to 1947 when interior Minister Jules Moch alleged that the miners' strike was a rising instigated from abroad. During the public hearings Duclos refuted all the Minister's

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[3] Afterword to the second edition of *Capital*

[4] Memoires. 1935-1939. Aux jours ensoleilles du Front populaire, p. 140.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Reference is to the CC FCP appeal that marked the beginning of the Resistance. -*Ed*

[7] Memoires. 1940-1942. Dans la bataille clandestine. p. 169.

"arguments" and proclaimed, to applause from the audienc pite all your emergency laws, you are powerless against the p We are fully convinced of that."[8]

The second episode was Duclos' arrest on May 28, 1952, afte protest demonstrations in Paris against General Ridgway.[9] This to be known as the "pigeon plot"—two pigeons were found in Du car; the police claimed they were carrier pigeons, though actu they were meant for the Duclos' family dinner. In 20 letters f prison Duclos exposed this frame-up, also the improper proceed of the prosecuting authorities and the government's reactionary p cies. From his prison cell, Duclos wrote "I am keeping my h high, as an honest man and fighter true to the working class, cause of the people and France, the cause of socialism."[10]

Seventeen years later Duclos polled about 5 million votes in presidential elections, much more than the Socialist candidate. In words of Waldeck Rochet this powerful support was a tribute Duclos' "innovative spirit and understanding of reality."[11] It w support for a workers' leader for whom the peaceful transition fr capitalism to socialism was possible only with "broad and steady c velopment of the class struggle."[12] Last but not least, it was supp for the author of *What I Believe In*, in which Dullos called for stronger Communist Party and for the 1972 Common Programme the Left "never to be relegated to oblivion."[13] This was not only appeal, but an expression of deep faith.

What I Believe In concludes with words that so vividly expre the integrity and devotion of its author: "If my life ends befo France becomes socialist, I am nevertheless convinced that socialis will triumph in the land of France."[14]

Pierre Hentg

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[8] Memoires. 1945-1952. Sur la breche, p. 249.
[9] The US Commander in Korea.—*Ed.*
[10] Memoires. 1945-1952. Sur la breche, p. 464.
[11] Memoires. 1959-1969, Et la lutte continue. p. 452
[12] Memoires. 1952-1958. Dans la melee, p. 317.
[13] Ce que je crois, p. 229.
[14] Ibid. p. 251.

A Citizen of Chile

"I want to live, but have no fear of dying, and if necessary will lay down my life for my cause." These words, which circled the world, were spoken by Luis Corvalan in the presence of his prison guards in February 1974.

The General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile arises before the readers of *Corvalan of Chile*[1] as a staunch, courageous revolutionary. The book by journalist Eduardo Labarca is based on interviews with leaders and members of the Party who had fought at a Corvalan's side.

The author does not claim an exchaustive and chronological analysis of the revolutionary struggle in Chile. But the episodes and highlights of Corvalan's life, the man's personality, as mirrored in the book, present a clear picture of the popular struggle. Labarca describes the tremendous contribution Luis Corvalan, one of the most far-sighted leaders of the Chilean revolution, made to forging the broad front of social and political forces that brought in the government of President Allende.

Luis Corvalan became General Secretary in the fifties, when the Party was underground. Even then, under the brutal dictatorship of Gonzalez Videla, Corvalan's approach to revolutionary strategy (CP of Chile Central Committee member Manuel Cantero recalls) was broad and far-sighted. He took a firm stand against sectarianism and worked to unite all able forces against the dictatorship, showing how to benefit from the contradictions in the enemy camp and inside the ruling party. Corvalan was "firmly convinced of the need to extend the democratic front. Even if someone is still on the side of the dictatorship, he said, we should not give him up for lost. On the contrary, we should use every opportunity to turn him into an ally, at least a temporary one" (p. [illegible]). This approach is still valid.

Orlando Millas, member of the CP of Chile Political Commission, who is also cited in the book, said that the victory of the popular forces in 1970 was not a simple cumulation of fortuitous events, as bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologues would have us believe. The

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[1] Eduardo Labarca Goddard. *Corvalan de Chile*. Moscow, 1975, 206 pp.

way to it was paved by many years of struggle. Corvalan's report to the 13th Congress of the CP of Chile (October 1965) "outlined a policy that was later implemented in the country... It stood for the unity of all who favoured radical transformations in Chile against the main enemies: Yankee imperialism, the local financial oligarchy, and the landlords... It was based on a strictly scientific evaluation of the relation of forces, and of the vital problems facing society. At the same time, it set the course on uniting all democratic forces round the working class, rallying the vast majority in the country to its side" (pp. 101, 102, 103).

Labarca calls special attention to Corvalan's invaluable contribution to the Popular Unity government. His book contains evidence relating to the period preceding the fascist putsch. There is, for example, an account of a press conference in which Corvalan took part just four days before the coup. A military coup, he said, could break out any minute. "He pointed to the only effective means of preventing the coup, a set of bold actions the Communist Party had suggested to President Allende. A last attempt was to be made to establish contact with the Christian Democrats, to hold a plebiscite... Corvalan looked calm, though with a trace of tension. Corvalan and Millas, who accompanied him, said in so many words that if a coup should occur, it would result in a fascist regime that would wipe out everything Popular Unity had achieved and try to suppress the popular movement" (p. 176).

Corvalan acted with extraordinary vigour. A direct appeal should be made to the people, he held, to find solutions for the vital problems of the country's democratic development. He drew up a proposal on this score and submitted it to the Political Commission of the Communist Party. The Commission approved it, whereupon it was forwarded to the President of the Republic, who accepted it, and to all the other parties in the government coalition. Most of the Popular Unity parties accepted it. Unforunately, a few did not. The President insisted on an attempt to persuade the leaders of these parties, who did not realise the strength of the putschists. Thus, valuable time was lost. "On the morning of the coup," Millas recalls, "we were... in the Party's regional committee, checking the system of communications and information, the dependability of contacts with our allies. Concrete instructions were worked out concerning communications with the President of the Republic...Everything was done to fulfil the decision which no one doubted in the slightest: no matter how brutal the fascist terror, the Party leadership will continue to function" (pp. 187-188).

Hugo Fazio

The Party Press

For Young Revolutionaries

The politico-theoretical journal *Forjador* (Blacksmith), organ of the Communist Youth Federation of Argentina, has resumed publication after a lapse of several years.

The journal explains Communist Party policy, shows the way to achieve broad anti-imperialist unity among the youth, and analyses youth struggles. It examines questions of strengthening the Communist youth organisation, offers glimpses of the life of young people in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and deals with vital ideological problems. There are items on culture, science and the arts.

In the first editorial after resuming publication, the journal discussed preparations for the Federation's Ninth National Conference, and efforts to develop the Federation into a mass organisation of some 100,000 members.

A. Sestopal

Party Successes, Successes of its Newspaper

Towards the end of 1975 *New Age*, Indian Communist paper, published articles on the 50th anniversary of the CPI under the head, "Pages From History". The series culminated in a 48-page jubilee issue of *New Age*, containing articles by S. A. Dange, Chairman of the CPI National Council, C. Rajeswara Rao, CPI General Secretary and other Party leaders. Shortly before the jubilee, the paper discussed the decision of the latst CPI Congress to raise the circulation of *New Age* by 50 per cent before the end of 1975. The latest circulation figures show the target to have been reached.

N. K.

To Win New Readers

A recent issue of *Comment*, journal of the British Communist Party, contains a report on the circulation of the daily *Morning Star*. Considerable progress was registered in 1975, the jounral writes. The London Communists, for example, have devised a system of volunteer *Morning Star* vendors. In Sheffield and Birmingham representatives of factory cells confer regularly with those responsible for the papar's circulation The Scottish Communists, too, have succeeded in winning new subscribers.

K. Nicholson

New Books

Karel Brabed a kolektiv, *Mala encyklopedie socialistickeho sveta* (A Small Encyclopaedia of the Socialist World). Prague, Prace, 1975, 248 pp.

A work by an authors' team of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Czechoslovak-Soviet Institute. It acquaints the reader with the rise and development of the socialist community, the achievements of its member countries and their role in world economy, politics and culture.

Gil Green, *Portugal's Revolution*. New York, International Publishers, 1975

The author visited Portugal in 1975. He interviewed leading Communist and Intersindical functionaries and also talked with workers, soldiers, peasants and intellectuals, both Communists and non-Communists. This enabled him to give a truthful account of current events in Portugal.

Bourgeois propaganda spares no effort to misrepresent the Portuguese revolution to Americans. The American Communist *Daily World* considers that in these circumstances Green's book, written from Marxist-Leninist positions, is particularly important.

Lombotserengin Gurzhav, Dagvadorbhiin Tserendorzh, *Sotsialist uildverlii udirdlagyn shinzhlekh ukhaany undes* (Scientific Principles of Socialist Production, Management). Ulan Bator, Ulsyn Khevlelin Gazar, 1975. 233 pp.

Tow Mongolian scholars discuss the nature, methods and organisational forms of scientific management of the socialist economy and its socio-psychological and legal aspects

Dimityr Dimov, *Ideologicheskiyat protses*. Obuslovenost i efektivnost (The Ideological Process: Its Conditioned Character and Effectiveness). Sofia, Partizdat, 1975. 297 pp.

The author delves into the interconnection of ideology and the socio-economic conditions of public life, the development criteria of the working people's socialist consciousness, and ways and means of improving ideological work.

Philippe Zarifiian, *Inflation et crise monetaire*. Publie sous l'egide du Comite ...omique et social de la Federation syndicale mondiale (F.S.M.) (Inflation and the Monetary Crisis. Published under the Auspices of the Economic and Social Committee of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). Paris, Editions Socailes, 1975, 382 pp.

... book is concerned with the causes and effects of the crisis of the ...alist monetary system, an instrument of imperialist politics, seen by the ... as a reflection of the general crisis of capitalism.

...mmunisty i antiimperialisticheskoye dvizhenie (Communists and the ...-Imperialist Movement). Moscow, Mysl, 1975, 287 pp.

... book on the struggle of one-time colonial peoples against imperialism. ... reveals the Communists' vanguard role in consolidating national sove...ignty and defending the interests of the working people of India Ban...adesh and Syria, and shows the activity of national revolutionary parties ... South and Southeast Asia and the Arab East. There are ample factual ...ata on the struggle of the Communists of depeloping countries against the ...divisive activity of the Chinese CP leadership.

Mouricio Lebedinsky, *La Argentina*, El pais que tenemos, los cambios que necesitamos (Argentina: The Country We Have, the Changes We Need) Buenos Aires, Editorial, Cartago, 1975, 112 pp.

An Argentine economist notes in probing the domestic situation that ...social injustice, the domination of multinational monopolies, the latifundium system illiteracy and a high rate of child mortality are ...ssues ever present on Argentina's political agenda. Only through a broad alliance of all pro...gressive, democratic forces and given trade union and working-class unity, ... writes, can a social and economic programme in the people's interests ... carried out.

John Lewis, *Max Weber and Value-Free Sociology ... A Marxist Critique*. London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1975

Some bourgeois philosophers have lately claimed that Max Weber's "value-free" sociology, on which British and American universities base their sociology classes, is an alternative to Marxism. Analysis of Weber's sub...jective idealist conception of "ideal types" and "value-free" sociology leads ... authors to the conclusion that this school of thought and others like it ... betray an inability to account for or forecast changes in social cons...ciousness are unscientific and useless.

... Szita *An osszeuropai gazdasagi egyuttmukodes ta... ...* (The Outlook ... European Economic Cooperation). Budapest, 1975, 364 pp.

A book devoted to changes in world economy and points to the climate ... ...ming detente, economic cooperation among European countries with

different social systems, its machinery and institutions ... prehensive treatise of this nature to be published in Hu... numerous notes.

Sovetsky Soyuz (The Soviet Union). Politiko-ekonomich... Moscow, Politizdat, 1975, 432 pp.

A political and economic guide to economic, scientific a... ments. It also gives an idea of the moulding of the new ... ment of socialist social relations, the Soviet way of life ... of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

Die Beschleunigung des wissenschaftlichtechnischen Fortsc... itten und Probleme der Leitung. Autorenkollektiv. (Speedin... Technological Progress. Management Tasks and Problems ... stu...). Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1975, 432 pp.

A joint study by Soviet and GDR scholars dealing with ... and management of scientific and technological progress. On ... analysis and generalisation of the experience of major compl... gamations operating in the Soviet Union and GDR, the auth... number of measures to speed scientific and technological ... ticular, they concern themselves with the problems of ... scientific and technological potential on key tasks ... promising lines of research and development, as well ... ning and prognostication.

Paolo Cinanni, *Emigrazione a imperialismo* (Emigration ...). Rome, Editori Riuniti, 1975, 258 pp.

Forced emigration is one of the worst social products of ... capitalism. Drawing on a wealth of documentary evidence ... to Italy, the author reveals the causes and effects of the phen... ... the solution proposed by the Communists.

The Social Gains of the Cuban Revolution

The Cuban revolution, which won in January 1959, has changed the country's social and economic face. The Cuban achievement is in striking contrast to the situation in the rest of Latin America most of which is poverty-ridden and economically backward as a result, mainly, of dependence on imperialism.

US monopolies control 25 per cent of Latin America's land, [illegible] per cent [illegible], 62 per cent iron ore and [illegible] per cent of oil output. The Latin American countries' annual repayment of their foreign debt went up five-fold between 1961 and 1971. In 1974 Brazil's foreign debt added up to $22 billion, Argentina's $7.3 billion and Uruguay's [illegible] billion.

Cuba has put an end to her former dependence on imperialism. The agrarian reform and nationalisation of the basic means of production have done away with landlords and capitalists. The socialist mode of production is dominant. Before the revolution 8 per cent of the proprietors owned more than 70 per cent of the arable land, as is still the case in the rest of Latin America, where 8 per cent still hold 85 per cent of the land. In socialist Cuba 70 per cent of the land is the public property of the whole people. In the 17 years since the revolution Cuba has turned from a backward agrarian country into a growing agrarian-industrial state. In 1974 industrial output accounted for 41 per cent of the gross national product, whereas in other Latin American countries its share grew from 18 [illegible] to a mere 25.2 per cent in twenty years (1950-70).

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* This survey was drawn up with the cooperation of the WMR commission on problems of the national-liberation movement in Latin America and is based on figures provided by the Institute of Latin America, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, taken from the Declaration of the Conference of Latin American and Caribbean Communist Parties (Havana, June 1975), materials of the First Congress of the CP of Cuba (December 1975), and research studies and articles in the press.

Items	Output Growth 1975 against 1958
Electric power	2.5-fold
Oil products	1.6-fold
Steel	10-fold
Nickel	2-fold
Engineering	3-fold
Cement	3-fold
Fertilizer	over 5-fold
Tractors	6-fold
Textiles	2.5-fold
Footwear	almost 3-fold
Paper and cardboard	2.5-fold
Bread and pastry	5-fold
Eggs	6-fold
Fishing	6-fold

Agriculture is being stimulated. As much as one billion pesos were invested in this branch in 1974. The cultivated area has doubled between 1958 and 1975, and despite the droughts of the past several years the average annual growth of agricultural output (excluding sugar cane) was 8.1 per cent in 1970-74. The rice area has expanded from 40,000 hectares to 187,600 and rice cultivation has been fully mechanised. The area under citrus plantations has been increased from 10,000 hectares to more than 100,000. This promises to put Cuba among the world's leading citrus producers. The drive to raise sugar production was centred on modernising techniques, and recent statistics are convincing evidence of qualitative changes. In 1970-71, for instance, only one per cent of the sugar crop was harvested by combines, whereas in 1974-75 more than a thousand combines were put into the field, reaping 25 per cent of the cane harvest. Loading is mechanised 98 per cent, and the number of cane cutters is down to 180,000, or just half of the pre-revolution figures.

There has also been considerable progress in other economic fields. In cash terms new building in 1975 added up to 1,400 million pesos, or three times as much as in 1970. More than 300 industrial projects were under construction last year.

The economic upswing reposes on a stable rise in labour productivity (some 9 per cent annually in 1971-74) and growing effectiveness of production.

In line with the directives for social and economic development adopted by the First Congress of the Communist Party, the economy is to make big strides in 1976-80. The gross social product will increase 34 per cent.

The pace of industrialisation will go up considerably. Investments in industry will amount to 3,878 million pesos. Power output will rise 35 per cent, ferrous metals at least 90 per cent, and building materials 100 per cent. Large new enterprises are to go up (and old ones to be modernised) in oil refining, production of nickel and cement, manufacture of sugar cane harvesters, in the paper, textile, footwear, furniture and other industries. Agriculture, too, will get its share of attention. For example, by 1980 it is planned to assure a stable annual output of 8-8.7 million tons of sugar. Production of vegetables is to go up nearly 50 percent, and milk 75-80 per cent.

Fulfilment of past development plans provided a dependable foundation for big advances in the social sphere. An end has been put to the old social blights, such as racial discrimination, unemployment, destitution and illiteracy, which are still rampant in most of the other Latin American countries.

In 1974 unemployment was the lot of 25 million Latin Americans (more than a quarter of the active population), and it is still growing. Colombia, for example, had one million unemployed in 1974, Venezuela 700,000 Mexico 600,000, Guatemala 600,000, and Paraguay 230,000. In such smaller countries as Nicaragua and Salvador unemployment has hit more than a third of the population.

In pre-revolutionary Cuba, too, there had been chronic unemployment, affecting some 700,000 or 23.4 per cent of the work force. Revolutionary reconstruction created 1,400,000 new jobs, assuring every Cuban the right to work, giving a sense of security, and impelling a steady improvement of the living standard.

While in other Latin American countries more than 100 million are in a chronic state of under-nourishment and 36 million on the edge of starvation (including 15 million children), there is no such thing in Cuba, where food consumption is rising steadily. In most of the countries of the region prices and the cost of living keep rising irrepressibly (in 1974 increases in Uruguay, for example, amounted to 107 per cent, Argentina 40, Brazil 31, and Ecuador 22), while in Cuba the prices of staples were stable throughout. Besides, the government's price policy for key services has greatly benefited family budgets. Before the revolution more than half the families spent an average 11.7 per cent of their budget on housing, whereas in the early 1970s rents of newly-built flats were just 6 per cent of the breadwinner's income. Some [illegible]0,000 new flats are built annually, and the new five-year plan target is to double house-building. This is vital, for before the revolution (1953 figures) more than half the population had sub-standard housing, and 80 per cent of the rural population lived in shacks lacking elementary amenities.

Public funds play an important part in raising the well-being of the masses.

Suffice it to say that in 1975 social maintenance allocations totalled 593.3 million pesos, or five times as much as in 1959.

The scale of the country's social gains is best seen in such spheres as public health and education.

In pre-revolutionary Cuba more than half the doctors were concentrated in Havana. There were only three ten-bed hospitals in the rural areas. Over 80 per cent of the peasants were, in effect, denied medical care. As much as 14 per cent had tuberculosis, and 31 per cent had malaria. Child mortality was among the highest in the region.

The same state of public health in most of the other Latin American countries has not changed substantially over the years. In Honduras, for example, half the doctors are still concentrated in the capital, and 1.7 million people are medically unattended. Two hundred and thirty infants out of 1,000 do not live to the age of one in Haiti, 180 in some parts of Brazil and as many as 90 in such a big city as Sao Paulo, and 79 in Chile. The continental average per 1,000 infants is 66.

In Cuba, child mortality has dropped to 29 per thousand infants, which is among the lowest in the world. The health system was taken over by the state, and all medical care is free. Medical institutions have been set up throughout the country, including the remotest mountain areas. The sums allotted to public health are steadily rising. Before the revolution health allocations totalled 20 million pesos, and in 1975—400 million. The output of medicines has increased more than 80 per cent.

Growth of the Health System

	1958	1974
Hospitals	44	255
Hospital beds (thousands)	10.8	46.4
Hospital beds per 10,000 population	16	47.2
Doctors (thousands)	6	10.2

Dangerous diseases like poliomyelitis, diphtheria, malaria, cholera, yellow fever and smallpox had been completely wiped out by the early 1970s, while the incidence of whooping cough, measles, scarlet fever, typhoid and tuberculosis had dropped sharply. Life expectancy, which was 54 years before the revolution, is now approaching 70. Cuba's medical schools graduate more than 1,000 doctors and 300 dentists a year. Medical personnel in the nation's health system totals 140,000.

In the coming five years it is planned to build more than 100 new polyclinics and hospitals, and there will soon be one doctor per 750 population, one dentist per 3,000 and 55 medium medical personnel per 10,000.

On the eve of the revolution education was in a miserable state: there were one million illiterates and over a million semi-literates. As many as 600,000 children received no schooling, while some 10,000 trained teachers were unemployed.

The revolution made Cuba the first Latin American country where all citizens are literate. In 1961 alone as many as 707,000 adults were taught to read and write. Education is free at all levels, and six-year schooling is obligatory. In 1975 allocations for education amounted to 874.6 million pesos or 11 times as much as the 79.4 million spent in 1959.

Growth of Education

	1958-59 *academic year*	1974-75 *academic year*
Number of general schools	7,588	16,361
Enrolment in them (thousands)	780.9	2,213
Number of specialised secondary schools	59	185
Enrolment in them (thousands)	24.6	116
Students in higher educational institutions (thousands)	25.6	68.5
Teaching personnel in general schools, specialised secondary schools, and higher educational institutions (thousands)	22.9	202

Total enrolment in the public education system on the eve of the revolution was slightly more than 800,000. Today it is 3,051,000. Every third citizen, in fact, is studying. All children in the 6-12 age group attend school, with some 150,000 annually going on from primary to secondary schools: the latter now have an enrolment of 500,000, against slightly more than 60,000 in the 1958-59 school year. Boarding schools, where maintenance is fully or partly paid by the state, are numerous throughout the country. A law is under consideration to introduce obligatory nine-year schooling in the immediate future and 12-year obligatory schooling in the longer term.

Cuba has far outstripped other Latin American countries in the rates of building new schools. In villages alone some 150 secondary boarding schools are opened every year. The system of adult education plays a prominent part with as many as 500,000 people availing themselves of the opportunity to get an education.

The importance of secondary technical and vocational training is rising. The 1974-75 enrolment in the technical and vocational schools (252 trades)

was 79,100, or nearly five times higher than in 1958-59 (when 15,600 trainees were learning 17 trades).

In 1976-80 it is planned to train some 130,000 skilled workers in vocational centres and approximately 80,000 technicians with a secondary or university-level education.

Cuba's achievements in education could be envied by literally every other Latin American country, for the state of education on the continent is highly unsatisfactory.

Officially registered illiterates total 27 per cent, though the true figure is higher. In Salvador, for example, more than 70 per cent cannot read or write, in Guatemala, Honduras and Paraguay 50 per cent, and in Ecuador 44. At least 12 million children do not go to school. Drop-outs from lower grades average between 50 and 80 per cent, and only a third of these finishing primary school go on to secondary. Even in Argentina, one of the most "well off" educationally, 45 per cent of the population has not completed primary school, 30 per cent of the pupils finish primary schooling, 19 per cent of those who finish go on to secondary schools, and only 7.5 per cent of secondary-school pupils complete their schooling.

Progress in education has raised the nation's cultural level. Folk art, the national theatre, music, art and literature have received a new lease of life. The country has 65 theatres, 29 museums, 116 large libraries, 16 picture galleries, and 3 television centres. Cinema attendance rose to 70 million in 1974. Cuba's film-makers have won 136 international prizes. Total annual book-printing approaches 35 million copies, against less than one million before the revolution In 1974, as many as 869 titles were put out, magazine circulation was 28.9 million, and that of newspapers 311 million. This puts Cuba in first place in Latin America.

The Communist Party and the Government of Cuba, as stressed at the First Party Congress, associate progress in socialist construction with consistent observance of proletarian internationalism, and fraternal cooperation with, and aid from, the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community.

Before the revolution, the socialist countries accounted for just one per cent of Cuba's foreign trade, while the USA accounted for 70. In 1974, socialist countries accounted for 59.2 per cent of Cuba's foreign trade (57.[illegible] per cent exports and 60.7 per cent imports). As far back as 1960-62 the Soviet Union was already helping Cuba in 17 industrial and other projects: in 1962-65 the figure rose to 94, and in 1972 to 159 projects By 1975 the Soviet Union was helping to build or reconstruct 244 industrial enterprises and other projects, out of which 105 have by now been completed and are in operation. Enterprises built with Soviet assistance account for nearly [illegible]

per cent of Cuba's gross national product, including 100 per cent of rolled stock, 95 per cent steel, 50 per cent mixed fertilisers, and 32 per cent electric power.

GDR exports to Cuba grew 17-fold between 1960 and 1974, totalling 193.2 million marks. Trade between Czechoslovakia and Cuba rose from 3 million pesos in 1958 to nearly 100 million in 1975.

The other countries of the socialist community also help Cuba: Bulgaria in agriculture and irrigation, Hungary in engineering, sugar refining, communications and television, and Poland and Rumania in establishing several key industries.

In July 1972 Cuba joined the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, which, the country's leaders hold, will further her economic development plans and assure fuller use of collective experience and the advantages of socialist integration.

The First Congress of the Communist Party has set the trends and targets of socialist construction in 1976-80. Under the leadership of the Party, the heroic people of Cuba are determined to fulfil the set tasks with the same selfless dedication as they did in the preceding period, when they battled the aftermath of colonialism to transform their country into a free, rapidly growing socialist state.

Arms Drive in Capit[illegible]

In the present conditions, militarisation [illegible] of modern capitalism, has a twist of the [illegible] ... process the military-industrial [illegible] stepping up the arms drive and raising [illegible]

In 1974, NATO's direct military [illegible] as seven times as much as in 1949. The [illegible] ries, especially that of the United States, [illegible] year US military allocations were $85.5 billi[on] [illegible] $102.7 billion in 1976, and its estimate for [illegible] [illegible] years (1976-80) the United [illegible] [illegible] for military purposes.

The 1975 military budget of the Federal R[epublic] [illegible] a record DM 35.5 billion. France envisages 50 bi[illegible] military budget, or 14.2 per cent more than in the pr[illegible] military budget in the 1975-76 fiscal year is set at £4.55 [illegible] per cent of the gross national product. Japan's expenditure [illegible] defence forces under the fourth five-year plan ending in 19[illegible] the post-war high of 5,682,200 yen, or nearly double the [illegible] ceding five years.

In 1974 military allocations comprised over 30 per cent of the U[illegible] The figure was 17.4 per cent in France, 21.6 in the FRG, and 20.1 p[er cent] in Britain.

The capital-intensiveness of arms production aggravates the effects of mi[li]tary spending on the economy. The cost of military hardware is rising stea[dily] not only due to the increasingly complex technology, but also to the gener[al] growth of prices. This has created a vicious circle: military expenditures stimulate price increases, and the higher costs increase military budgets. Ov[er] the past ten years the cost of 51 new US weapons systems climbed from th[e] originally estimated $94 billion to $133 billion.

The arms drive results in a waste of manpower. In 1975 the US arme[d] forces totalled 5 million men, or 5.2 per cent of the country's manpow[er]. The Bundeswehr personnel totalled 675,000, with another more th[an] 200,000 employed in arms production, which amounts to nearly 4 per cen[t] of the country's work force.

Military research consumes tremendous resources. According to the US National Scientific Fund, research and development in the 1974 fiscal yea[r] added up to nearly $32 billion, with $17 billion coming from the fede[ral] treasury, including $8.3 billion from the Defence Department. Apart from

ect allocations, much of the funds from other state agencies is in o used for research of a military nature.

ance, only the direct Ministry of Defence spending on military re- wallows approximately 15 per cent of the military budget. This spend- fixed at 4,340 million new francs in 1975. Japan has earmarked 16.3 yen (33.5 per cent more than in the previous year) for military-orien- search and development in the 1975-76 fiscal year (which begins 1) The FRG is also expading military research and development, with inistry of Defence alone spending more than DM 6.5 billion for this ose in five years (1970-74).

large number of scientists and highly skilled engineers is employed in ry research. Of the more than half million US engineers and scientists ved in research and development, every other was working on a military ct in 1973.

ilitary orders tend to strengthen still more the positions of the military- h [illegible] complex, impelling further the concentration of production an [illegible] the biggest corporations and adding to their financial power. The [illegible] the century"—an order by four European NATO countries for a [illegible] to replace the F-104 Starfighters—is a striking example. Follow- sharp competitive scrimmage, the order for 350 YF-16 aircraft [illegible] a of $2 billion was awarded to the US General Dynamics Corporation. the Pentagon ordered another 650 for its air force. This opens a new [illegible] of arming and augments huge monopoly profits.

Medium and small enterprises are being drawn into military production h a sub-contracting system, thus getting a stake in the arms drive. h ties their interests to those of the military-industrial complex.

The interminable arms drive in the capitalist countries is creating severe ncial difficulties. Budget deficits have grown. The US deficit in fiscal year 75 was $44.2 billion, and that of 1976 is expected to reach $66 billion. FRG budget is in the red since 1971, and the 1976-77 deficit is expec- to top DM 60 billion. The growing budget deficits are adding to the state bt, a heavy burden on the economy encumbering the financial system and rring the inflationary process. The US state debt as of June 30, 1975, was 38.5 billion.

Military orders and monopoly profits are escalating despite the prolifera- n of crisis phenomena in the capitalist economic system. The energy and netary crises, production cutbacks, inflation and unemployment are be- villing the capitalist world. And far from helping to resolve these acute oblems, the arms drive only aggravates the contradictions of present-day pitalism.

M. Portnoi, head of department, Institute of
World Economy and International Relations,
Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

The World Federation of Trade Unions

Last October the World Federation of Trade Unions celebrated its : anniversary. Its founding in 1945 culminated the process, begun in 1! of concerted trade union efforts in the war against nazi Germany. The was not yet over when, in February 1945, trade union representatives f 36 countries gathered in London and decided to establish the World F ration of Trade Unions. Its inaugural congress in Paris, nine months l: was attended by representatives of 64 million trade unionists in 56 c tries.

The founding of the WFTU gave organisational expression to the un labour action forged in the common fight against nazism. Workers in countries needed a trade union organisation capable of acting on their half and effectively upholding their common interests in world affairs.

The situation at the close of the war largely determined the concept character of the WFTU and the main directions of its activity.

From the very outset, ours has been a unitarian federation, that is, c to all trade unions irrespective of ideology, religion, social and econo system. WFTU affiliates act in concert in order to be stronger and n effectively uphold the common interests of the workers, in accordance its programme and jointly worked out forms of organisation and activi

The WFTU is a fully sovereign democratic organisation whose polic formulated at its congresses by democratic procedures, with each affil having an equal share in decision-making. More, WFTU congresses the international conferences, seminars and colloquia it sponsors are o to non-affiliated unions. This is a characteristic feature of our Federa and its trade union internationals. For instance, the last General Cou meeting, in October, was attended by representatives of 30 non-affili organisations.

The WFTU considers itself a mass and class organisation opposed the policy and practice of class conciliation. Its main task is to fight the economic demands of the workers and for social progress. Its ultim aim is a world order free of social injustice and all forms of exploitat

The basic aims adopted at the inaugural congress 30 years ago are: durable and stable peace; extirpation of fascism; satisfaction of labour's economic and social demands; an end to the colonial system; an end to economic backwardness in developing countries and to their exploitation by the imperialist monopolies; trade union representation in inter-government agencies, and closer trade union unity.

The 30-year WFTU record has been one of steady and persevering struggle to achieve these aims, which have been supplemented at more recent congresses to adapt to the rapidly moving international situation.

True to its unitarian principles, the WFTU did not slide into a sectarian position following the 1949 split of the trade union movement. On the contrary, its open and democratic policy has always been premised on the belief that the split can and should be healed. Accordingly, world-wide trade union unity has been an important goal in all our activities.

The world has changed considerably over the past 30 years. The class struggle in capitalist countries has grown in strength and scope and has reached a new qualitative level both in terms of organisation and goals. The class conciliation policy is receding as labour struggles acquire a deeper class content. Trade union unity is proceeding space, for the workers are coming to see that the most effective way to win their basic demands is through the united effort of the trade unions.

In this situation the tasks of the WFTU can be briefly listed as follows:

— to promote the struggle against the causes and consequences of the crisis in the capitalist world;

— an energetic and sustained effort to support the workers and peoples fighting for complete political and economic independence, for closer international economic cooperation;

— to promote expansion of detente, combat imperialist manoeuvres to impede its progress, and make the Helsinki principles part of international practice;

— strengthen the militant solidarity of the working people to achieve these aims;

— expand and consolidate united action of the working class and its trade unions.

Our efforts to further the workers' interests and trade union unity are bearing fruit: the Federation now represents about 160 million workers in 68 countries, and maintains contact and cooperates with numerous union organisations of diverse persuasion. Its influence and prestige in the trade union movement are steadily growing.

Enrique Pastorino
President, WFTU

CONTINUING THE CAUSE OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

P. AUERSPERG
Central Committee member, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

S. MITRA
National Council member, Communist Party of India

J. PITTMAN
Political Committee member, Communist Party, USA

We are writing from Moscow. The 25th Congress of the CPSU at which we represented *World Marxist Review*, has just concluded. It is hard to sort out our wealth of impressions, hard, in so short a time, to assess and deeply analyse the importance of this congress. We will try to report on what we saw and heard in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, our thoughts in these days, what we were told by the many comrades we met.

When we set out for Moscow we knew, of course, that the congress discussion of home and foreign policy would have international reverberations. This was not our first Soviet communist forum and we knew of their immense impact. Nevertheless, we were astonished by the significance of this congress, and not only for the present and future of the Soviet people but for the world, for our revolutionary cause, for every party and every country. This feeling of globality came on the opening day of the congress

Each of us met in Moscow friends and comrades from many different countries. For the congress was attended by 103 delegations of communist, workers', national-democratic and socialist parties from 96 countries, more than at any previous congress. At the press centre, housed in the new hotel on Gorky Street, one could meet journalists from every part of the world, from newspapers and magazines of widely different persuasion. All told, there were about 800 correspondents reporting the proceedings at the Palace of Congresses to every corner of the world: the first part of the Central Committee report was already being printed in many countries and

many languages before Comrade Brezhnev had finished appreciation of the epochal importance of the congress ... these external circumstances.

We would draw attention to the words with which C... began his report: "The world is changing before our very ... ing for the better. Our people, our party, are not passive ... active participants in these changes. The labour effort of th... in building communism, the activities of the CPSU and th... ment on the international scene—all this is a worthy contri... progress." And somewhat further in the report: "What the ... are accomplishing today is a direct continuation of the cau... ber Revolution. It is the practical embodiment of the idea... Lenin. We have been, and always will be true to this cause and ...

We can appreciate the truth of these words. One of ... tative of the Communist Party of the USA, was at one ... correspondent of the party's paper and recently, after a consid... val, travelled in the Soviet Union. The other two had likewis... USSR at various times. We were thus in a position to compa... past and the present to see how the party of Lenin, true to his ... was continuing the cause of the Great October with revolutionar... and consistency, see the vastly increased scale of its transformat... vity. Indeed, this could be palpably felt at the congress.

The achievements of the Soviet people under CPSU leadership ... epochal:

—they have reached new frontiers in creating the material and tech... basis of communism, have strengthened the country's economic pot... and its defence capacity, which guarantees the inviolability of its soc... gains;

—they have created a new society, the like of which mankind has n... known—a society without crises, with a constantly expanding econ... mature socialist relations and genuine freedom, a society, moreover, firm... confident of its future, of achieving the radiant communist ideals, a soci... of indestructible friendship of the peoples;

—they have shaped the Soviet way of life, characterised by genuine co... llectivism and comradeship, unity and moral integrity;

—the principal result of socialist development is Soviet man himself ... line with Lenin's injunctions, he is building the communist future, sparing neither strength nor sacrifice; a man in whom there are fused ideologic... convictions and tremendous energy, culture, patriotism and internation... ism, knowledge and ability to apply it;

—in the eyes of the peoples of the world, the Land of Soviets is a ste... ly strengthening bulwark of peace, democracy and progress.

The CPSU is carrying forward the banner of the October Revolution. [illegible] continuity and consistency of its policy was noted by many of the [illegible]

[illegible] is symbolic", Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the Communist [illegible] of Czechoslovakia, said, "that the concluding quarter of the twen[illegible] century, the century of the Great October Socialist Revolution which [illegible] in a new era in the development of mankind, is marked by the [illegible] Congress of the CPSU." Together with all the other delegates we [illegible] applauded Fidel Castro, leader of the Cuban communists, when [illegible] his impressions of the CPSU at the time of the 25th Congress: [illegible] has the impression that this is not a party which won power nearly [illegible] ago, but a party animated by new and inexhaustible energy and [illegible] forward every day on the road of revolution. This is the same [illegible] in the glorious days of the cruiser *Aurora* and the storming of the [illegible] Palace."

[illegible] was the impression of all of us. Our thoughts turned to [illegible] old, [illegible] issue that had been so clearly and definitely resolved. Lenin's [illegible] revolutionary line triumphed then, and is triumphing again today, exposing [illegible] reformism and opportunism as sterile, unable to create anything save [illegible] modernised recipes for rescuing capitalism.

There was a natural pride of people who had achieved so much [illegible] [illegible] efficiency [illegible] businesslike approach went hand in hand with broad [illegible] We saw, could feel, this projection into the future to the summit [illegible] communist civilisation. And we knew that we were at the source of a [illegible] and powerful forward movement of the first land of socialism. We [illegible] we felt, at a historic juncture on the great road of social progress [illegible] at one time or another, all of us, all the peoples, will traverse. The [illegible] is ahead of all other parties in leading its people to our common [illegible] its today is our tomorrow.

At the same time, this forward movement [illegible] intimately connected with [illegible] world advance on the road of social progress.

[illegible] our delegation of three, one comes from a socialist country, another [illegible] highly developed capitalist country, and the third from a developing country. In assessing the congress from the common positions of inter[illegible] communism, we at the same time assessed it each from his own [illegible] standpoint. We drew this conclusion: the new achievements of the Soviet [illegible] and its new plans are a tremendous contribution to strengthening the [illegible] socialist community, which has become the decisive factor of world deve[illegible] lopment. The new gains and plans of the first land of socialism, which [illegible] out so vividly against the background of crisis upheavals in the capi[illegible] world, its uninterrupted ascendant development, its outstanding suc[illegible] on the world scene—they all add up to powerful support for the

communist parties in capitalist countries ... the newly-emergent and developing nations ... that the changed alignment of class forces ... part of the national liberation movement ... socialist community countries provide the cond... the newly liberated countries to stand up to ... just, re... equal economic relations.

And so, the very logic of history has assigned ... it leads a special place in the world revolutionary ... decisions setting out the fundamental directions of Sov... policy, will exert a beneficial influence on all aspects ...

An essential feature of the 25th Congress, one that ... international significance, is its consistent and, we would ... proletarian internationalism.

"We Soviet communists consider the defence of proletarian ... nationalism the sacred duty of Marxists-Leninists", is how this w... pressed in the Central Committee report. Retreat from interna... positions was subjected to open and principled criticism. We agre... the Soviet communists that on this question there can be no comprom...

For the CPSU internationalism is more than a theoretical principle ... part of its practical activities. At the congress this was emphasised by de... gates from the socialist countries and from communist and workers' pa... ties in capitalist and developing countries. We listened to the moving wor... of delegation leaders from the Communist Party of Cuba, the Work... People's Party of Vietnam, People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, Por... guese Communist Party, Communist Party of Chile, National-Libera... Front of South Vietnam, Popular Movement for the Liberation of Ango... Congolese Party of Labour and other comrades. They all spoke of th... gratitude to the CPSU for its solidarity with their struggle and for its ... interested assistance.

The CPSU has demonstrated what genuine proletarian solidarity ... fraternal aid to embattled peoples mean in practice: the Soviet Union ... never made support of revolutionary fighters dependant on any condit... or commitments, has not sought advantage for itself, nor concessions, ... political domination, nor military bases. What Comrade Brezhnev sai... the subject at the congress can be convincingly confirmed by one of ... group, the representative of the Communist Party of India. Latterly the... have been many statements, and a good deal of controversy, against ... tary bases in the Indian Ocean. The congress declared, the Soviet ... has no intention of building military bases in the Indian Ocean and ... the United States to take the same attitude.

We spoke to comrades from Sri Lanka, Syria and Puerto Rico a...

said that the Soviet communists' internationalist assistance was [d]isinterested, honest and sincere.

[S]till another centra' feature of CPSU internationalism. . . We were impressed by the speech of a Kuzbas miner, I. . Drozdetsky. Soviet workers, he said, internationalism is not something abstract on great holidays; the Soviet workers are on the side of the work-, and all working people of the world. Another speaker, Ukrainian e farm team leader A. V. Gitalov, emphasised that the Soviet ists appreciate and cherish the gains of their brothers in other

The CPSU's international activity, Comrade Brezhnev said, has the cause of all our people. Its successes are based on experience wledge, on the spiritual strength and dedicated work of millions of itizens. Most of the delegates, and many of those whom we inter were in one way or another associated with international affairs. ds of Soviet citizens are working abroad—geologists and construc-rkers, physicians and teachers, metallurgists and chemists, transport ter specialists. The CPSU has succeeded—and this w[as] clearly trated by the congress—in training genuine internationalists. The of solidarity with other peoples is deeply rooted in the conscience people. This is a truly historic, and admirable achievement

impressions were shared by many comrades. We discussed them in ke.

hael O'Riordan, General Secretary, Communist Party of Ireland:

he spirit of internationalism is a most important feature of the s.

ddi Jagan, General Secretary, People's Progressive Party of Guyana:

e Soviet communists' commitment to proletarian internationalism s practical embodiment, notably in Angola, greatly enhances the Union's international prestige.

rge Jackson, National Secretary, Socialist Unity Party of New d:

alisation of the tenth five-year plan will demonstrate anew the ad-es of socialism and will contribute to the security of all the peoples. be a new international contribution by the CPSU to our common

of Dadoo, Chairman, South African Communist Party:

his congress is of immense importance for the success of our strug-ainst racialism and apartheid; it fortifies our confidence in the Soviet solidarity with our struggle.

international character of the congress was determined also by the hat, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism the CPSU made ound scientific and genuinely class analysis of world events and the

problems of the revolutionary movement. It advanced a number of propositions of inestimable value to the theory and practice of our common cause. Among these we would single out its emphasis on the common laws governing the development of revolution and the building of the new society, and their creative application in the concrete conditions of each country; the danger of yielding to opportunism for the sake of partial and temporary gains; the importance of detente for peace and social progress and its relation to the class struggle and the fight for national independence and progress; internationalism and the unity of the communist movement on the basis of genuine comradeship and within the framework of established norms of equality and respect for the independence of each party, and, at the same time, fidelity to principle in relations between parties; the inadmissibility of a conciliatory attitude to views and actions contrary to the communist ideology, Marxism-Leninism; the principles of cooperation with non-communist parties, including socialist and social-democratic, and the inadmissibility, in such cooperation, of ideological concessions.

We feel sure that these propositions and conclusions will be profoundly analysed and discussed by communists in many countries. The comrades we talked to said that they will stimulate theoretical and practical work in their respective parties.

Understandably, the Soviet Communist Party's analysis of its foreign and home policy, the problems involved and the ways of their solution, have always commanded a keen interest from communists in all countries. What was the most significant in this respect at the 25th Congress?

Our most indelible impression is of the humanism that permeated all the congress debates and decisions; man was the central figure in all the discussions of foreign and home policy.

Both the report and debate discussed peace, revealing a deep concern for the happiness not only of the Soviet people, but of the whole of mankind.

One of our delegation, the representative of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, attended the previous 24th Congress. It was at this congress that Comrade Brezhnev set out what later came to be known throughout the world as the Soviet peace programme. And one could not help thinking then: how much time and effort will be needed to bring this programme to reality? Now we can say: what the Soviet Union has accomplished over the past five years is of permanent importance.

But the basic provisions of the peace programme are long-range. The 25th Congress formulated the tasks in the continued effort for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and independence of the peoples. The delegates were greatly impressed by the proposal for a world treaty renouncing the use of force in international relations, and the constructive initiatives on disarmament.

This subject, too, we discussed with our comrades from fraternal parties. The following are some of their comments.

Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party USA:

—the CPSU proposals on concrete steps to promote peace are a splendid example the leaders of capitalist countries would do well to follow.

Sripad Amrit Dange, Chairman, National Council, Communist Party of India:

—the congress emphasised the importance of ensuring Asian security. I was especially impressed by the proposals relating to the Indian Ocean. All this is of vast importance for the people of India.

William Kashtan, General Secretary, Communist Party of Canada:

—the congress has opened new vistas for peaceful coexistence and co-operation, including closer friendship between Canada and the USSR.

Much could be said about the humanism of the CPSU's internal policy. It finds expression in every word and every figure of the congress documents. However, as our report does not allow for a detailed discussion, we will dwell on the most important points.

The prevailing tone of the speeches was respect for labour and the human personality. In fact, the composition of the congress was expressive of this, with most of the delegates wearing government decorations and medals. For the key principle guiding Communist Party members in delegating their representatives to this supreme party forum is one's attitude to his work, his social and political activity. The Central Committee report contained what could be well described as a paean to the man of labour the builder of the new communist society Little surprise, then, that the congress was so concerned for improving working and living conditions.

Some bourgeois ideologists allege that the Soviet Union is sliding into the "ideals" of a consumer society. Having been at the congress, we can confidently say that the authors of such allegations are indulging in wishful thinking. History has never known such a comprehensive social programme as the one carried out in the past five years, still less the more ambitious programme for the next five years. In it, the party's concern for higher prosperity standards is combined with concern for the spiritual development of every man and woman, their education, culture, moral attitudes. This has nothing in common with bourgeois consumerism, where a person's prosperity is measured in how many suits or pairs of shoes he can buy on his weekly wage. The CPSU regards higher prosperity standards as the basis, the prime condition, for the development of the individual, the flourishing and materialisation of all his potentialities. The goals of higher effectiveness and higher quality in production, better living conditions for the people and the extension of socialist democracy, approved by the congress, and the problems of raising the ideological and cultural level of the people, the

development of literature and the arts—all these were seen as interconnec-ted, as parts of an integral whole.

The congress gave an in-depth scientific analysis of the problems of developing socialist society and took a self-critical and principled approach to shortcomings in the work of party members. There were many constructive proposals from the delegates on how to improve things. In following the debate, we could not help thinking how closely intertwined were solutions of concrete work-a-day problems with the elaboration of longrange tasks that will become guidelines in the building of communist society. That was made possible by the party's immense preparatory work for the congress, predicated on the Leninist principles of shunning pragmatism and momentary requirements and gains in favour of the chief, ultimate aims of the movement.

The Soviet Union's remarkable achievements accentuate the attractive power of the experience and image of the party of Lenin. And we tried to form an image of the party today, its main characteristics.

We drew attention to the proposition set out in the CC report: Now, with developed socialism, the Communist Party has become the party of the entire people, without, however, shedding its class character. By its very nature, the CPSU was and is a party of the working class.

One can discern in the work of the party, its Central Committee, Political Bureau, its General Secretary, Comrade Brezhnev, the characteristics of the Leninist approach to all facets of party activity, in short, the Lenin style of work.

The party appeared to us at its congress: 4,998 delegates representing 15,694,000 members. Who are they?

Most of the delegates were blue-collar and white-collar workers. 34.1 per cent were industrial workers, of whom 77 per cent had come straight from the shop floor, the smelting furnaces, the mines, the Baikal-Amur railway and other major construction projects; 887 delegates were from agriculture, among them 70 per cent direct from the farms. But there were also 103 members and corresponding members of various academies, 442 holders of doctoral or candidate degrees, writers, artists, teachers. The delegates included Heroes of the Soviet Union, among them 11 cosmonauts, Heroes of Socialist Labour, holders of the Lenin and state prizes. A quarter of the delegates were women, and the delegate body was representative of 60 Soviet nations and nationalities.

No less significant are the data on educational standards: nearly 90 per cent of all delegates had a higher or secondary education. Gathered in the hall were men and women highly competent in their particular fields.

We visited the Lenin Museum and were reminded of the words of H. G. Wells that the Lenin government was the most educated and erudite in the

world. It is safe to say that now this applies to the entire Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

We followed the speeches of these men and women, their proud descriptions of successes, their concern for shortcomings, their principled criticism and constructive proposals. All this gave the lie to bourgeois propaganda that in the USSR communists are a privileged class concerned for their own egoistic interests. Yes, Communist Party membership is a privilege, but only in the sense that it is a privilege to serve the people better, with more dedication. Joining the Communist Party means assuming a great responsibility not only for one's particular job, but for the destinies of one's people, for their destinies of the world.

The party takes into its ranks the best sons and daughters of the people. And it rids itself of those who have not stood the test, who have proved unworthy of the high calling of party member: in the exchange of party cards, 347,000, who had deviated from the norms of party life, were denied new party cards.

It is a tradition of the Leninist party to maintain close ties with the masses. That in fact is the source of its strength. We know that bourgeois propaganda has sought to depict the communist parties of the socialist countries as a narrow caste that solves all problems behind the backs of the people. But the congress made it perfectly clear that the party has no secrets from the people and is vitally interested in all Soviet citizens knowing and passing judgement on what it does and plans. The very preparation of the congress effectively refuted all these propaganda figments: practically the entire adult population shared in the discussion of its draft documents, and the reports and debates at the congress itself were immediately published and discussed in the press. On this issue, too, those who would divorce the CPSU from the people are indulging in wishful thinking.

The CPSU today is an effective, dynamic organism. As Comrade Brezhnev said in his report: "Of course, the party, the character of its activity, are not something set once and for all. At every stage its work acquires a new content." At the congress we saw how this comes about. For we were present in the main laboratory of creative Marxism-Leninism, and we witnessed the active process of collective projection of the ways and means of social progress at its highest stage, the advance to communism.

We were in the treasure-store of revolutionary experience, upon whose riches communists and progressives throughout the world will draw. We saw a great people taking another important and long step on the road opened in October 1917, the road illumined by Lenin's genius.

A POWERFUL FORCE FOR CHANGE

LUIGI LONGO
Chairman of the Italian Communist Party

Comrade Luigi Longo is a prominent personality in the international communist and workers' movement, a noted theoretician and political leader. He was an organiser of the armed struggle against fascism and reaction in Italy and Spain. His book, *Between Reaction and Revolution*, written in the form of a dialogue with his friend and Comrade Carlo Salinari, has been translated into Russian and other languages and is widely known outside of Italy. Essentially, it is the author's reminiscences and reflections on the early days of the Italian Communist Party. Comrade Longo is now completing work on the second volume. His analysis, thoughts, judgements and conclusions have a topical ring, for he draws instructive lessons from the events of the past. In view of the wide interest in the problems dealt with in his book and in the struggle of the ICP, particularly its success at the municipal elections of 15 June 1975, we have asked Comrade Longo to reply to a number of questions.

These and the answers are given below.

Q. You describe the 1919-20 controversy over the question: Should Marxists passively adapt to events or make history, guided by Marx's injunction, in his *Theses on Feuerbach*, to "change circumstances"? How has history resolved the issue?

A. I have already had occasion to deal with this question. In reporting to the Eighth Congress (December 1956) on the Party Statutes, I said that our's is the party of those who want not only to explain the world, but to change it. It is a party of fighters, not of hopeless phrasemongers.

The support it enjoys rests on its ability to express, through its main features, historic reality. But it is a result, also—and to a no less degree—of its endeavours to change this reality. Our aim is for the common interests of the people to dominate reality, insofar as this is possible, so that the ideals of justice and freedom are realised in every increasing measure, thereby advancing the cause of liberating all the people, the cause of socialism.

Q. How did the ICP, in the difficult conditions of clandestinity, manage to keep up the fight against the fascist dictatorship?

A. Ability and determination to carry out its policy in all situations, and change these situations by its activity in order to produce the necessary results, has always been an inalienable feature of our party. It has to be said that this collective ability, which has always inspired the party, stems from the enthusiasm of its members, who never accept defeat, never yield to the enemy, though when necessary change the forms of, but never cease, the struggle. It was this ability and this resolve to fight hated fascism that enabled our party, in every situation and in all circumstances, to fulfil its role of organiser and political leader of the Italian working-class and popular movements.

Q. What were the characteristic features of the party's work in the difficult years of fascist dictatorship?

A. These features were manifest throughout the long history of our party, throughout the struggle which made it what it is today. We had to work in an exceptionally complex period of internal and international upheavals, from the very birth of our party in Leghorn on 21 January 1921, to the national rising of April 1945, which liberated Italy from German occupation and national-fascism. In other words, this was a quarter century of rigorous underground work, with victories and defeats, advances and retreats. In short, a quarter century of sacrifice, successes in the struggle often armed from the early clashes with fascist gangs, when our party had just been organised, and up to the defence of the Spanish republic and the resistance.

We were storming a fortress with what weapons we had, and we could only scratch the walls, no more. The party was still small, with meagre means, a few leaflets and papers barely readable because of their small size and poor print. On the other side was the fascist machine of government, which could use against us industry, social relations, organised demonstrations, the press, radio, the courts, the police, and the special tribunals with their savage sentences.

Naturally there were illusions, mistakes and deviations in our methods of work and political attitudes. But even these (in the course of their overcoming) to some extent contributed to the growth of the anti-fascist struggle. And in the process there matured the conviction among communists and the oppressed classes that the struggle was necessary and possible despite all the sacrifices it entailed. Heroism was born from the very hardships of the struggle, the sacrifices it demanded, the respect the communists had won among all honest men who were aware of the tragedy and catastrophe into which fascism had plunged the nation. This inspired our comrades, helped them never to yield to the enemy, cultivated stamina and the desire

to return to the battle lines the moment they were released from prison. In this sense, our struggle, though still limited, inadequate and difficult, helped to inculcate in the masses a spirit of hatred of fascism, and in particular helped to instill class, anti-fascist consciousness among the working people, and national-patriotic anti-fascist consciousness among the more enlightened intellectuals, students and the youth, who so enthusiastically took up the battle for Italy's renewal and progressive development, the battle against the abhorrent and discredited fascist regime.

All this might be dismissed with professorial contempt as of little or no importance. But in Italy, duped and benighted, and with Mussolini's "genius" and conquests extolled and megaphoned, organising underground work and awakening the people's hopes of better times was, in terms of sacrifices and results, no mean accomplishment. And the results had a tangible effect on the anti-fascist struggle of the working class. the cultivation of consciousness and of a firm will to fight. At the crucial moment, all this led to the victory of the democratic, anti-fascist revolution. Naturally, that victory, won by the popular masses and the armed partisan resistance, was possible also in the context of the popular democratic war waged by the "allies": the democratic governments and united peoples, against national-fascism. We know that the Soviet Union played the decisive role in the defeat of Hitler, both on the battlefield and by its inspiring example to all the peoples in nazi-held countries.

And so it was not adventurism, nor rash heroism, but conviction that inspired the resistance. And conviction must be central to the political and organisational choice the party makes. It helps to achieve its aim, be where the action is, and discharge its mission, which is not only to explain reality, but change it along socialist lines.

The same features have been present in the party's activities after liberation, in the more than thirty years of struggle by the democratic and popular forces. All this is part of our record of more than fifty years of struggle, legal and illegal, peaceful and armed—a half-century rich in experience and lessons which must never be forgotten and used to consummate the new phase of our democratic anti-fascist revolution, as set out in the decisions of our 14th Congress (March 1975).

Retention of its dominant features has given our party continuity, despite the differences in the two phases of its development, before and after the victory over national-fascism. In the new conditions of democratic life our party has grown considerably stronger, has formed a new pattern of relations with other popular and democratic political and social forces. It became possible to agree and cooperate with these forces for Italy's progress and prosperity. And to an increasing degree, such cooperation accords with Italy's national interests.

Q. **And so, how has history resolved the old controversy of whether the**

Marxists should "make history"? What would Italy be like today without the decisive role of the Communist Party, its proposals and struggle?

A. I think that the history of the ICP, its fight against fascism and German occupation provide a clear and positive answer to the question of whether or not the communists, organised in their party, should "make the history" of their country. Of course, there is no point in trying to picture what Italy would be like without the energetic activity of the Communist Party, which has won a place for itself in Italian society through its armed struggle, adoption of the republican constitution and all proposals which over the years promoted democratic advance.

The people appreciate not only our fight against fascism and German occupation, but also our championship of their interests, aspirations and ideals, which are central to all party initiatives and actions. This appreciation and confidence, manifested not only by party members but also by the broad masses, has been won in years of struggle, sacrifice and gains during the long and dedicated opposition to fascism and in the new conditions of legality, won by the resistance in the fight for liberation.

Now there are hard-fought battles for full implementation of the democratic gains of the resistance and of the constitution adopted in December 1947, and for defence of the people's interests. In factories, offices, residential areas and colleges, the communists have been fighting shoulder to shoulder with workers, students, intellectuals and women, demonstrating that the ICP is the most devoted and consistent champion of their rights and aspirations. Thus the party has become part of the people life and the guarantor of their hopes. That is why the masses have always stood up in defence of the party whenever it was threatened, persecuted or slandered by the same enemy the people come into contact with every day at work, in the cities, in the intertwining of social relations. That is why the people's faith in the Communist Party is sincere and natural. It is not induced by some external force, nor bought by currying favour, and it is certainly not associated with the backstage deals and machinations to which the Christian-Democratic Party constantly resorts in an attempt to maintain itself in power.

The ICP has its roots in the people's needs and aspirations. Hence its tremendous political, electoral and organisational gains, its steadily growing achievements. They surprise and baffle all who either do not know or ignore the real political character and moral make-up of our party. We owe it to the vast popular support that all our measures to build up the party and strengthen its links with national society are crowned with success. These measures include *Unita* festivals and fund-raising campaigns for the communist press. Through them we acquire several thousand million lire every year to which are added, also every year, several more thousand millions

that we derive as membership dues and as a result of active work for the party done gratuitously by members and sympathisers whenever necessary.

Those who would really like to know the reason for the party's invariable strength, prestige and capacity for work should look for it in the history of our party, in the record of its unity, militancy and firmness, in the distinctive character of a compact political organisation faithful to its principles and objectives, but always ready to learn the lessons of experience. All this explains why the party has none of the negative features intrinsic, in one measure or another, to both bourgeois or interclass parties and those that are more or less working-class and popular organisations by origin. The ICP has proved its ability to express and discharge the leading national function of the working class and other working people, who are fighting for more durable and advanced democracy, for far-reaching economic and social renewal of our country, for its moral uplift and renaissance. Hence the party's growing influence on the orientation of other social and political democratic forces, on the ideological and cultural activity of the entire progressive part of the nation.

The ICP derives its capability from a rational interpretation of reality, from the great lessons of Marxism and Leninism, in which it finds the main guiding principles and which make it aware of the need to strive continuously for a correct understanding of the national and international situation, of its exigencies and the role which the working class and the people must play, because the process of history never stops and never turns back. To avoid a biased and distorted interpretation of history, which often results from the opinions of this or that individual, the ICP recognises and applies democratic centralism. This is fully in keeping with the party's desire to apply in its internal life and same higher forms which Gramsci imparted to the "collective intellectual".

The need to overcome the narrow scope of particular points of view expresses itself and is embodied in our internationalism, which we see as a requisite of constantly exchanging views and experiences with communist parties operating in circumstances differing from ours and with all the forces in the world fighting for renovation, progress and the liberation of peoples from imperialism. Of course, we also draw on our own ideological legacy

Democratic centralism is the main instrument of expressing the communists' aspiration to control events rather than be controlled by them. This also applies to the party's effort for unity, to its doing the maximum to achieve its chosen goals and combat manifestations of weakness that express themselves in internal contradictions powered by a system of trends and factionalism. Furthermore, the ICP has always regarded its internationalist and anti-imperialist position as a condition for combating impediments to Italy's democratic development and socialist renovation. This

ort goes beyond national bounds and demands our contribution to world tory as a whole, a contribution we make as loyal champions of a cause important to the destiny of each nation and the destiny of mankind.

The ICP owes its ability to express far-reaching demands of the work- people, influence a given situation and change it in favour of renova- n and progress to its ideological legacy and the experience of militancy ined and accumulated by it in the early phase of the struggle for a de- ocratic and anti-fascist revolution. In the conditions in which it had to ht at the time, the old-type party created certain prerequisites for the iovated party and, along with it, the working-class and popular move- ent. The party's constant effort to be an organ of research and collective eoretical work is evidenced throughout the period of underground acti- y and fascist repression and in the discussions on the revolutionary pers- ctive and unity of action as well as on organisational matters that took ice among the rank and file but above all in the party's leading bodies.

Discussions of the period of illegal activity stressed the importance of firm oral principles and views, of loyalty to the party, which became solidarity sted in action when dangers had to be faced. In those circumstances, ery sign of weakness and every erroneous position or position considered roneous was condemned and branded as moral instability or loss of con- ence in the party and in communism and hence as something particularly ntemptible. Now that the situation is entirely different and we are faced th entirely different problems, all this may be seen as a sign of political rrow-mindedness. I believe, however, that it would be wrong to estimate ir past from only that point of view, in terms of the relative breadth of it views. Such a criterion is applicable solely to present-day problems. should not be forgotten that the time when we fought was a "time of iron d fire" as Gramsci put it. In that school of honesty, sincerity and genuine llective solidarity, in the long period when the party was formed amid uggles, dangers and sacrifices, there emerged communist cadres and a le of work that made our party what it is

The unity, staunchness and action potential of our party in the most try- , period of its existence were supported by the heartfelt esteem and deep npathy which its membership had for its leader, Togliatti. At even the st difficult movements of the party's political and organisational activity, eryone saw him as the most reliable guarantee of preserving the most portant gains. It is a fact that every comrade regarded these gains and se basic features of the party as an absolute necessity in the grim and ficult struggle he was carrying on. There was also an understandable need those conditions to resort constantly to the lessons of Marxism and ninism so as to ensure that the party remained a healthy and viable orga- sation, steering clear anything smacking of corruption and depravity which

sprout continuously in the decaying and corrupting reality of capitalist society with the connivance of strong and cynical opponents.

Q. You gave an apt definition of internationalism and its role in shaping the character of the party and enhancing its internal and international prestige. Could you describe the ICP's international relations in greater detail?

A. It is safe to say that the lessons and examples of other parties had an appreciable impact on the political and organisational development of the ICP, its structure and relations between its leaders and membership, between its leadership and the people. The lessons we drew from the experience and decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International inspired by Georgi Dimitrov were of decisive importance in pursuing a consistent policy of united action. I remember that it was in connection with preparations for the congress that Palmiro Togliatti was invited to Moscow, where he stayed for more than a year and made an important contribution to the work of the congress and to the drafting of its decisions.

It would be foolish to deny all this, just as it would be foolish, while acknowledging it, to question the nature of our party, a thoroughly national and genuinely internationalist party drawing lessons and deriving encouragement for its development from the experience of all countries. In the long and difficult period of our party's life and struggle there were not a few members and even leaders who would have liked to counterpose a "genuinely revolutionary spirit" and "effective political autonomy" to the internationalism of the ICP, in particular to its fraternal relations with the CPSU.

We know and have always been convinced that revolutionary consistency and internationalism are two aspects of one and the same truth. The facts prove us correct. We learned exceptionally valuable lessons from our internationalist links and fraternal relations with the CPSU when fascist repression compelled us to carry on our liberation struggle in exceedingly harsh conditions of illegality. There is no doubt that the Bolsheviks' experience and its study had their effect on our membership and the party as a whole which we consider positive to this day. If the party maintained its morale to a greater or lesser degree and without serious ruptures or splits, throughout 20 years of absolute illegality and terror, we owe this largely to the fact that we studied and borrowed that experience. Am[ong] formidable difficulties, at a time when the outlook for the fight against th[e] Mussolini dictatorship and a fascism on the offensive in Europe was dim, ou[r] path was illumined by confidence in the inevitability of final victory and th[e] creation of a new, socialist society, such as the Soviet Union was buildi[ng]. At certain periods of fascist repression, which greatly restricted our oppor[tu]nities for work and propaganda, the example of the USSR played a high[ly]

portant part in gradually raising the working people's social awareness. did its experience and the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist teachings, ich our underground press publicised as best it could. The formation of t awareness benefited first of all and undoubtedly from the great progress ich the Soviet Union had made in building socialism and which even the ss of the regime then in power could not entirely ignore. The fact that Russian proletariat had succeeded in overthrowing the cruel and hated rist regime, which had enjoyed absolute power for centuries, and in doing ay with capitalism made the working people oppressed by fascism con- ent of a free future.

Many of the party's characteristics that developed in those years were ermined historically as well by the pressing exigencies of the time, even ough subsequently they were reappraised in a definite sense and updated. is helped to make the party of the period of illegal work a national "new" rty, as Togliatti defined it, a party more in harmony with the conditions ated after Italy was freed from national-fascism.

Q. If we may use this occasion, what would you wish the readers of our irnal, which is now published in 47 national editions and 30 languages and culated in 145 countries?

A. As most of the readers of your journal are communists, I would like, st of all, to wish them success in their noble struggle for the happiness of ir peoples, for socialism and peace. I hope the journal will give greater verage to that struggle, its complexity, the communists' strategy and tac- s, and their devotion and heroism. I think it is important that the new nerations of fighters, who undoubtedly have also new splendid qualities, educated according to the immense experience gained by the older gene- ions, which they should assimilate in a creative spirit, with due regard to esent-day conditions, and at the same time in the spirit of the heroic tra- ions of our movement.

THE BAROMETER POINTS TO STORMY WEATHER

THE FORTHCOMING BICENTENARY OF THE UNITED STATES

Gus Hall
General Secretary, Communist Party, USA

Centennial celebrations are convenient occasions for observing how different classes reflect on their past and view the prospects for the future. Just as atmospheric pressures provide signals about the weather, these occasions provide sensitive barometers of the political and economic pressures that will shape the future. If the barometers are rising and the path ahead looks promising the celebrations are geared to the future. If the barometers are dropping and the path is blanketed with uncertainties and pitfalls, the festivities turn into memorials to past glories and to editorial commiserations and lamentations on "what went wrong?"

Mountains of books, articles, columns, tape recordings, TV and radio programmes and films are now being produced about the 200th anniversary of US independence from British colonial rule. The majority of these productions provides an account of US history—minus its main content. This is fraudulent but understandable since it is the task of bourgeois historians to cover up the main essence of history.

It is difficult to write about past revolutionary events without stoking the fires of today's struggles. It is embarrassing to condemn the British colonial rule of 200 years ago while ignoring US policies of imperialist aggression today. It is almost impossible to reflect on the great strikes and other historic working class struggles without admitting that this was in essence a 200-year history of class struggle. It is cumbersome to write about the basic contradiction, the nature of class forces, the law of capitalist development in the past without conceding that they are all still operating today and will be the factors that mould the future of US capitalism. Because of these problems, bourgeois historians who defend capitalism are forced to cover up, to distort the true history of the US.

Why bourgeois historians spend so much time and effort covering up

Marx and Engels highlighted in *The Communist Manifesto*: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." While that observation does not apply to earlier primitive communal societies, it is a correct description of the 200-year history of the US. It is a coverup to ignore this basic essence.

From Centennial to Bicentennial Celebrations

For US capitalism, the long-range barometer readings between a century ago and today shifted from a forecast signaling a fair climate to warnings of stormy weather. Some try to cover up today's crisis by pointing to the crisis problems of 1876. It is true US capitalism suffered from crisis then, but the comparison does not stand up. The problems of 1876 were brought on by cyclical crises. The general crisis of capitalism is of a different quality; the cyclical crises came on the scene and disappeared shortly thereafter. The general crisis of capitalism is deeper and here to stay.

For US capitalism, the 1876 centennial celebrations cast long-range reflections of a growing and promising period ahead. The United States looked like the eternal "promised land" not only to the millions of immigrants, but also to the rich of Europe. The land was ready for an extended period of unprecedented growth. The Indian peoples had been brutally eliminated or thrown off their lands, lands rich in minerals and fertile soil for agriculture. A large area of Mexico, also rich in minerals, had been taken by force of arms and annexed to the US. The labour pool of both skilled and unskilled was overflowing. The civil war had cleared the path ahead from the debris of slavery and feudalism, and the millions of black people who had won their freedom from slavery had become a part of this labour pool. The capitalist class had accumulated capital through their high rate of exploitation of the working class, the flow of capital invested by the wealthy of Europe, and from the riches of nature.

Thus, at the centennial celebrations all the long-range signs read, "Go!" Nowhere else in the world has capitalism had such favourable objective conditions. These unique objective conditions created many illusions about US capitalism. Therefore, the defenders of US capitalism cannot cover up the present crisis by pointing to some negative objective factors. US capitalism has had every possible objective factor in its favour.

In contrast, this bicentennial period is shrouded in uncertainties, crises and dead-end paths that besiege US monopoly capital. The centennial barometers and its celebrations were a reflection of an expanding economy in the US and of a capitalism that was the kingpin in an expanding world. US capitalism was on its way to becoming a world power. The bicentennial barometers and its celebrations reflect the realities of a world socio-economic system in the web of a general and deepening crisis. The bicentennial barometers reflect the fact that world capitalism has lost its ability and its once

awesome power to determine the course of world events. It must now dea with the reality that another class (the working class), and another socio economic system (socialism), have emerged as the main centre of economic political and ideological gravity.

Because the barometers signal stormy weather the bicentennial celebrations tend to be memorials to past glories and to editorial commiseration about "what went wrong". From the viewpoint of monopoly capital there is no basis for optimism, positive projections, or perspectives.

For the working class, the 1876 centennial mirrors reflected a different kind of image. Beginning to appear in sharp focus were the harsh class realities of capitalist exploitation; the class division and the class struggle emerged as a clear line of division between the capitalists and the workers.

Frederick Engels wrote in 1886: "... Our—and your—bourgeois thought that America stood *above* class antagonisms and struggles. That delusion has now broken down, the last Bourgeois Paradise on earth is fast changing into a Purgatorio, and can only be prevented from becoming, like Europe an Inferno by the go-ahead pace at which the development of the newly fledged proletariat of America will take place. ... Now they (the workers) appear all of a sudden in such organised masses as to strike terror into the whole capitalist class."[1]

The working class was beginning to see its selfinterests served only by organisation and struggle.

For black Americans, the centennial mirrors reflected the fact that the civil war, while a historic step forward in the sense that it broke the chains of slavery, did not end the need to struggle against racism. Slavery was abolished, but racism was not. The nature of the ruling class changed, but the basic structure of racism remained intact.

This was reflected in the prophetic message of the International Working Men's Association to the people of the United States: "Injustice against a fraction of your people having been followed by such dire consequences—put an end to it. Declare your fellow citizens from this day forth free and equal without any reserve. If you refuse them citizens' rights while you exact from them citizens' duties, you will sooner or later face a new struggle which will once more drench your country in blood."[2] History has proven how accurately and sensitively Marxism read the barometers of racism in the US.

Illusions About the "American Century"

As the centennial barometers indicated, the first half of the last 100 year

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[1] Marx and Engles, *Selected Correspondence*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 196 pp. 393-94.

[2] From the "Address to the People of the United States of America", adopted by the General Council of the International Working Men's Association 28 September 1865.

of US capitalist development were years of the greatest growth in the history of world capitalism. The US has developed a most formidable industrial establishment. It has made great strides in science and technology.

The riches of nature seemed infinite. In 1881 Engels wrote this about the vast and rich soil available for agricultural advancement: "The virgin soil of the Western prairie—which is now coming into cultivation, not by piecemeal but in thousands of square miles—is now beginning to rule the price of wheat, and, consequently, the rent of wheat land. And no old soil can compete with it. It is a wonderful land, level, or slightly undulating, undisturbed by violent upheavals, in exactly the same condition in which it was slowly deposited at the bottom of a tertiary ocean; free from stones, rocks, trees; fit for immediate cultivation without any preparatory labour. No clearing or draining is required; you pass the plough over it and it is fit to receive the seed, and will bear twenty to thirty crops of wheat in succession and without manuring. It is a soil fit for agriculture on the grandest scale . . ."[8]

US imperialism has become the most bloated octupus in the history of world capitalism, with tentacles that stretch to every corner of the non-socialist world. It has become the loan shark, the moneylender, for world capitalism. US imperialism is the economic, military and political support base for world reaction. It is the home base for most of the multinational corporations. It is the most racist country in the world.

After World War II, US imperialism reached a point where it dominated more areas of the world than any other nation had ever controlled and exploited in history. This led to the illusion that this was "the American century" and the world was its oyster. This arrogance was reflected in the motto of the reactionary, militaristic former Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, who stated that, "The US has no friends, only interests." In order to support the so-called "American century" outlook the economy was shifted to a permanent war footing. Life took on the character and direction of militarisation. The cold war moved on to centre stage. All domestic affairs were geared to supporting the policies of imperialist aggression.

In a sense, US imperialism took over where defeated Hitler-German imperialism was cut off. It became the centre, the hub, the organiser of the policies of imperialist aggression against the socialist world and the forces of national liberation. It correctly saw the Soviet Union as the main obstacle to its plans for world domination. Hence, the Soviet Union became its main political, ideological and military target. Using Hitler's book, US imperialism became the ring-leader in the application of big lie anti-communism.

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[8] From Engels' article printed in *The Labour Standard* (London newspaper) on 2 July 1881.

The Myth is Shattered

But "the best laid plans of mice and men" often go astray. And this just what happened. The Wall-Street planners laid the schemes for th conspiracy without taking into account the laws of socio-economic develc ment. Had the architects of the "American century" even glanced at t barometers they would have seen the warning signals of decline. They we blind to the fact that the time of imperialist colonial empire building h passed. They refused to accept the reality that a new force, propelling world revolutionary process had emerged. They refused to believe that t stage was set for a new epoch in human affairs by the explosive emergen of the first working-class state, the Soviet Union. This marked the begi ning of the end of imperialism. The change in the balance of world forc had become the framework within which all social advances would ta place. *The Soviet Union had become the protective umbrella for natior* liberation and for the revolutionary transition to socialism.

US imperialism used its enormous powers to enrich US monopoly corp rations. But because US imperialism had become the main base of pow and the main source of the strategic reserves for the entire capitalist worl each setback and the backlash from the waves of defeats and retreats a had their eroding effects on the shores of US imperialism.

As the crisis deepens, US imperialism is learning that indeed it "has i friends". And as the contradictions of decline sharpen, "friendships" evap rate. The world imperialist alliance it had so diligently built began to fa apart.

The bicentennial editorials try to forget that the last 100 years have be years of the rise and decline of US imperialism. The plans of the "Americ century" are in shambles. The world networks of aggression are scattere The blockades, designed to fence off the socialist world, have largely be destroyed. The plans to crush the forces of national liberation have faile US imperialism is still licking the fresh wounds of defeat in Vietnam, La and Cambodia. It has suffered reverses in Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau ar Angola. The United Nations is no longer an arm of US imperialism.

To a large extent, the second half of the century coincides with the deej ening of the general crisis of world capitalism. This has emerged as the mo decisive factor determining the course of US capitalism.

The general crisis of decline and decay is a many-sided process. It en bodies the law-governed processes of capitalism, and the overall balance world forces. The shift in the balance of world forces against imperialism h emerged as the most decisive element of the general crisis. In the past so explosive events have marked the beginning of a new stage in the crisis. B there can be now, qualitative stages without such explosive events. Th termites are not always visible before some pillars of a building have

lapsed. The factors that brought on the present stage are both explosive and evolutionary. The cumulative effect adds up to a new stage.

The break-up of the colonial empire of Portugal and the victory of Indochina against US imperialism were explosive events. The fact that Portugal was the last colonial empire and that the victory in Vietnam was against the strongest imperialist power adds an additional dimension to the significance of these events.

There is a new quality to the instability of capitalism in contrast to the stability of socialism. There is a new weakness in the economic growth rate of the capitalist countries. The faster growth rate now belongs to the socialist countries.

Because they operate within the framework of the new balance of world forces, the contradictions between imperialist countries take on a new quality.

The forces of progress, because they are the most important forces influencing the course of human events, are able to use such contradictions in a new way. A feature of the new stage of the general crisis is the decline of the reserves—economic, political and ideological—that imperialism can draw on.

The general crisis of world capitalism has been an increasing factor influencing US developments. This will be progressively so in the period ahead.

The Oppressive Grip of Monopolies

The barometer readings have never forecast clear skies or cool breezes for the working class and the people who work for a living in general. The realities have always been exploitation, racism, insecurity, unemployment, hunger and slums.

Shortly after the centennial celebrations Engels was still able to observe about life in the USA that it is a country "where the passage from the working class to that of the farmer, trader or even capitalist is still comparatively easy".[4] However, it was never an easy "passage". It was at best limited to small numbers and has long since been closed. Monopoly capitalism has reversed the flow; from the ranks of capital, the middle class, farmers and traders, the flow is into the ranks of the working class, and for many into the ranks of the unemployed.

The central question facing the people, including the working class is the oppressive grip monopoly capital has on all phases of life in the US. It is like a slowly-tightening vice.

With the development of state-monopoly capitalism there is a steady growth of the non-productive sector of the population. Ever greater numbers are living like parasites, on the backs of those who produce. In the first place,

[4] From Engels' article printed in *The Labour Standard* (London newspaper) on 23 July 1881.

this non-productive sector includes the vampires, the coupon-clippers, the rich. But it also includes the huge military establishment, with its ever expanding officer core. There is layer upon layer of a constantly growing bureaucratic state structure, including the armed forces-sized police departments, FBI, CIA and the dozens more police state organisations. There is also the continuously expanding civil service sector. There is an expanding cadre for the large ideological institutions, supported by the state. The growth of this non-productive sector is a by-product of the development of state-monopoly capitalism. This leads to new contradictions and new crises. Basically, these developments of state-monopoly capitalism are sustained by a higher rate of exploitation.

As the non-productive sector grows there is the need for ever increasing taxes. Government bodies are forced to sell bonds and borrow huge sums of money from the banks. This has opened up new doors for the money-lenders. However, this escalation of borrowing without repayment of the principal, of necessity comes to a deadend. For most of the big cities the day of reckoning is at hand, or already here. Instead of cancelling the debts owed to the banks, most bourgeois politicians take the path of cutting social services, laying off workers and cutting wages. The urban crisis is but a reflection of the deepening general crisis of capitalism and the new problems faced by state-monopoly capitalism. The loan sharks are closing in on the cities.

Government bodies are forced to borrow from the same money markets as the private corporations. This competition helps to drive up the interest rate. This set of circumstances presents finance capital with new opportunities to further tighten its grip both on the economic and political structure.

As state-monopoly capitalism develops, increasing numbers of people become victims of monopoly oppression. At this stage of capitalism in the US all trends, all movements and struggles, lead toward the formation of an anti-monopoly coalition. This has emerged as the dominant element in mass consciousness. It is a growing factor in all movements and struggles. It is the one issue that will unite masses of people and bring into being the broadest democratic people's movement. It is the path that will bring the greatest number of people into a process that leads to the revolutionary struggle. Such movements draw on deep-seated anti-trust and populist sentiments. Exactly how these sentiments will coalesce and what forms they will take is not clear at this stage of development. People and movements representing many levels of society will increasingly become involved. But in the first place the working class and the 40 million people who are the victims of racial oppression will play a decisive role in such an anti-monopoly coalition. There is an inner-logic within such broad people's movements. As the struggles develop the working class sector increasingly moves to fulfil its historic vanguard role. In fact how these broad people's

movements develop will be largely determined by how deeply and to what extent the working class sector becomes involved.

The further development and crystallisation of the anti-monopoly coalition will be in the very centre of all future developments. It is a bridge the forces of progress, the forces of anti-capitalism in alliance with the broadest of people's movements will have to cross.

Increasingly the question is asked: "What went wrong?" Even George Meany, the 80-year old class collaborationist President of the AFL-CIO, one of the few remaining members of the hard core, open defenders of monopoly capitalism, now asks: "Does it have to be this way?" and laments, 'Are the communists right about our system?" In their world of class collaboration the Meanys will not find the answers. "What went wrong?" is not n academic question. In the minds of the people it is related to questions uch as—"What has the future in store?", "Will the same process that went rong in the past continue into the future?"

Most of the bicentennial commentators are very reluctant to make a fore ast. The majority of those who do base their projections on wishful think g, some on astrology.

There is nothing in the present stage of capitalist development that can rve as the basis for any optimistic projections. But most futurologists cling capitalism as to a sinking ship. A representative example of such a pro ction is one by Prof Daniel Bell of Harvard University:

"If . . . one speculates on the shape of society forty or fifty years from w, it becomes clear that the 'old' industrial order is passing and that a w society' is indeed in the making. To speak rashly: if the dominant ures of the past hundred years have been the entrepreneur, the business n, and the industrial executive, the 'new men' are the scientists, the mathe ticians, the economists and the engineers of the new computer tech ogy . . ."[5]

In Bell's utopia, capitalism will remain intact but the decisions will be de by the intelligentsia The determining factors, according to Bell, will be corporate profits but "long-term national interests". The purpose of jecting such "speculations" of course is to create illusions about the future apitalism.

As the options that remain open to capitalism diminish, the prophets whose ons are limited to capitalism find themselves increasingly in dead end ers.

aul Goodman, a writer displaying a left label, typifies the frustrations of le who consider themselves radical but are, in reality, prisoners within capitalist ideological orbit· "Innovations yield diminishing returns in ncing life. And, instead of rejoicing, there is now a widespread convic-

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Daniel Bell, "Notes on the Post Industrial Society", Part I, *The Public Interest* 6, Winter 1967, pp. 26-27.

tion that the tremendous advances in genetics, surgery, computer technology, rocketry and atomic energy will surely only increase human suffering and woe. Precisely science, which should have been the wind of truth to clean the air, has polluted the air, helped to brainwash and provide weapons for war."

This protest is misdirected at science and technology rather than at the socio-economic system that misuses it.

Because both Bell and Goodman are prisoners within the capitalist orbit they cannot see a future. The Bells of the "liberal establishment" dwell in a dream-world of benevolent monopoly corporations who do not care if they make profits as long as the "national interests" are served. If the Goodmans carried their concepts of logical conclusions the result would be, "back to the caves".

Because the concepts of Marxist forecasters are not limited to capitalism they face no such problems.

The future of the United States in a basic sense will be moulded by the laws of socio-economic development. The US cannot escape the decaying effects of the general crisis of capitalism. It cannot turn back the clock of national liberation. It must deal with the growing power of world socialism. It cannot ignore or evade the world revolutionary process. And domestically it cannot circumvent the class struggle. The class contradiction will continue to sharpen.

On the Horns of the Dilemma

All projections limited to a capitalist United States must be made within the realities that surround it. Consequently, in the world arena there are no easy options open. Conceivably, US imperialism could disregard all sanity and try to re-establish its domination by way of a nuclear attack. As insane as that would be, there are circles in the dark recesses of the Pentagon and the highpaid corporate think-tanks that keep updating such a possibility. To any rational person such a course is not even a gamble. It is suicide.

The second option US imperialism has is to try to stop the clock of history by way of military terrorism. This of course dictates a never-ending escalation of military budgets with its disastrous effects on the economy. This policy may present a short-term option, but it is a long-term illusion. Life does not accept periods of status quo or stagnation.

The third option open is to deal with and accommodate to the new realities. This is a realistic option. But for imperialism it is a painful one. The direction of the march of human society is moving against imperialism. Because of this unalterable fact, accommodation to the new realities for imperialism includes the concept of retreat. And this occurs only when imperialism has no choice—when it is forced to accept retreat.

US imperialism in a sense sits on the horns of its bicentennial dilemma. It has taken some steps of accommodation, but it also hangs onto the old

policies related to the illusion of the "American century". It has taken steps of accommodation in the areas of trade, science and culture. But it continues to pursue a policy of military buildup that corresponds only to a policy of military confrontation. This demonstrates that US imperialism has taken tactical steps of accommodation, including steps of retreat, but it has not given up its strategic plans, which include acts of aggression.

Hence, the option open in the field of foreign affairs which is realistic is the option of peaceful coexistence. It is the only option that is in the self-interest of the people of the US. Objective factors are never enough to assume that the capitalist class will take a path that is realistic. Mass movements and struggles have a decisive voice in such matters.

Factors in the US Future

The future of US imperialism will be affected by major world developments:

— The centrifugal forces within the capitalist world will continue to grow and hence increase the tendency of divisions.

— The magnetic pull of bourgeois ideology will continue to weaken. To the masses it becomes less and less believable. Anti-imperialism is today the broadest mass outlook accepted by the great majority.

— As the balance of world forces continues to shift, the imperialist powers will be less and less able to dictate economic terms, including the price of raw materials. For imperialism there is no new colonial world to enslave.

For US imperialism the period of its historic apex has passed. This fact will appear in ever sharper focus as the US begins to check off the years of its third century of independence. A primary force that will influence the world scene, including the US, will be the growth of the socialist system.

There is today a qualitative difference in the options that are available to US imperialism. The past presented the choices related to growth and expansion. The future offers only the options related to decay and decline.

The future of US monopoly capitalism is programmed by the inherent laws of capitalist development. Consequently, the basic class contradiction will continue to sharpen.

State-monopoly capitalism will continue to tighten its grips on life in the US through more controls and regulations. There will be more talk about "planning" but the basic anarchistic nature of capitalism will continue to operate. The drive of the monopolies for maximum profits will continue to intensify, and life will become increasingly polarised.

Each momentary solution to a problem will bring with it new contradictions. Increasingly, the "solutions" will postpone crises by borrowing on the future. The economic growth rate will continue to sputter and flounder. There are no extended periods of economic or political stability in the foreseeable...

These objective developments will increasingly give rise to and stimulate

the people's movement of resistance. An anti-monopoly coalition will continue to crystallize. Class consciousness will continue to grow. This will result in the further development of a militant rank and file movement. As the contradiction sharpens, as the rank and file movement grows, class-struggle trade-unionism will replace class collaboration as the dominant trend in the trade-union movement.

The movement to end racism will continue to grow. White workers will reject racism as they begin to understand that it is a capitalist weapon against the best interest of all workers. The movements of 40 million victims of racism—black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Asian, Indian American—will become a greater factor influencing the course of all struggles and movements. The alliance between the victims of racist oppression and the working class will emerge as the foundation stone for all progressive movements.

All the struggles and movements will increasingly move into the political arena and they will break away from the orbit of the two old bourgeois parties. This will give birth to new political vehicles, including a new mass-based political party.

The process of radicalisation will continue. The objective developments will force people to seek and probe for more basic solutions. As a result, the programme of the Communist Party will be studied and accepted by ever broader circles. The experience of struggle and the lessons presented by the communists will result in a growing socialist consciousness. Hence, the projection of socialism as the only long-range future for the US rests on solid ground. The objective developments make this a historic necessity. The organisation and the struggles of the working class and people make it a realistic option.

The future of the US will unfold within the framework set forth by Lenin: "State-monopoly capitalism is a complete *material* preparation for socialism, the *threshold* of socialism, a rung on the ladder of history between which and the rung called socialism *there are no intermediate rungs*."[6]

And speaking directly about the future, Lenin stated that it is precisely socialism which," . . is now gazing at us from all the windows of capitalism: socialism is outlined directly, *practically*, by every important measure that constitutes a forward step on the basis of this modern capitalism".[7]

Of course, the relationship between state-monopoly capitalism and socialism is an antagonistic one. The very process of state-monopoly capitalism prepares the objective groundwork and forces the working class and people to consider basic and revolutionary changes.

Thus, the barometers are forecasting the winds of stormy and revolutionary changes. This is a forecast that not even the most astute and dedicated bourgeois historians or futurologists can cover up.

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[6] *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 359.

[7] Ibid., p. 359.

THE FORCE OF REVOLUTIONARY EXAMPLE

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The victory of the people's revolutions in Indochina last year is a landmark in the revolutionary refashioning of the world begun in October 1917. An organic part of the common gains of world socialism and the international working-class and national-liberation movements, they embodied the hopes and aspirations of millions for a better life, freedom and justice. The popular character of the Indochina revolutions, in which social and national-liberation goals were so closely intertwined, predetermined the unity under their banners of the broad masses, of all patriotic and democratic strata.

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam holds a special place in the development and triumph of Indochina's revolutionary movements. The vanguard role of the working class and its party laid a definite imprint on the character of the revolutionary movement in Vietnam as long ago as the early 1930s and determined its development. "The feudal class capitulated to imperialism", that great leader of the Vietnamese people, Ho Chi Minh wrote, "while the bourgeoisie, being weak and fearing economic destruction sought to come to terms with imperialism. Despite the ferment in their midst, the petty-bourgeois sections had come to a standstill. The working class alone, as the most revolutionary and heroic class, kept up the struggle against the colonialists" [1]

The victory of the August 1945 revolution, in which the revolutionary strategy of the Communist Party of Indochina (from 1951—the Working People's Party of Vietnam) found such effective embodiment, put Vietnam on the road of popular-democratic transformations. Having once and for all put an end to the stranglehold of the compradors and of feudalism, having accomplished the general democratic tasks and the transition from small-

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[1] Ho Chi Minh, "Thirty Years of the Working People's Party of Vietnam", WMR, February 1960.

scale production to socialism, the DRV thus brought to reality a provision of the political programme adopted by the Communist Party of Indochina in 1930, namely, the possibility of by-passing the capitalist stage of development. By defeating the French colonialists in 1954, the Vietnamese people —in the north of the country—were able to embark on socialist construction. The popular-democratic state, as the DRV leaders repeatedly emphasised, set out to accomplish the tasks of proletarian dictatorship.

As the outpost of socialism in Indochina and Southeast Asia generally, the DRV became the firm base of the revolutionary liberation struggle of the South-Vietnam patriots, and also the main target of the US imperialist war machine, "Everything for the South, everything for victory"—that slogan was translated into hard work by every citizen. The victory in Indochina, said Le Duan, First Secretary of the WPPV, was the result of the "joint effort of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, who stood shoulder to shoulder in the battle against their common enemy, for the independence and freedom of their countries".

Up to 1975 the national-liberation tasks predominated in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, though the revolutionary process in these countries had its distinctive features. This determined also the character of the mass base of the revolution, namely, unity of all patriotic forces within broad national fronts, the core of which was the worker-peasant alliance. The victory scored in 1975 became the victory of national-democratic revolutions. And though the struggle against counter-revolutionary elements and their foreign patrons has still to be waged, the priority task in all these countries is to restructure life along new, progressive lines. The approach to these tasks reflects the inevitable distinctions in the objective and subjective conditions of the revolutionary process, and the uneven social and economic development of the three countries.

The forthcoming reunification of the country[2] opens the road to socialism for the people of South Vietnam. That is the meaning of the decision adopted in November 1975 by the Political Consultative Conference on Reunification. The North and the South, Truong Chinh, Political Bureau member of the WPPV and Chairman of the Standing Committee of the DRV National Assembly, said, must perform the socialist revolution and build socialism albeit at different levels for the time being. The earnest of success is the people's revolutionary government fulfilling the functions of proletarian dictatorship.

The next tasks confronting the South Vietnam Committee of the WPPV, the people and the army of South Vietnam, the Committee's secretary and Politbureau member of the WPPV, Pham Hung, declared, are to establish at all levels, a popular revolutionary administration capable of carrying out

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[2] Reunification will be officially proclaimed by the United National Assembly to be elected 25 April 1976.

socialist reforms, suppress the counter-revolutionary forces, the comprador bourgeoisie and the remnants of the feudal class, introduce measures to re-establish and develop production, and wipe out the unemployment inherited from the old regime.

Proclamation of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos consummated the national-democratic revolution, which triumphed under the leadership of the militant Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the Laotian people, the People's Revolutionary Party, the leading force of the Patriotic Front of Laos. A new era has now begun in the life of the Laotian people, Keayson Phomvihane, General Secretary of the party's central committee, said, the era of transition from the neocolonial regime to a genuinely popular-democratic system and the building of socialism without having to go through the capitalist stage. This is envisaged in the action programme adopted by the government in December 1975. We must get rid of all remnants of colonialism and of the aftermath of rule by the comprador bourgeoisie, bureaucratic officialdom, the militarist and reactionary feudal element. We must resolve the contradiction between private backward agriculture and the young industries developing on a socialist basis. The popular revolutionary administrative authorities must be strengthened.

In Cambodia the patriotic forces dealt a shattering blow to the pro-imperialist puppet regime, thereby putting the country on the road of independent development. The conditions have been created for building a peaceful, democratic and prosperous Cambodia. Under the new constitution, all means of production are being taken over by the state, and supreme legislative power will be vested in the Council of People's Representatives.[3]

The people's revolutions in Indochina triumphed with the all-round support of the socialist countries, notably the Soviet Union. In solidarity with embattled Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, progressives in capitalist and developing countries raised their voices in defence of the ideals of national and social emancipation. The heroic feat of the Indochinese patriots gave powerful impetus to the world revolutionary struggle. Progressives throughout the world have manifested a keen interest in analysing the historic significance of the Indochina revolution.

The splendid success of the Indochina peoples in battle against imperialism and its local placemen is, above all, the result of their own heroic, persevering and long struggle. It underscores the importance for revolutionaries to take account of the main direction of history and shape their policy in line with the main historic trends of our times. The latest and most convincing example is Indochina.

First, the popular movements in Indochina were an organic part of the

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[3] Radio Democratic Cambodia reports that the council will have 250 members: 150 representing the peasants, and 50 each representing the workers and the people's army.

national-liberation revolution which rose up with much strength in th colonial and semi-colonial countries after the Great October Revolutior "Creatively applying Marxism-Leninism in the conditions of Vietnam' Le Duan said at the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Sovic Union, "our Party raised aloft the banners of the national democratic an the socialist revolutions, combined the scope of the movement for nationa independence with the power of socialism..."

Second, the Indochina revolutions developed in line with the principa changes in the alignment of forces to the advantage of socialism, demo cracy and peace and to the disadvantage of imperialism, reaction and wai The imperialist aggressor tried to bring the peoples of Vietnam, Laos an Cambodia to their knees and change Asia's political climate in his favour

There is plenty of reliable evidence, including the statement of U Senator Stuart Symington, that the US spent about 250 billion dollars o the intervention in South Vietnam. In this situation the defeat of the inter vention was not merely of local or national, but of global significance. Th will and stamina of peoples faced with the most powerful and insidiou enemy were being put to the test on the battlefield. And the Vietnames Laotian and Cambodian peoples passed the test with flying colours.

Lastly, the revolutionary events in Indochina were influenced by new fundamental factors in international affairs connected with the lessening o tensions and expansion of the zone of peaceful coexistence—the result o the successful peace offensive of the socialist countries led by the Sovi Union. It was against the background of detente that the 1973 internation conference on Vietnam was brought to a successful conclusion. the roa opened for the withdrawal of the US forces from South Vietnam, an en put to the US air-war against the DRV and Cambodia, and national uni achieved in Laos. Conversely, the struggle of the Indochina patriots an the concerted efforts of the world-wide movement of solidarity with em battled Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia greatly facilitated the assertion o these new international factors.

Today there is a very real possibility in Southeast Asia for relations be tween countries with different social systems to be based on the principle of peaceful coexistence. The defeat of the aggressors signified also the insolvency of the very concept of foreign intervention, of one state impos ing its will on others. The idea of national sovereignty has acquired a new strength in this region, its anti-imperialist content has broadened. To strengthen its sovereignty, Thailand has demanded the withdrawal of US troops and the dismantling of US military bases. The new tendencies are felt also in the policy of the Philippines and a number of other countri where the struggle is unfolding against imperialist economic and politic expansion. The ignominous collapse of SEATO is one more weighty proof that the imperialist strategy of military blocs has no future.

The victories in Indochina have stimulated a serious discussion in practically all Southeast Asian countries on the pattern of their relations in this post-war era. The idea is gaining ground that there has to be a system of collective security for the whole of the Asian continent. In other words, thanks to the beneficial influence of the Indochina victories, the desire to strengthen peace, international security and cooperation is gaining support, and a more pronounced anti-imperialist content, in this as in other parts of the world.

And so, the close interconnection with the main processes of our time assured the victory of the Indochina revolutions. At the same time, however, though powered by the world-wide trends of social development, they show how a popular revolution can powerfully influence the deepening of these trends. Proclamation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was an important landmark in the formation of the new historic community, the socialist world system. At the same time, it revolutionised the situation in Indochina and throughout Southeast Asia. By the mid-40s there was already a sharp rise of the national-liberation movement, with the revolutionary forces in Indonesia, Malaya, and the Philippines exerting considerable influence on public life in their countries. The victory of the revolutions in Indochina was a blow to imperialism's overall strategy in Asia. It demonstrated the effectiveness of international support and inspired firm confidence in the inevitable triumph of the revolutionary cause in other countries and regions.

The Indochina revolutions logically led to a notable upsurge in the anti-imperialist movement in the capitalist countries themselves, first of all in the United States, and aggravated crisis phenomena there, especially in the economy. At the same time the movement of solidarity with Indochina's patriots stimulated the growth of anti-imperialist actions in both capitalist and developing countries. Mass actions in support of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia resulted in a further radicalisation of social processes in these countries.

Every popular revolution achieves victory by fighting against obsolescent [illegible] and practices. However, it will remain a target of imperialist [illegible] and subversion even after winning. The imperialists will try to [illegible] the area of operation of progressive social change as much as possible and to preserve what some anti-communist ideologists describe as the [illegible] line" between the two social systems which is supposed to have [illegible] after World War II.

After recovering from the shock and confusion of the early months [illegible] the defeat in Indochina, the imperialists stepped up their efforts [illegible] at a "new defence line" of the "free world". They want to form [illegible] of a "common front" in Southeast Asia against Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, resorting to the usual devices of "containing" communist

aggression"—economic blockade, arms deliveries to reactionary regimes, anti-communist hysteria. The blockade of Laos last December was typical of these attempts, plainly guided by imperialists. Imperialist strategy in Asia today is prompted by the desire to set up a cordon sanitaire around the more powerful centres of social revolution with the backing of reactionary regimes.

International reaction lays plans of strengthening its positions in Asia to block the peoples' liberation struggle and raise obstacles to social progress. The United States refuses to honour its commitment to help in healing the wounds inflicted by its aggression in Indochina. At the same time it is expanding its Diego Garcia military base. The new Pacific doctrine of the United States is indicative of the intention of imperialism to counter the changes that have come about in Asia under the powerful impact of the revolutions in Indochina and positive developments in international relations with its traditional policy of blackmail and reliance on armed force. The US wants to retain its military presence in the region and derive maximum military and political benefits from cooperation with China's Maoist leadership. It should be noted, however, that while the highly important role assigned to this cooperation by the new doctrine is not so very new (Peking, for its part, has been implementing it for years and advocates a continued US military presence in Asia), a further step has now been taken towards strengthening the front of the imperialists and Maoists in a joint struggle against the revolutionary forces of the world. The Maoists now resist unity of the countries of Indochina where the revolutionary forces have achieved victory.

The imperialists look for new allies among the exploiting classes in Asian countries, incite them against governments seeking economic independence and democratic reforms[4] and devise ever more subtle methods of undermining progressive regimes from within. In other words, in spite of favourable trends on the continent that events in Indochina have intensified, US imperialism, while compelled to renounce large-scale armed intervention, has not abandoned its military and political plans.

Ideologically, the "tough" line of certain imperialist quarters towards the Indochina revolutions is reflected in bourgeois concepts which distort the nature and causes of these revolutions with an eye to misrepresenting the real meaning of their victories. These quarters see the lessons of Indochina as a "proof" of their "export of revolution" theory (one has only to recall that the revolutionary movements Laos and Cambodia were made out to be solely the "handiwork of the North Vietnamese"). With this aim in view, they fall back on the "domino theory" describing the progress of

[4] The activity of the CIA in India against the government under Indira Gandhi and the progressive aspects of that government's policies is a vivid example of the "destabilisation policy".

the revolution in Southeast Asia as an automatic process in which the "conquest" of one country by the communists is followed by the "fall" of its neighbour.

We are far from denying the revolutionising effect of the Vietnam victory on the situation in Southeast Asia. But those who regard it as "export of revolution" either fail to understand or pretend not to understand that revolution is not an export commodity that can be imposed on a people.

A primitive approach to the causes of revolutions is also typical of the Maoists and ultra-leftists. They show the deepest scorn for an objective analysis of the situation, the motive forces of social revolution and the problem of allies at diverse stages of struggle. Saying that revolutions come from the "barrel of a gun", they deliberately put first the methods and not the class nature of the struggle and make an absolute of armed struggle, completely discounting the nature of the regime in the country concerned and never stopping to think whether there is a revolutionary situation there and whether the masses are prepared to take that particular road. This approach, imposed by Peking, led, among other things, to the complete isolation of the Communist Party of Burma and the Indian Naxalites[5] from the masses and caused tremendous damage to the entire revolutionary movement in these countries. Maoist influence proved even more tragic for the Communist Party and people of Indonesia. Nevertheless, the "leftists" cling to their practice of copying recipes offered by Peking. Some of them even see in the experience of the revolutionary liberation war in Indochina evidence that their policy is "correct". Actually it merely proves their inability or reluctance to see the real meaning of the lessons of the years-long heroic struggle of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and to realise what makes the impact of their example on the world revolutionary movement so strong.

Marxism-Leninism maintains that to follow the example of a revolution does not mean merely copying its methods, let alone making an absolute of any one of them. A correct approach to the problems of revolutionary struggle consists above all else in taking account of the given situation and its distinctive aspects in terms of their dialectical interaction. The force of example of a revolution lies in the fact that each of them usually demonstrated definite general development laws of the revolutionary process. This is what makes it possible to internationalise revolutionary experience.

The experience of the Indochina revolutions, first of all of the Vietnamese revolution, underlines the importance of efficiently applying the general principles of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and policy. DRV leaders point out that the Vietnamese people achieved victory be-

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[5] A Maoist alignment comprising former communists. Many of its members have lately rejoined the Communist Party of India

[illegible] they creatively applied the general [illegible] experience of [illegible] socialist countries, [illegible] [illegible] the dictatorship of the proletariat [illegible] of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, [illegible] who have become masters in the political sphere an[illegible] [illegible] masters in the social, economic and cultu[illegible]

The Indochina revolutions are a further convincing [illegible] [illegible] and guiding role of a vanguard party inspired [illegible] [illegible] In Vietnam the Working People's Party "was able [illegible] range of revolutionary forces behind the working class while [illegible] other classes failed and found themselves in isolation".[6] The p[illegible] cised its vanguard role at every stage, both during the struggle fo[r inde]pendence and in the period of socialist construction, when it becam[e the] ruling party, nor did it for a moment lose sight of its revolutionary [illegible] "The Party," Le Duan writes, "must be the highest and most politi[cally] conscious revolutionary organisation of society." This lesson is particu[larly] forceful because it comes from participants in a struggle that achieve[d a] victory of historic magnitude.

Inability to solve pressing national problems was also typical of [the] bourgeois and feudal classes of Laos and Cambodia, which did the b[id]ding of the neo-colonialists without questioning. The experience of La[os] too, shows that the People's Revolutionary Party, closely linked with t[he] country's working class, was the only one to give the people a genui[ne] programme for national salvation and assure their victory under sloga[ns] of struggle for a peaceful, independent, democratic, united and prospero[us] Laos. All this shows that without the leading role of a party leaning [on] the working class, a party equal to uniting the peasants and middle stra[ta] on a revolutionary platform and to mastering the Marxist-Leninist scien[ce] of social transformation, it is difficult to defeat imperialist schemes, [let] alone to build a new life.

The revolutions in Indochina demonstrated the importance of ma[ss] backing to the success of the anti-imperialist liberation struggle. T[he] Indochina revolutionaries' policy of rallying the masses together in unit[ed] fronts became a most important prerequisite of victory for the popul[ar] movements in the area. In these fronts, the masses had a schooling in su[s]tained anti-imperialist struggle, in which not only the working class, b[ut] the petty-bourgeoisie and intermediate strata assimilated the ideals of fre[e]dom. It was the support of the masses which ensured the military su[c]cesses of the patriots and made invincible the people's armed forces, [a] reliable bulwark of the revolutionary vanguard.

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[6] Ho Chi Minh, "Thirty Years of the Working People's Party of Vietnam", *WM* February 1960.

... revolutionary process in Indochina reflected the existence in the [con]temporary liberation movement of a marked trend towards the unification of proletarian with non-proletarian forces—the peasants, middle [str]ata and others—in struggle against anti-imperialism, for social progress. [Th]is became evident in recent years in setting up national progressive [fr]onts in a number of countries with revolutionary democratic regimes. In [so]me countries directly threatened by imperialism and its domestic re[act]ionary allies, the working masses are also backed by certain patriotic-[min]ded sections of the national bourgeoisie.

[Th]e outcome of the struggle in Indochina also shows that social changes [br]ought about on the revolutionary bridgehead play a special role in en[suring] the success of the revolution in areas still under the control of im[peria]lism and its agents. Even before fighting in South Vietnam, Laos and [Ka]mpuchea was over, the inspiring experience of solving key social and [ec]onomic problems in the liberated areas served as a powerful stimulus for [th]e growth of popular resistance.[7] Throughout the long years of war the [ex]ample of building a new society in the DRV had a tremendous revolu[ti]onising impact on the whole of Indochina.

Lastly, speaking of the example of the achievements of Indochina's peoples, it must be stressed that their experience showed again how very [im]portant it is for every anti-imperialist liberation revolution always to [e]njoy the support of the progressive forces of the world, first of all that [of] the socialist community, especially of the Soviet Union. This is a requi[si]te of victory.[8] Both at the height of the struggle and in the period fol[lo]wing the victory of the revolution, deliberate self-isolation and reliance [s]olely on one's own forces" threaten to weaken the patriots' positions. "[O]ur people are well aware", says Le Duan "that the Vietnamese revolu[ti]on is part of the world revolution and that its victories are closely linked [wi]th the sympathy and support of the working class and peoples of the [w]orld. In turn, our Party and people will continue to support in every way [the] international socialist and working-class movement and the just strug-

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[7] This factor played a considerable part in the victories of liberation movements [in] former Portuguese colonies.

[8] A fresh confirmation of this is the experience of ... Mozambique [and], above all, Angola. The socialist countries, first of all the Soviet Union and [Cu]ba rendered the Angolan people effective aid in their liberation struggle. De[velopm]ents in Angola since its independence was proclaimed stress that ... [in the cli]mate of international detente the socialist countries, with the Soviet Union at their [head], are as loyal as ever to their revolutionary duty to support the people's fight [for] freedom and social progress and will never abandoned this position, ... [h]ow badly leaders inclined to interpret detente as preservation of the political [status] quo may want it to remain unchanged.

gle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for peace, nation independence, democracy and social progress."

The victory of their revolutions afforded the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia an opportunity gained through much struggle and suffering to devote all their energies to social change in peace-time conditions. There is no doubt that both the experience of the nation-wide liberation struggle and achievements in peaceful construction in these countries will furnish added proof of the irresistibility of mankind's desire for social progress

PASSING PROBLEMS OF BRITAIN

GORDON McLENNAN
General Secretary, Communist Party of Great Britain

The economic crisis affecting all capitalist countries is particularly deep and profound in Britain. This is because successive governments, in alliance with big business, have pursued imperialist aims, fought to maintain London as a world financial centre, encouraged heavy investment overseas at the expense of expanding and modernising our own industrial base, and spent vast sums on arms in order to provide military backing to the whole policy.

The present government, now more deeply in pawn to the international bankers, has no intention of changing course. Wages and living standards are under attack, while the basic cause of Britain's crisis is left untouched.

As 1976 opened a particularly grim expression of the crisis for working people was the January unemployment figures. These showed 1,430,369 men, women and young people in the United Kingdom (Britain and Northern Ireland) out of work—6.1 per cent of the working population—the highest jobless total since 1945—the end of the war.

Nor are future prospects any brighter. Reviewing 1975 and looking forward to 1976, Prime Minister Harold Wilson recently stated, "Britain has suffered, suffered severely, and is still suffering" and forecast, "Some pretty bleak months lie ahead."

Chancellor Denis Healey etched in the sombre picture in his new year message. Though arguing that there would be a slow picking up of the economy in the early part of 1976 and more quickly in the latter half of the year, he conceded that in the immediate months ahead unemployment was "likely to go somewhere above the 1[illegible] million mark." Healey's optimism about what will happen in 1976 is based on the two-fold theory that the crisis is now bottoming out" and that there will be a general economic recovery in the capitalist world in 1976. This optimism is not shared by other commentators on capitalism's crisis, including the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development.

In considering the gravity of these projections for working people in Britain, and their reflection of economic stagnation and decline, it must be understood that the *real* figures of unemployment are usually 25-30 per cent higher than the official figures.

Manufacturing Industry

To clearly establish the nature of Britain's crisis, as expressed in growing unemployment, it has to be noted that unemployment is increasingly developing in manufacturing industries. Between mid-1974 and mid-1975 360,000 jobs were lost in manufacturing industry, with sharp reductions in textiles, electrical engineering, rubber and plastics, footwear, bricks and timber production. This process is now accelerating.

The motor industry, for example, with half a million workers directly employed, faces acute problems. In the middle of 1975 the only major British-owned firm in the industry, British Leyland, was in a critical position and massive pay-offs of workers were being considered. With 160,000 workers employed by the firm, and another 100,000 employed in component firms supplying parts to British Leyland, the government had to act. £600m was injected into the firm and the Board of Management made responsible to the newly-established National Enterprise Board. Then in Nov-Dec, it was the turn of the American multinational corporation Chrysler with 4 major factories in Britain, to threaten mass sackings. Chrysler boss, John Riccardo, announced from America that the corporation's British subsidiaries were losing money and the British factories faced closure. 50,000 jobs were placed at risk with this announcement, and of Riccardo's action, Prime Minister Wilson said in Parliament, "He is holding a gun at the Government's head."

The government finally worked out a deal with Chrysler which involved giving the corporation £162 millions to continue their operations. This deal was worked out without consultation with the workers and their unions, who demanded the public ownership of Chryslers. The Communist Party at the beginning of the Chrysler "scandal" in October had demanded control of the multinationals and public ownership of the car industry.

The present unsatisfactory deal with Chrysler means one-third of the labour force will lose their jobs immediately, and the long-term future of the British factories remains in doubt. Meanwhile Vauxhall, subsidiary of General Motors, employing about 20,000 British workers, also claim financial problems which threaten future employment of its workers.

Steel

In December also there was a "bombshell" announcement from the British Steel Corporation, a nationalised undertaking employing 220,000 workers. The board claimed that it was necessary that they make an annual

saving of £170m. Reduction of the labour force by 44,000 and elimination of many of the highest paid shifts was the board's proposal.

A big struggle is now opening up. The main trade union in the industry has not been noted for its militancy in the past. But such is the anger of the steel workers throughout the country at the nature of the board's arrogant conduct and action, that many took industrial action to express that anger despite efforts by right-wing trade-union leaders to dampen down the struggle. The problems of the car industry and the steel industry are interlinked and located in the general capitalist crisis affecting every aspect of British life. Therefore the Communist Party in its mid-January statement on the situation in the steel industry was correct to place responsibility on the government and its economic policy, when it said. "By refusing urgent steps to reflate the economy and thus increase demand for steel, the government has provided the British Steel Corporation with an excuse for its policy."

The communist statement also drew attention to the relationship of the crisis in the steel industry with British membership of the European Economic Community, and demanded that all imports of steel be stopped and Common Market limitations on British steel production be rejected.

Public Services

Railways is another major industry coming under the "crisis axe". On ... December the three trade unions in the industry held a joint press conference and predicted a massive cut-back in the rail network from 11,000 to 4,000 miles. The cut-back, they said, would mean a decimation of the industry's labour force from 256,000 to about 95,000.

These rail cut-back plans menace the vital interests of the British people as a whole. Railways are essential to economic expansion and crucial to a properly organised integrated transport system. Such a transport system is also an essential social service.

Government spokesmen have denied the authenticity of the railway unions' claims, but the unions are conducting a public campaign against the cuts, and thousands of railway workers, supported by other trade unionists, lobbied Parliament on 16 December as the opening shot of the campaign. At a rally in the Central Hall, Westminster, on the same day, National Union of Railwaymen General Secretary, Sidney Weighell said the government was "on the point of betraying every policy undertaken in the transport field by the Labour Party since the turn of the century."

The consequences of this approach has been spelled out very clearly by ... Drain, General Secretary of the biggest trade union in the public ..., the National and Local Government Officers Association, when he said, "Government cuts in public expenditure mean that a crisis of

enormous social dimensions is looming—the time has come t... before irreparable damage is done to the fabric of our society."

The concern being expressed by Geoffrey Drain, Sidney W... other trade-union leaders about the course of government policy an... consequences, is shared by large numbers in the Labour and Trade ... movement. There is as yet, however, insufficient clarity about the al... tive course that must be pursued.

The £6 "Wage-Limit" Policy

The General Council of the Trades Union Congress bears a heavy r... ponsibility for this situation. At the September 1975 Trades Union C... gress, the General Council won support (by roughly 6½ million to 3½ m... lion votes) for the government's economic strategy, the lynch-pin of wh... was the acceptance of a £6 limit on wage increases for the next ... months. This meant accepting that wages should only increase by an av... age of around 10 per cent for the next year, while prices continued to r... at an average of 20 per cent. This policy of severe cuts in real wag... justified on the grounds that if trade-unionists contributed in this wa... helping to "solve" the economic crisis, the government would imple... other policies being demanded by the unions to tackle the crisis and ... tore full employment. Communists and others on the left argued ... limiting wage increases to £6 maximum would only serve to deepen ... crisis and increase unemployment.

The correct position of communists and others on the left in these ... cial TUC debates is being demonstrated daily.

As we have shown earlier in this article, unemployment has rock... General living standards are also falling. Even before the imposition o... £6 wage limit, real personal disposable income fell by 3½ per cent ... happened during the second and third quarters of 1975, and was the ... gest drop in living standards since 1955. The effect of the £6 limi... intensified this trend and the latest available figures (December 1... show a further drop in consumption by another 2 per cent.

And the government has totally failed to carry out their side of wh... known as the "social contract".

Struggle for Alternative Policy

Not only has unemployment soared, living standards dropped, the ... services have been restricted and impaired.

The disastrous policies by government and big business that hav... essential investment to the manufacturing industry over many year... been continued.

Big business is exporting capital at an ever-increasing rate. UK ...

...tment abroad for the first six months of 1975, £1,270m., was higher ... the total for the whole of 1974.

...bership of the EEC, advocated by the Labour Government, has ...d to be a disaster for Britain as the left forecast. More and more ... firms are transferring major resources into other Common Market ... because they see greater growth opportunities there than in ...tain. Meanwhile EEC industrial and agricultural policies adversely affect ...tain and acceptance of decisions of Market institutions restrict the abi... of the British government, even if it wanted to, to offset the impact on ...tain of the general crisis of capitalism.

Military expenditure continues to soar. The total arms bill is now set at ... 975m. for 1975-76, and the government turns a deaf ear to all those ...manding the major cut in armaments expenditure promised in Labour's ...nifesto.

On all these questions, and on others, men and women are in action ...manding changes in government policy.

The 34th Congress of the Communist Party held in November 1975 ... the need for all these separate streams of struggle to be drawn into ...ed action for a radical alternative programme to that of the government ... and advanced its own counter crisis programme:

- An immediate freeze on rents and prices (except of luxury goods)
- Expand the economy and end unemployment.
- Increase wages, pensions and benefits—restore free collective bargaining.
- Stop the cuts—improve the health, education, housing and other ... services
- Impose import controls; stop capital exports abroad
- Sell overseas portfolio investments; cut interest rates
- Introduce a wealth tax and an increased tax on profits.
- Take over the big firms and financial institutions ... North Sea oil ... gas.
- Increase investment in the manufacturing and construction industries.
- Halve military expenditure
- Expand trade, especially with socialist countries and the Third World

...alternative programme is the only real way out of the crisis for ... It encompasses an urgent crash programme to tackle ... immediate consequences of the crisis for working people and ... create ... for getting to grips with the chronic problems ... which ... arise from the pursuit of imperialist policies throughout the post-...ars.

... very significant that it is not only Communists and ... who ... are urging the government to pursue a different economic policy. The

General Secretary of the Labour Party, Ron Hayward, in an important speech in late January said: "Our people cannot live on hopes of a world recovery", and urged severe import controls which he argued could safeguard 300,000 jobs.

Northern Ireland

Capitalism's crisis has more than economic consequences for Britain. It is above all a political crisis seen partly in the ever-deepening crisis in British constitutional arrangements.

This is seen at its sharpest point in Northern Ireland where the 55-year-old constitutional "settlement" has collapsed. It is now also seen in relation to the growing and insistent demand for devolution of government powers to Scotland and Wales, and as a consequence the need to devolve equal powers to England.

All this was dramatically expressed when the Westminster Parliament met on 12 January for the reopening of the present parliamentary session. The first day was devoted to an emergency debate on the situation in Northern Ireland. The next four days were given over, almost entirely, to a debate on the government's White Paper "Our Changing Democracy. Devolution to Scotland and Wales".

The continued crisis in Northern Ireland has brought terrible burdens to the people there. Since 1969, close on 1,200 lives have been lost through violence, and thousands have been maimed or injured. Homes, factories, shops and offices have been destroyed. Thousands have been forced to abandon their homes. Army harassment of youth in particular, alongside the sectarian violence, mass unemployment, and the terrible social conditions has a harmful effect on the social outlook of many young people that could leave a scar on their way of thinking for many years. The total cost runs into millions of pounds which should have been used to tackle the serious unemployment and housing situation in Northern Ireland, and the acute problems of social deprivation and insecurity, all of which are important contributory factors to the political crisis itself.

The Cause of the Crisis in Northern Ireland

The root causes of the present crisis lie in British imperialism's partition of Ireland in 1920, its continued control of the six counties of Northern Ireland, and its support of repression and discrimination.

From the very birth of our party, we declared our opposition to the partition of Ireland, supported the just struggle of the Irish people to reunify their country and demanded the withdrawal of British troops. This is still our basic position.

The present struggle of the people of Northern Ireland for democratic liberties is a vital stage in the struggle of the Irish people for reunification

and full independence. The demand for democratic rights in Northern Ireland is in no way a diversion from or opposed to the aim of ending partition. On the contrary, the achievement of these democratic demands will help to end Unionist domination, break down sectarianism and bigotry, assist the process of uniting the working class, and provide more favourable conditions for the people of Northern Ireland to carry on political activity. It will help to create a new situation, a new political atmosphere, and a new relationship of forces in Northern Ireland which can open up prospects for the people of Ireland as a whole to reunite their country.

Responsibility of British Labour Movement

It is the responsibility of the British people, and especially the labour movement, to assist the people of Northern Ireland to secure such conditions by removing all the burdens and obstacles to national and democratic advance which have been placed in their way by 55 years of British imperialist control.

That is why the main immediate task before the British people in respect of Northern Ireland is to secure a change in the policy of the British government.

As a first step, a joint meeting of the general councils of the British Trades Union Congress and Irish Congress of Trade Unions could be held in order to discuss how the British trade-union movement should campaign to win support for common policies the two councils could agree on. A basis for such cooperation already exists in the policies already adopted by the British TUC and the Irish Congress of Trade Unions in support of a Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland. This trade union cooperation would contribute towards breaking sectarian divisions.

Such a Bill, for which our party has pressed repeatedly, is essential for democratic advance in Northern Ireland.

Withdrawal of British Troops

The question of the withdrawal of British troops cannot be dealt with on its own apart from other factors. The troops are not employed in Northern Ireland for an isolated military purpose. The army is the instrument of an overall repressive policy which is pursued by political, economic, judicial and other means as well. The question of the British troops and their withdrawal is therefore connected with the struggle to compel a change in British government policy and to secure the adoption of a democratic political solution, which includes the withdrawal of the troops.

That the troops should go is clear. The issue is how to create the political conditions to secure their withdrawal in consultation with the Irish people and their representative bodies and organisations and under conditions which assist democratic and national progress and do not create obstacles in the way of those struggling for democracy and against imperialism.

From its 34th Congress the Communist Party put forward the demand on which we think the Labour and progressive movement should campaig with the aim of compelling the British government to:

1) Release all internees.

2) Introduce a Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland, as demanded by th 1971 annual conference of the British TUC.

3) Repeal all repressive legislation, including the Emergency Provision (Northern Ireland) Act and the Prevention of Terrorism Act in Britain.

4) Withdraw British troops in Northern Ireland to barracks pendin their complete withdrawal.

5) Replace the Royal Ulster Constabulary by a non-sectarian polic force acceptable to the people of both communities and under democrati control.

6) Introduce an economic development programme designed to elim nate unemployment and the housing shortage and to meet urgent soci needs.

7) Renounce all claims to Irish territory, and recognise the right of th Irish people to decide their own future.

Devolution Within Britain

Devolution has become a major issue in British politics. The Labou government's handling of it expressed most recently in its white paper wil not satisfy the people of Scotland and Wales. Further, it threatens gra damage to the Labour movement and weakens the democratic unity of th British people as a whole in their struggle against the big monopolies.

The government's white paper published in November 1975, "O Changing Democracy: Devolution to Scotland and Wales", represents disastrous approach to this great issue. The January 13th-14th meeting the Executive Committee of the Communist Party said that it was urge that the labour movement brings about major changes in government poli on devolution to fully meet the just national demands of the people Scotland and Wales, take into account the consequential situation for E land, safeguard the interests of the labour movement, and give new streng to the struggle for socialism in Britain.

"This", said the Communist Party Executive, "can and must be achie while maintaining the political and economic unity of Britain."

"Devolution within the political and economic unity of Britain. and corollary. a single Labour Movement, is the best political and econom structure for the class struggle and the political struggle. for democrat change, national rights and socialism."

The white paper states that "The constitutional changes proposed the most fundamental of their kind in Great Britain for centuries, and rai complex and far-reaching problems." We communists agree.

But in recent years the issue of devolution has been consistently mishandled by the Labour government. As a result, the nationalist parties in Scotland and Wales, particularly the former, have benefited electorally and in other ways. Unless the situation is reversed it could have serious effects in relation to the possibility of maintaining Labour governments in the years immediately ahead.

The Case for Devolution

The stand of communists on this issue is based on three interconnected grounds. *First,* as a vital extension of democracy. In modern capitalist society government has become increasingly remote from the people, and more and more bureaucratic.

Whilst recognising that with the crisis of capitalism, class and socialist policies must dominate solutions to political and social problems of the people, extension of democracy is a vital part of the solution of today's acute problems

Second, on national grounds. The Marxist view has always been that socialists stand for the guarantee of national rights, including the rights of nations to self-determination.

National consciousness in Scotland and Wales has grown along with the growth of resistance to the economic and social exploitation imposed by deepening crisis of British imperialism.

The solution to the national and democratic needs of the peoples of Scotland and Wales, as of England, is bound up with the fight for a fundamental change in society, to win socialism.

Of course it is the right of the peoples of England, Scotland and Wales to decide their own future and what form of relationship they feel best serve their interests.

This is one of the major reasons why democratically elected assemblies are needed, through which the will of the people of each country can be expressed.

We are confident that the Scottish and Welsh people would decide that their best interests lie in securing, not separation but adequate measures of self government within the framework of continued representative government for Britain as a whole.

The best forms of relationship in the interests of all three peoples will need to be democratically worked out and reviewed in the light of experience. It is this voluntary unity on the basis of self-determination which is the real way forward and the only effective answer to the dangers of division and separation. Adequate and effective devolution now is the first essential for this unity to be achieved.

Third, devolution could provide the best grounds to enable the people to tackle the distinctive problems of each country.

While imperialist crisis has resulted in deep social, economic and political problems for Britain as a whole, these are particularly acute in Scotland and Wales. Both are officially designated by the government as "deprived areas" and have suffered from years of neglect by successive governments, whether Labour or Tory. Unemployment has been consistently higher. Traditional industries declined. Insufficient new industry was developed. Special problems—the Highlands and islands, Central Wales, transport, extensive urban decay were only tinkered with or largely neglected. Social conditions, particularly housing and health, were usually worse than in most of England. Many youth emigrated, the age structure became older. The consequent decline in many communities has also meant the undermining of much traditional culture and of Gaelic and the Welsh language.

The combination of all these factors has been the main reason for the emergence in recent years of heightened national consciousness in both countries.

All this has been thrown into sharper relief in Scotland by the discovery of oil off the Scottish coast, and the mistaken policies in relation to this important new energy source.

Devolution Itself Not Enough

It is especially important in view of all this to state clearly that devolution in itself will not solve the problems of Scotland and Wales. What is primarily needed are left policies to solve capitalism's crisis, as we and the left advocate. But devolution is correct in principle and is the best means to tackle some existing problems from a national and democratic point of view. A correct and clear position now on devolution is vital to the fight to win left majorities and policies in the assemblies when they are set up, and in the Westminster Parliament too.

The nationalist parties offer no solution. The Scottish Nationalist Party and Plaid Cymru (the Welsh nationalist party) say the "English" are responsible for the problems of Scotland and Wales, not capitalism. Because the diagnosis of the Scots and Welsh nationalist parties is wrong and has no class or social basis, so their "solution" of capitalist "separation" is wrong. Unless, however, the correct solution is found, politics in both countries could be further distorted with ugly overtones of narrow nationalism and political development thrown back for years.

The immediate issue is the specific form of devolution for Scotland and Wales, but consideration of the necessary consequential change for England is now an urgent matter. With the creation of separate assemblies in Scotland and Wales a new dimension will be introduced into British politics. The assemblies can be made, and must be made into powerful democratic forums that enrich democratic life and popular participation. But they require to be assemblies with real powers.

The background of the government's devolution proposals is the political and economic unity of Britain. Parliamentary control is to be retained by the Central Parliament at Westminster, of national security and defence, international relations including the EEC, a single framework of law and democratic rights. The White Paper also states that "The government must be able to manage demand in the economy as a whole—to embrace national taxation, total public expenditure and the supply of money and credit." It further states that the government "must also keep the task of devising national policies to benefit particular parts of the United Kingdom, and of distributing resources among them according to needs".

We support this general approach, subject to three vital qualifications.

The first is that of policy. It is necessary to restate, in the interests of Scotland and Wales and Britain as a whole, that central government powers be used to implement a real counter crisis policy, as we and others on the left have been demanding.

This policy can only be won by intense class struggle by a united labour movement rallying the overwhelming majority of the people.

Our second proviso is that in addition to the proposed devolved powers, substantial economic powers must also be devolved.

Thirdly, we are completely opposed to the government having reserve powers in relation to the fields of policy devolved to the assemblies

These are our fundamental differences with the government's white paper.

Socialism the Real Solution

Constitutional questions cannot be separated from politics and policy. Therefore constitutional issues, even under capitalism, cannot be a matter of indifference to communists and others on the left.

We support devolution as a democratic, national principle, while being clear that the greatest issue is to win a Labour majority and communist representation in the assemblies and Westminster, carrying out left policies to deal with capitalism's crisis.

For the Communist Party, a single united working-class, labour and trade-union movement is a vital principle if monopoly capitalism is to be defeated and socialism won In Scotland and Wales we have separate trades union congresses combining the activities of the British trade unions in those countries. This has strengthened the labour movement. The unity of the working class of England, Scotland and Wales in common unions and common political parties is even more important under devolution than before This will be the guarantee that the common political objectives of the working class will be simultaneously fought for in all the assemblies when they are set up and in Westminster, as well as the specific policies for the three countries.

The carrying through of devolution in the way we propose, far from undermining the struggle for socialism, will assist it.

Socialism is the real solution to the problems of Scotland and Wales as for Britain as a whole. But socialism needs to be fought for in the context of the immediate economic and political problems produced by the crisis of capitalism.

Left Unity in Struggle for New Policy

To change the economic strategy of the government and force it on to a new course, and simultaneously solve the political and constitutional crises in Northern Ireland and the three countries of Britain requires a new dimension of mass political struggle. It is only possible of achievement if there is in the first place unity in action of the left forces in the labour movement, including communists. This is the challenge before the left.

The Broad Alliance

For communists, left unity is a matter of principle, not a tactical convenience. We work for unity so that the full power of the working class will be expressed in struggle against the monopolies.

Our principled understanding and approach to left unity guides and determines our relations with comrades and organisations on the left. We recognise that there will be occasions when there are differences between us on important issues. But such differences need not fracture our basic unity against the right wing and for socialism.

The fight for left policies and leadership in the trade unions and in the Labour Party is a complex process. A constant struggle between left and right is taking place at all levels and on a variety of issues. At any moment there may be advances in some areas and setbacks in others. This is clearly illustrated by recent developments.

At both the 1975 TUC and Labour Party Conference, on the central pivot of the Labour government's economic policy, the £6 maximum wage increase and the concept of the social contract, the left suffered a serious setback.

This was possible because of the confusion in the movement, even on the left, on this issue. Some trade-union and Labour leaders who formerly opposed wage restraint, now support it, though they often continue to take a left position on other issues. We have said, and will continue to argue that they are wrong in supporting the £6 limit on pay increases. This policy does not help to save the Labour government, as they claim, but puts it in greater danger.

The differentiation between right and left will deepen. Our aim is by principled argument to win the whole left to oppose wage restraint and

present a comprehensive alternative policy to that of the government and the right wing.

The winning of left leadership and left policies in the labour movement has a wider political and democratic significance.

The concept of a broad alliance of different sections of the people and their organisations, led by the working class, ranged against the big monopolies and for democratic change, is set out in our programme, *The British Road to Socialism*. Because of the increasing involvement of millions of men and women, not part of the labour movement, in struggle against the consequences of capitalism's crisis, there are now new opportunities for building this broad alliance.

The Communist Party, Young Communist League and "Morning Star"

Achievement of this perspective requires a bigger Communist Party, Young Communist League and *Morning Star* circulation.

The opening up of the road to socialism and the winning of socialism in Britain necessitates the existence, as part of the labour movement, of an independent organised party, firmly based on Marxist-socialist ideology and outlook, conducting militant struggle against monopoly capitalism and spreading the ideas and aims of socialism.

It was on the basis of this understanding that the Executive Committee of the Communist Party at its January 1976 meeting adopted a comprehensive plan of party, YCL and *Morning Star* growth and development. Introducing the plan to the National Executive Committee, national organiser of the party, Dave Cook said: "The size of the party is very much a central concern of this plan because the way to get growth in the present situation is to accompany a determined fight for membership with attention to improving our organisation and our mass work. This plan sees the strengthening of the fabric of the Party and winning new members as different sides of the same coin."

International Setting

The fulfilment of the plan for growth and development of the communist movement in Britain and the building of left unity in the course of mass democratic struggle, is made all the more possible because of the major victories in recent years of the world forces for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

British communists and all other progressive forces in Britain greeted with great joy the world-changing victory of the Vietnamese people.

Developments in Europe have been no less significant. The European Conference on Security and Cooperation marks a new stage in the struggle for peace and detente in Europe. Its successful outcome was the product

of years of activity by world progressive forces, in which the peace policy and initiatives of the Soviet Union were decisive.

Fulfilment of the Helsinki Agreements will necessitate continued struggle, for the cold warriors will try to sabotage them.

One of the foremost amongst these is the leader of the Tory Party in Britain, Margaret Thatcher. In a major speech in London on January 20th she made a hysterical anti-Soviet speech reminiscent of the worst kind of "red scare" of the old cold-war era.

"The Russians," she declared, "are bent on world dominance and they are rapidly acquiring the means to become the most powerful imperialist nation the world has seen."

With much more in this vein being uttered by her and other Tory leaders, it was understandable that the Soviet Union should vigorously refute these and other speeches which are violently opposed to the spirit and meaning of detente.

The Thatcher speech was also condemned by Labour members of Parliament and others in the labour movement.

Thatcher and other reactionaries fulminate against the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, for it is that policy which has played a major part in curbing imperialism's aggressive aims.

The consistent, principled fight for detente, peace and disarmament maintained by the Soviet Union since the October Revolution, today stands as a prime obstacle in the way of those who would follow policies that threaten the world with new wars carrying with them the danger of nuclear holocaust.

Peace-loving people throughout the world recognise this great quality of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, and pay tribute to it.

The Helsinki agreements, of course, do not mean ideological detente and the preservation of capitalism in Western Europe. In all the countries of capitalism the struggle for socialist advance will be stepped up as capitalism's crisis deepens.

The economic situation in Britain and the capitalist world stands in sharp contrast to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. All the false references to a "world" crisis cannot obscure this reality. At this moment of deep capitalist crisis, the superiority of the socialist economic system becomes ever more evident and this assists us in our activity to chart our own way to socialism in Britain.

DEMOCRACY IN THE SERVICE OF PEACE AND MAN

DALIBOR HANES
Member of Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Chairman, Chamber of Nationalities, Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia

Few problems today provoke so many debates and controversies as the problem of democracy. It has become particularly topical in the conditions of detente, which was given a powerful spur at Helsinki, and against the background of the deep economic crisis that has gripped the capitalist world, laying bare its economic as well as political and moral weakness. It is no coincidence that lately capitalist propaganda has fallen back on the notions of "pure democracy", the "free play of political forces", pluralism and totalitarianism. Nor is it accidental that more and more frequently, socialist democracy is measured with the yeardstick of bourgeois democracy. The reason for this ideological manipulation is not really novel. Whenever the capitalist world is keenly aware of a weakening of its positions, its propaganda centres do their utmost to discredit the social system destined by history to succeed it. Hence the fundamental importance of distinguishing between the socialist and the capitalist approach to democracy so as to show the social and political forces that advocate the promotion of democracy and those that try to prevent it, the social system that enables the people to participate in government and the system that raises obstacles to it.

World history and the contemporary activity of millions indicate that the bourgeoisie as a class has used up its opportunities of directing social development and has become a barrier to progress. The monopolist upper stratum of the bourgeoisie plays a particularly reactionary role in the economy, government, culture, foreign policy and all other spheres of public life. It blocks far-reaching democratic changes both in its own country and elsewhere.

Lenin regarded the attitude to war and peace as a basic criterion of democracy of any state. "Socialists" he wrote, "have always condemned war

between nations as barbarous and brutal" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 299). The proletarian state, being democratic, offers all nations durable peace and recognises none but revolutionary liberation wars as just. This approach to war and peace is still more important now that the balance of world forces has changed in favour of socialism and a process of detente meeting the interests of all nations is under way.

Detente has supporters and opponents. We see in the van of its opponents, of those advocating a return to the cold war, the same forces who, both at home and abroad, call for curbs on democracy and readily protect and ally themselves with reactionary regimes. They belong primarily to the imperialist bourgeoisie and the social strata linked with it. The interests of the bourgeoisie and a policy meeting them dragged most countries into two wars, the worst in human history, that cost tens of millions of lives. And was it not the imperialist bourgeoisie that started those infamous wars in Algeria, Vietnam, Korea, Cambodia and Laos? Did it not strangle democracy and help to establish fascist regimes in Spain, Portugal, Greece and Chile? It also backs the Israeli aggressors and their provocations against freedom-loving Arab peoples and pulls the strings of counter-revolutionary conspiracies against democratic regimes and governments, against national-liberation and democratic movements throughout the world. While the socialist countries reacted favourably to the outcome of the Helsinki Conference, which also won the approval of other democratic and peace forces, the conference decisions were fiercely attacked by reactionaries, arms manufacturing monopolies and militarists, as well as by the press and politicians expressing their interests.

The monopoly bourgeoisie's hostility to democracy is due to its vested interests in maintaining international tensions and militarising public life. In such an atmosphere, it is easier to insist in parliament on large military appropriations that fill the pockets of giant corporations and put a heavy burden on the working people. The monopoly bourgeoisie accuses the Soviet Union and other socialist countries of "deriving unilateral benefits" from detente while the West is alleged to incur losses. Yet it is a fact that the reduction of the threat of nuclear war and good-neighbourly relations and mutually advantageous cooperation between countries with different social systems benefit the overwhelming majority of mankind. The thaw in international relations is only resented by the reactionary section of the imperialist bourgeoisie, which makes fabulous profits from the arms race, as well as by the Maoist leadership, whose unprincipled position ranges it alongside the most rabid reactionaries.

It follows that the effort for extending detente is inseparable from the fight for democracy, since in either case the working people are faced with the same chief enemy, the reactionary monopoly bourgeoisie. Detente limits the room for manoeuvre available to aggressive and reactionary imperiali-

forces, and makes export of counter-revolution much more difficult while facilitating the fight for democracy and revolutionary change.

Though the bourgeoisie and its anti-democratic rule are irreconcilable with the objective requirements of historical development, this exploiting class is not a passive onlooker in social processes but an active force whose vitality is maintained by the instinct of class self-preservation. It continuously musters its forces and mobilises such powerful agencies as the state apparatus, the armed forces, the police, the education system the church, parliament and the mass media. It uses fascist organisations, renegades from the working class and other working people, declassed elements. All instruments of the bourgeoisie's class rule are ultimately anti-democratic, for they help to maintain its political domination preserve private property and the resultant exploitation of man by man, and safeguard bourgeois law and morality. Their purpose is to perpetuate a social system which puts the selfish interests of a narrow group, the imperialist bourgeoisie, above those of the working class.

On the other hand, sustained struggle by the working people headed by the working class has enabled the democratic forces (in varying measure from one capitalist country to another) to express and uphold the people's interests to one extent or another through bourgeois political institutions. To this end, progressives use every legal medium ranging from non-governmental organisations and the mass media to parliament. They realise, however, that democratic measures alone, no matter how serious, cannot lead to the abolition of bourgeois rule.

The more zealous apologists of the capitalist system call it a "bulwark of democracy" and a "guarantee of freedom". To be sure, bourgeois democracy is not an invented concept but a reality in today's world. The rights [illegible] freedoms existing in capitalist society were won in a contest, first between a bourgeoisie that was still progressive and a declining feudalism, and then between the exploiting classes and the working people, above all the working class. The working class remains in the lead of the forces fighting for greater democracy under capitalism.

But can democracy be complete where the principal means of production, including the land, are still owned by a handful of monopolies? And can there be any question of real people's rule where the domination of private property breeds and maintains social cultural and political inequality, perpetuates irreconcilable class antagonisms and gives rise to imperialist wars?

This anachronism is the source of an ever more [illegible] democratic movement. As the struggle for far-reaching democratic changes goes on, a broad coalition of progressive, anti-monopoly forces is taking shape that [illegible] to substantially weaken, undermine the omnipotence of the monopoly bourgeoisie. The nationalisation of industry for instance, assumes [illegible]

character of a genuinely democratic measure if it enables the working class and other working people to participate in the management of nationalised enterprises and exercise control over their operation, for this means curtailing the power of the bourgeoisie. A genuine democratisation of public life is unthinkable without limiting and then abolishing the power of capital. History has repeatedly shown that every effort to this end is fiercely resisted by the ruling classes, whose resistance grows as the anti-monopoly forces demand more and more emphatically that the might of the bourgeoisie be curbed. The revolutionary movement of recent years has revealed that when the power of the monopoly bourgeoisie is really threatened, it stops at nothing to retain it. Proof of this is the brutal repression practised against democrats in many countries.

A favourite device of bourgeois ideologists and propagandists in attacking socialism is to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat to democracy. This is completely indefensible. The actual watershed lies between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, with bourgeois democracy as one of its forms, and the rule of the working people led by the working class, which takes the form of dictatorship of the proletariat. There is no such thing as the "pure" or "complete" democracy advocated by bourgeois ideologists and Social Democratic theorists.

In assailing real socialism, opportunists, right- and "left"-wing revisionists and right-wing social-democratic leaders substitute nominal legal criteria for the class criteria of democracy and distort the meaning of socialist statehood. Political currents in our country were strongly influenced by the ideas of "democratic socialism". From the early years of revolutionary development (1945-48) onwards, its adherents waged a clamorous campaign against "totalitarianism"—meaning the leading role of the Communist Party—and urged the working class not to build up the new people's rule, but to carry out a Masarykist "revolution in people's minds and hearts". At the same time they laid plans for a counter-revolutionary putsch, which they actually attempted in February 1948, only to be defeated. The dangerous character of this ideology was brought home to us once again when, in 1968-69, the counter-revolution in our country, clamouring for "democratic Czechoslovak socialism", took a stand against the leading role of the Communist Party and the working class in an effort to supplant proletarian internationalism by petty-bourgeois nationalism and the real political system of socialism by bourgeois democratic pluralism. However, the party restored the Leninist class approach to democracy and strengthened the power of the working class and the people as a whole. "In a class society", says Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the Communist Party, "the point at issue has always been: 'Freedom for whom, democracy for whom?' We say openly: for the working people, for the workers, peasants and intellectuals, but never for the parasitic strata."

By describing bourgeois democracy as the acme of democracy and by disguising its material basis—private property—and its limited, class character, the bourgeoisie wants to prevent anything that is intended to go beyond the narrow framework of this form of government, i.e. to draw the working people into government. At present the bourgeoisie plainly tries, for all its political manoeuvres, to restrict the initiative of the working people, who are fighting for the possibility of influencing their countries' policy and economy. It would like to reduce the citizen's role in society to the nominal function of a voter who does not appreciably influence the exercise of power, let alone its class nature. It is a power serving the interests of monopoly and hence running counter to those of the overwhelming majority of the people. But exclusiveness and privileges have nothing to do with democracy, humanism or freedom.

Anyone who wants his rights to be respected must see to it that the rights of all are respected. How do matters stand in bourgeois society? The constitutions of most bourgeois states provide for various civil rights and freedoms but have "forgotten" to provide for two decisive things, freedom from exploitation and the right to work. This is a source of insurmountable evils under bourgeois democracy, such as social insecurity, hunger and poverty in countries whose rulers like to declare that they have created an "affluent society", a 'welfare state', and so on. The question inevitably arises: by what moral right do those who safeguard the inviolability of an exploiting system pose as defenders of democracy and champions of humanism and freedom? After all, every reasonably well-informed person knows that the world capitalist system, in particular its citadel, the United States, has lost its advantage in economic growth rate and in some other economic indices, its monetary and financial stability, and is faced with acute fuel, raw material and energy problems. He also knows that, on the other hand, it has proved its "worth" in political scandals, abuses of power, corruption, violation of civil rights, racial discrimination, political assassination and, last but not least, counter-revolutionary conspiracies against countries and governments whose policy does not meet the interests of the international monopoly bourgeoisie. This is bourgeois democracy, under which "freely" elected parliaments protect the interests of the propertied classes and the exploitation of man by man is called "freedom of labour". (It will be recalled that 15 million people are today "free" from labour, having no job.) It is democracy for the bourgeoisie against the working people. To understand its nature is to draw a revolutionary conclusion, the only one that is correct.

Implementation of a programme for far-reaching democratic changes in the course of the people's unrelenting class struggle paves the way for the subsequent transition to a new, socialist society that will bring about a new and higher type of democracy, socialist democracy. What gives the

dignity not only in words but in deeds, for cultivating a rich individuality, but without individualistic propensities.

Socialist democracy, however, presupposes not only active participation in the management of government, economic and cultural affairs, but also responsibility of each person to society and the state, respect for the existing order, observance of the laws and social obligations. For, to quote Lenin, "one cannot live in society and be free from society" (Vol. 10, p. 481). But the relation between the individual and society is deeply democratic, for it rests, increasingly, on conscious, voluntary observance of society's laws and principles—on the consciousness that stems from the profoundly humanist principle of the socialist way of life: society works for the individual, the individual works for society.

Socialist popular rule manifests itself in the democratic organisation and functions of the state. All classes and social groups, all nations and nationalities, share a common socialist ideology, common fundamental interests expressed and implemented by the state. That is why Lenin's idea of the socialist state's strength lying in the consciousness of the masses is more relevant today than ever.

Under socialism, development of democracy and the state form a dialectical whole for, as Lenin remarked, "the more complete the democracy, the nearer the moment when it becomes unnecessary. The more democratic the 'state'... the more rapidly *every form* of state begins to wither away" (Vol. 25, p. 474). Such is the transition from the socialist state to communist social self-government. The communist parties of the socialist countries follow a consistent policy of developing socialist democracy. But they are mindful of the fact that in present conditions the state is still an important instrument in directing economic upbuilding, scientific and technological progress, social policy, the promotion of culture, raising educational levels. The experience of the socialist-community countries has proved that perfection of the socialist state has a positive effect also on the development of socialist democracy.

Mass elective organisations, the organs of popular representation, are the firm basis of state power under socialism. In the USSR these are the Soviets, in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic—the national committees, in Poland—the people's councils. These institutions of representative democracy are a direct link between the state and the people and a means of bringing the people into the management of public and state affairs. These mass organisations, through which the people exercise their sovereignty, are expressive of the broad democracy of socialist society. The very composition of these bodies, which are made up of workers, peasants, representatives of the socialist intelligentsia and other working people, are the symbol and embodiment of popular rule, its practical manifestation.

Under socialism, the people have a share in management and democratic control not only through the state, but also through the mass public and political organisations led by the Communist Party.

The apologists of capitalism and the critics of the socialist system pretend to be shocked by the Communist Party's leading role vis-a-vis the state and society. They try to exploit this fact to back up their contention that socialist democracy is no more than "formal". A futile exercise, for the party's leading role is not the result of subjective aspirations; it stems from the very march of history and serves the working class and people in exercising their power. Every ruling class delegates direction of the state to its political vanguard, which knows its interests and is able consistently to uphold them. This applies to the working class too. Marxists-Leninists frankly admit this historical reality. They do not have to conceal it, for the Communist Party's aims and efforts fully coincide with the interests of the working class and the working people generally.

The most important problems facing society are in the economic field. And socialist democracy is closely linked with this aspect of the country's life. Lenin pointed out that: "taken separately, no kind of democracy will bring socialism. But in actual life democracy will never be 'taken separately'; it will be 'taken together' with other things, it will exert its influence on economic life as well, will stimulate its transformation..." (Vol. 25, pp. 452-53). We know that economic results are largely determined by the scope of mass activity. But we also know that steady, dynamic growth of the socialist economy is a key factor in the promotion of democracy.

That is why the communist parties provide all the conditions for the development of democracy in the sphere of material production, at the factories and mills where the wealth of society is created. Higher activity and more initiative, overfulfilment of economic plans, socialist obligations assumed by the workers and, most important, the mass socialist emulation movements—these are all concrete expressions of the people's active participation in managing production, a concrete expression of socialist democracy in practice.

In the process of emancipating labour socialism guarantees respect of man's dignity, observance of his rights and freedoms. The full and unhindered use of these rights enables citizens of a socialist state to share in the exercise of power. This is the basis for developing their talents and abilities. It also facilitates closer fraternal solidarity and friendship with other socialist nations and all the democratic forces of the world. In assessing the achievements of socialism in providing the requisite for genuine freedom of the individual and full popular rule, we are aware that, in the longer historical perspective we have made only the first steps towards this goal. But emancipated labour is the guarantee that we will reach this goal.

A society is truly human only if labour serves the interests of the work-

ing class, the working people, the individual. It is against this background that one can clearly see the difference in the aims and results of socialist and bourgeois democracy.

On the one hand, there is capitalism, with its fear of the future, antagonistic class contradictions, rapacious attitude to material and social values and to man, the highest creation of nature. On the other hand, there is dynamically developing socialism, which is successfully solving the most complex problems that arise on the road to progress, directing all its efforts for the benefit of man, his well-being and limitless spiritual perfection.

On the one hand, there is bourgeois democracy, resting on an unstable material basis and always subject to crises; a bourgeois democracy that uses every available means to save historically moribund social relations, and therefore a restricted, curtailed democracy that serves the interests of a narrow minority standing opposed to the people. The present crisis of bourgeois democracy is a component part of the general crisis of capitalism. On the other hand, there is a qualitatively new democracy, based on public ownership and implemented through institutions that express the people's will and interests. This is the highest form of political democracy, and it is guided by its own, socialist laws and assessed by its own, socialist criteria.

A characteristic feature of socialist democracy in the period of accelerated advance to mature socialism is the growing concern of society for the all-round development of man, his knowledge, activity and responsibility, extension of his rights and freedoms, closer interconnection between rights and obligations, and systematic extension of material guarantees for the all-round freedom of the individual. In the course of this process all efforts of society the abilities and talents of each of its members, are focused on achieving the ultimate aim of social development, the building of communism.

UNHOLY ALLIANCE OF INDIA'S RIGHT AND "LEFT"

SRINIVAS GANESH SARDESAI
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The approval by Parliament in February 1976 of the government's legislation extending the emergency and delaying the elections due in March this year served as one more pretext for foreign imperialists and the domestic right and "left" opposition to step up their attacks on the policy of the Congress Party leadership. Ostensibly concerned about the fate of Indian democracy, they allege that there is a danger of "absolutist" rule being established in the country. At the same time the right and the "left" have sharply intensified attacks against the truly revolutionary ideas.

People not versed in politics ask: what can unite forces that seem to be opposed to one another? In history and present-day political struggles there are many examples of unholy, unnatural alliances and coalitions of the outwardly hostile groups. One such example is the ganging up of right-reaction and the ultra-left against scientific socialism and the political forces who represent it.

The clamorous ultra-left attack scientific socialism from avowedly opportunist and adventurist positions. The attacks by the right are often clothed in "national" garb. Inevitably, they are related to the specific background and based on a vicious distortion of the facts of history and contemporary problems. The end product of the 'theories' and activities of the right and the "left" is the whipping up of the anti-communist, anti-Soviet campaign as a weapon for disrupting the unity of progressive and anti-imperialist forces with a view to installing a reactionary dictatorship.

The wide variety of deceptive theories and policies cannot conceal that similar actions, in developing countries for instance, are part of the neo-colonialist drive of imperialism, above all US imperialism. Proof of this is provided by events in India in 1975 and 1976.

The most powerful and dangerous reactionary force in India pitted against democracy and socialism, all progressive and patriotic forces is that

of Hindu communal chauvinism. It assumes the garb of Hindu nationalism which can find a fertile ideological ground in the tradition-bound and caste-ridden society. This offensive is organised by the Jan Sangh (JS), the political party of Hindu reaction, and is spearheaded by its para-military, fascist organisation, viz the RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh).

The JS leaders are arch-enemies of scientific socialism. They denounce Marxism-Leninism as being a "foreign" doctrine "believing in violence" and alien to the cultural and philosophical traditions of the "Hindu nation", and slander Communists as Soviet "agents". Attacks on communists include cloak-and-dagger murders of communist cadres and incendiary attacks on party offices.

The ideas and methods of economic and social planning in our country are attacked by the JS as being "un-Indian", borrowed from the socialist states. At the same time, in the name of a "patriotic, Indian" plan demands are made for handing over the public sector enterprises to "national" capitalists, for free trade in foodgrains and for leaving landlordism intact. The main trends of this plan clearly show whose interests the JS defends and who forms its social base. The JS is a strike force of the Indian reactionaries, both big landowners and monopolists.

The JS and the RSS are viciously anti-Muslim, a community which constitutes a substantial minority (slightly over 10 per cent) of the Indian population. The JS and the RSS miss no opportunity to unleash mass violence against Muslims for disrupting progressive and democratic movements.

The basic "theory" of the JS is that Hindus alone are the true citizens of India because it is not only their mother country but also their holy land. National culture is equated with Hindu culture. The Muslims are considered "aliens" and "anti-national". The history of India since the Muslims first arrived in the country is painted by JS leaders as a conflict between Muslim "invaders" and Hindu patriots.

This theory of Hindus and Muslims constituting "two nations" was gradually developed under British rule from the beginning of our freedom movement. Under British provocation, it was also picked up by Muslim reaction and ended up in the partitioning of the country into India and Pakistan in 1947.

In the post-independence period, the theory has been used for opposing all efforts to bring about good-neighbourly relations between India and Pakistan and for denouncing Indian Muslims as a Pakistani "fifth column" in the country. It is also used for demanding the elimination of Muslims from Indian administrative and defence services as "enemy agents". And all this, of course, in the name of "true patriotism and national interest".

With all its "patriotic" thunder, however, the ultrareactionary nature of the JS came out nakedly during the liberation struggle of Bangladesh. The

JS leadership cast all sorts of aspersions alleging that "the Muslim masses of Bangladesh and their leader, Mujibur Rahman, could not be trusted". Thus it actually supported the rulers of Pakistan and the US imperialists behind them.

Then the JS seemed to have made a turnabout in its stand. It pretended to support the liberation struggle of the Bangladesh people. At the same time, however, the party assailed the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation (1971), which prevented direct US intervention in Bangladesh. After Bangladesh became an independent republic, the JS launched attacks against its regime and President Mujibur Rahman. The JS leaders failed to condemn the military coup of 15 August 1975 and the accompanying tragic events.

The foreign-policy stand of the JS leaders has long been clear. They laud the United States as a land of "free democracy" and call the Soviet Union a "totalitarian" power. They have come out as enemies of the liberation struggle of the Indochina peoples and of the just cause of the Arabs, who are fighting for the restoration of their lands occupied by Israel. Indira Gandhi is sharply criticised by them for the foreign and home policies of her government and for its policy of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which, in their opinion, alienates the United States and China from India.

Another hotbed of anti-communism in India is linguistic chauvinism. Capitalist development in the country since independence has led to vast unemployment not only among the rural poor but equally among the educated middle-class youth who have been pouring out from various academic institutions.

A concomitant of capitalist development is growing regional disparities, new industries being concentrated in certain states while others continue to remain in backward agrarian conditions. This leads to unemployed youth from the backward regions flocking to the more developed areas. Even ordinarily this would have led to friction between the local unemployed and those who come from distant regions. The situation is further aggravated by the fact that India is a country of people speaking different languages.

So the conflict develops linguistic overtones and gives an opportunity to reactionary vested interests to incite linguistic animosities and hatred. Under the slogan of "employment for the sons of the soil", the Marathi-speaking people are instigated against non-Marathi people coming to Bombay for employment. Tamilians in Tamilnadu (in the South) are provoked against those coming from Kerala state.

Linguistic chauvinism assumes its most violent and pernicious forms in industrial areas and cities. It is used by capitalists in the struggle against militant trade unions and for undermining proletarian class solidarity. The

industrialists are praised as "employment givers" and worker is pitted against worker instead of all workers jointly fighting for their democratic rights against the employers. Thus linguistic chauvinism helps capitalists wage a frontal attack on the class struggle of the Indian proletariat and serves as an instrument of anti-communism. The reactionaries make use of the worst lumpen elements, inciting them to anti-communist actions, which are often carried out with the knowledge and approval of the police.

The Anand Marg is yet another dangerous reactionary organisation indulging in the murder of communists and progressive congressmen. It claims to be based on an esoteric Hindu cult. Its leaders believe in propitiating god with human skulls obtained through calculated murder. This organisation is financed by the CIA.

It has been proved that several other reactionary political parties based on the religious-communal principle, local nationalists ("linguistic chauvinists") also maintain close ties with the US intelligence services.

It was from the middle of 1973 that the rightist parties and forces began to club together for a concerted attack on parliamentary democracy in India and for a rightist take-over of power.[1] The economic and political situation in the country by that time had become extremely precarious. Rampant inflation, spiralling prices, massive unemployment, and all-pervasive corruption and blackmarketing had led to explosive discontent all over the country. The Parliament and the state legislatures had reached a state of near paralysis due to the rowdy and utterly undisciplined behaviour of the reactionary factions of the legislatures. Transport and communications were faced with sabotage and repeated stoppages. Violence and anarchy erupted repeatedly in one state after another.

The rightist forces jumped into the turmoil with their world renowned technique. They raised demagogic slogans against corruption, unemployment and rocketing prices, and started denouncing the congress governments, and above all, concentrated their fire against Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Her unforgivable crime, they declared, was that she was "guided by Moscow and its agents, the communists".

However, the rightist parties, discredited in public eyes for their notoriously anti-people's record, were in no position on their own to organise and lead a nation-wide fascist offensive against the forces of progress and democracy. They were conscious of this and therefore began to look for a man who could lead a reactionary crusade in the guise of popular demands.

Such a leader they found in Jayaprakash Narayan, popularly known as JP, who has a colourful though dubious past. In the early thirties he came forward as a socialist congressman with pro-communist leanings. In 1942

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[1] For more about this see C. R. Rao's article "Awareness of Historical Responsibility" in the May 1975 issue of the journal.

he escaped from prison and acquired fame as a revolutionary underground leader. After independence, he "quit" politics because "it had become dirty" and joined a non-violent movement for the voluntary gifting of land by the landlords to the peasants. So he came to be considered a selfless saint and a puritan.

Over the years JP has become openly anti-Soviet, pro-China and pro-American. For years he has been decrying the Soviet Union for "betraying the revolution" and lauding the Chinese leadership to the skies as "true communists and revolutionaries". As for himself, he insists on being considered a non-violent revolutionary. On occasions he has called himself a follower of "Marx, Lenin, Gandhi and Mao", claiming to have synthesised all of these philosophies. This does not prevent him from accepting donations from various US foundations and openly championing CIA outfits such as "Amnesty International". The reactionaries have made a good choice. Indeed, who could better conceal their true designs than this overall leader—a "socialist", a "revolutionary", and a "saint".

His key slogans were, 'Indira, the dictator, and her communist friends must go', "Parliament and the state legislatures must be dissolved", "Forward to a total revolution which would give birth to a partyless democracy" Demands for ending corruption, the growth of prices and unemployment were also tagged to these slogans.

Throughout the second half of 1973 and the whole of 1974 JP and his allies raised a storm all over India on these slogans. Mass demonstrations combined with looting, arson and murder were organised in different States. The clear objective was to paralyse the government and take over power. The RSS and the Anand Marg were fully utilised for the purpose. In fact, JP openly declared that "if the RSS is fascist then I am also a fascist".

It has to be realised that this reactionary offensive was far more deceptive and more difficult to beat back. So a mass campaign has to be launched to expose JP's "total revolution and partyless democracy". The exposure had to be both ideological and practical.

The utopian slogan of a partyless democracy was exposed as being totally unworkable in any class-divided society where every class had to organise itself politically to further its own class interest. In fact, in an exploitative society the slogan is downright deception. This was proved to the hilt in the course of JP's own movement. Everywhere he started forming "partyless people's struggle committees" which were to be the harbingers of a future partyless democracy. In actual practice, the struggle committees were captured by landlords, traders, blackmarketeers and by members of the JS, the RSS, the Anand Marg and other reactionary parties who claim to have "resigned" from their respective political organisations. The struggle for partyless democracy became a struggle of fascist hoodlums.

who attacked elected members of legislatures, communists, functionaries of trade-union and peasant organisations and indulged in orgies of violence and arson directed against schools, colleges, newspaper offices, and so on.

Ultra-lefts—represented mainly by the parallel communist party, CPM,[2] and the splinter groups of the Socialist Party—attack the party of scientific socialism and all who favour positive processes from different positions than the rightists. Yet in India, as elsewhere, the right and the "left" meet at a point of convergence. And that point is anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, the desire to undermine the unity of the genuine revolutionary and democratic forces in their struggle against foreign and internal reaction.

It is amusing, in fact highly illuminating, to note that while the right are critical of Indira Gandhi for "surrendering" to the CPI, the ultra-left attack the CPI for "surrendering" to Indira Gandhi, the leader of the national bourgeoisie. So, at one and the same time, the Prime Minister is a tool of communists and the communists are a tool of the Prime Minister! No wonder that on the basis of such clearly contradictory logical positions they both join hands against the CPI and Indira Gandhi.

With their utterly eclectic left-nationalist ideology and ingrained anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, the socialists have long jumped on to the bandwagon of the right. The Socialist Party leaders have simplified the whole matter by declaring that Indira Gandhi is a fascist and all parties opposed to her are fighting for democracy. The socialists have no ideological headaches and pangs. They have glorified the US and West-European mass-media for their "championship" of the cause of democracy in India, especially after the state of emergency was introduced in the country in June 1975.

Not so with the CPM which, obviously, cannot formally blatantly deny the very existence of imperialism and right-reaction in India. So its path in pursuit of its opportunist politics has been far more tortuous and involved. For many years it has juggled with pseudo-Marxist jargon to defend its sectarian and disruptive politics until, at last, it has landed itself in the camp of the right.

It is not necessary here to go into the long history since 1964 when the CPM broke off from the parent organisation, the CPI.[3] Suffice it to say that the CPM leadership started its journey by denying the existence and growth of contradictions within the national bourgeoisie—between the pro-imperialist monopoly sections and the non-monopoly democratic sections of the bourgeoisie. This meant denial of the opportunities and necessity of building a national-democratic front that would unite all left and demo-

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[2] CPM—Communist Party (Marxist).

[3] See C. R. Rao's article "Left and Democratic Unity against the Right Threat" in the August 1973 issue of *WMR*—*Ed.*

cratic forces, including the anti-imperialist sections of the bourgeoisie. In practice, this led to all-out opposition to the ruling National Congress based on a refusal to recognise the existence of a progressive section in it. The Communist Party, which advocates building a front, was accused by the splitters of "opportunism".

With the growing threat of the rightist offensive since 1973, the CPM leadership put forward the theory that the conflict between the ruling National Congress and the right opposition parties was a factional conflict for power between two sections of the bourgeoisie. But even such a position could not justify the CPM supporting one reactionary combination against another. So they came forward with the view that though the allies of JP were reactionary, JP himself was a confused political leader with democratic aims and that the mass struggle being unleashed by him had a radical potential. By supporting the movement, the CPM could, on the one hand, radicalise it, and on the other, isolate JP's reactionary all allies. In fact, the CPM leaders directed their main criticism against the Communist Party, which had become the organising force in the struggle against the fascist threat.

A series of negotiations started between the CPM leadership and JP with the former proposing that JP should include worker-peasant demands in his programme, that his movement should rely on strikes by workers and struggles of the landless and poor peasants against landlords, and that his association with the rightist parties should end.

The "confused and democratic" JP, however, proved cleverer than the CPM leadership. He relied that his movement was a partyless people's movement, that he could not prevent any party from supporting it if it agreed with his demands and joined hands with him for dislodging the Congress government from power. JP was perfectly clear that the CPM would not keep out of any movement demanding the ousting of Indira Gandhi, no matter how reactionary it might be.

And that is precisely what happened. JP's pressure on the CPM demanding a surrender to his positions increased, and it climbed down from its position of conditional support to one of joining the movement without any conditions. It went even to the extent of participating in JP's criminal actions. Its followers were instructed not to carry the party banners with them in processions, etc., for, according to JP, a partyless movement had no place for the flags and banners of any political party!

By the close of 1974 the JP movement was thrown on the defensive because of the ideoloigcal and political counter offensive launched by the Communist Party and large numbers of progressive congressmen. The CPI campaign went hand in hand with mass struggles of workers, agricultural labourers, peasants, students and youth organised by the party. The people began to realise more and more who was genuinely fighting to improve their life

and to strengthen democracy and who was organising a counter-revolution under the garb of combating corruption and the "dictatorship of Indira Gandhi". The JP movement suffered an ideological and political defeat in the struggle to influence the masses. That being so, reaction set about carrying out the CIA-inspired secret plot designed to seize power.

This was the picture as it stood on the eve of the declaration of emergency in India on 26 June 1974.[4] The Prime Minister made it abundantly clear that the emergency was called for because of efforts by the CIA to destabilise the Indian government, efforts which were supported by reactionary forces in the country. The unity, democracy and freedom of India were at stake. A number of leaders of the rightist parties were arrested, the RSS and the Anand Marg were banned, and a rigorous press censorship which mainly muzzled the monopoly press was imposed.

It has to be stated that the CPM was not attacked. Its leadership and members (except those who participated in open subversive activity) were not arrested. And yet, since the declaration of emergency, the CPM have gone over wholly to the positions of the extreme right. It has denounced the emergency as "the institution of a one-party dictatorship and the total suppression of democracy in India". It has declared that "the Indira Gandhi government is the main danger to Indian democracy".

The CPM leadership hailed the anti-Indian campaign in the foreign capitalist press, in which some heads of state and government took part. But it did not say a word about the criminal activities of the CIA and its agents in India. However, the CPM leaders protested against the banning of such fascist organisations as the RSS and Anand Marg, saying they should be fought "politically" and at the same time cast aspersions on the Communist Party. The Soviet Union and the CPSU were not spared. It was alleged that they had played an "anti-revolutionary" role in the June 1975 events.

Yet another astounding position of the CPM leadership is in connection with the tragic events in Bangladesh last summer. It justified the actions of the putschists and US imperialists and the Maoists behind them. The CPM politbureau tried to explain these actions by the "anti-democratic" policy of Mujibur Rahman. Still further, the CPM organ, *People's Democracy* wrote: "In Bangladesh there has been a change of rulers, not of the ruling classes, and the class character of the state power has not been affected." Thus the CPM leadership, once taking the opportunist road, pretends not to see the obvious facts if they contradict their preconceptions.

The shocking lengths to which the CPM leadership has gone in its blind hatred of the international government movement and anti-imperialist, progressive forces in India has led to the profoundest crisis in the CPM since its birth. Literally hundreds upon hundreds of its members have resigned

[4] See N. Krishnan's article "A Sharp Turn" in the October 1975 issue of the journal

from the party in Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnadu, Punjab and so on. Many have returned to the CPI. Unfortunately, some have moved still further "left".

Such is the tragedy of pseudo-left movements in India, which attack Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism.[5]

The welcome feature in Indian developments during the last six months is that the Communist Party, the progressive forces in the Congress and other patriotic and democratic elements have drawn closer. There is a far greater realisation among the urban and rural people of the threat from the right and from US imperialism. There is no doubt that these forces will defeat the unholy alliance of the right and the "left" against democracy, genuine national independence and scientific socialism, our immortal teaching.

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[5] A special article about the Indian Maoists is planned by the journal.

MAOISM SELF-EXPOSED IN AFRICA

AMATH DANSOKO, ESSOP PAHAD

The events in Angola speeded the growing, historically inevitable differentiation between the democratic, progressive forces and the reactionary, conservative and neocolonialist forces of Africa. They greatly stimulated the anti-imperialist movement on the continent. The Angolan battlefield showed Africans their real friends and allies and their sworn enemies in the international arena. Illusions about certain international forces posing as fighters against imperialism, for the freedom of peoples were given up one after another We mean primarily the Maoists. Their policy on the African continent, especially towards the events in Angola, revealed once again how very far Maoism has gone in betraying the cause of revolution and freedom.

Over ten years have passed since the mid-1960s, when Peking proclaimed the "five principles" of Chinese policy in Africa and declared in support of the anti-imperialist struggle, the movement for non-alignment and the African peoples' effort for unity and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, promising at the same time to respect the sovereignty of African states. The time has come to take sober stock of how these principles are applied in practice.

The facts leave no room for doubt that the Maoist leadership has from the first regarded penetration into Africa as part of its policy of bringing certain areas of the world and whole continents under the influence of Peking. The Maoists used the strategy of setting up strongholds in Africa, singling out Zaire, Tanzania, Zambia and some other influential states. They effected their penetration into these and other African countries on the demagogic pretext of giving full support to the liberation movement. What this "support" meant in reality was shown as far back as the 1960s by Maoist activity in the Belgian Congo.

It is hard to assess the damage caused by Peking to the liberation forces of that sorely tried country. Following the tragic death of Patrice Lumumba the Maoists contrived to involve some of his followers in an extremist policy. [illegible] tried to bring the movement of Lumumba's followers under its sway

by defaming the socialist community, specifically by accusing the Soviet Union of surrendering to imperialism. Subsequently Maoist influence was a major factor in the defeat of what was a powerful movement.

Along with attempts to win over African patriots, Peking has throughout these years followed the tactic of allying itself with domestic anti-national groups and organisations. In Namibia, it fostered the South West African National Union (SWANU) for a long time while denying support to the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO). And though afterwards the Chinese leadership had to recognise SWAPO, Maoist subversion against the Namibian liberation movement continued.

In the South-African republic, Peking pinned its hopes on a handful of traitors to the nation enjoying especial favour in imperialist quarters. We mean the Pan-Africanist Congress, which is opposed to the country's leading national liberation movement, the African National Congress. For more than a decade now, the Maoists have been giving political and lavish financial aid to the anti-communists and renegades in the Pan-Africanist Congress. They have also encouraged splitters from the so-called Revolutionary Committee of Mozambique (COREMO) and counterposed them to the FRELIMO patriots.

Peking's assurances of supporting the movement for nonalignment, which comprises almost all African states, turned out to be an empty promise. The Maoists are against the development of the movement's genuinely anti-imperialist principles. Their sole concern is to draw African states into the sphere of their influence.

The Maoists have shown themselves to be a force hostile to the anti-imperialist unity of the African peoples. They foment division on the continent in an effort to undermine the front of progressive countries. A strong progressive Africa does not suit a Peking obsessed by hegemonic ambitions. By provoking internal unrest in African countries and exploiting tribalist antagonisms, the Maoists encourage separatist sentiments and movements. Their support of the Biafra separatists in Nigeria is one of the more striking cases in point.

Lastly, contrary to its fiery protestations of an uncompromising stand on racialism, Peking has come to advocate in Africa a "racial war" between the "third world" and the "white world". The Maoists have openly assumed the role of proponents of the most reactionary, most obscurantist ideas. By attacking internationalism and anti-imperialist class positions, the Chinese leadership wants to implant a reactionary nationalist ideology, racism and chauvinism in African countries. In the light of this fact, the growing cooperation between South Africa's racists and the Maoists does not seem so very strange. Nor is it accidental that today Peking encourages the expansionist schemes of Pretoria by backing the Vorster regime's policy of "detente".[1]

[1] See "Detente-Vorster Style" in *WMR*, February 1976.

The Maoists' attitude to this regime is, in effect, the same as that of the imperialists.

Democratic, progressive Africa knows by experience the meaning of the Maoist-imperialist alliance. In looking at what the bourgeois and Maoist press writes about the Angolan events, even an unenlightened reader will discover a surprising "unanimity" of comments and estimates. Both the bourgeois and the Maoist press harp on "Soviet interference" and "Soviet colonialism", calling for a tougher stand towards the Soviet Union and burying detente alive.

Like the imperialists, Peking attaches great importance to alliance with conservative African regimes. Thereby the Maoists deliberately create a mortal threat to opposition organisations and forces which China encouraged until recently to fight against their respective regimes. According to some press reports, Mao Tse-tung said that the support of those forces had been a "mistake" for which China had paid "very dearly". The Maoists did not even shrink from offering their apologies to certain quarters for having backed Lumumba's followers. To show their "good faith" and improve their relations with the various regimes, they even liquidated organisations which they had until recently taken under their tutelage, as in Cameroun, Niger and some other countries. All this is evidence of a complete lack of principle on the part of Chinese politicians, who are only prompted by chauvinist, cynically pragmatic considerations.

There is an obvious tendency among the imperialists and Maoists today to accord each other "most-favoured-nation treatment" in carrying out joint propaganda and political actions. Bourgeois propaganda aimed at the African continent rehabilitates and embellishes Maoism, thereby helping Peking appreciably in its attempts to bolster its position. The Maoists reciprocate. While urging African countries to restrict economic and other relations with the Soviet Union, Peking declares for the fullest development of essentially neo-colonial relations between the Common Market and Africa. The Maoist-imperialist alliance in Angola is further evidence of Peking's consistent support of the most reactionary imperialist quarters plotting against progressive forces in many parts of the world. Maoism, says a central committee resolution of the South African Communist Party, is exposing itself as a dangerous anti-communist, anti-Soviet and pro-imperialist policy. This has been confirmed by the experience of Chile, Bangladesh and many other developing countries.

Underlying the Maoist-imperialist alliance is a morbid hatred for the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, which both imperialist reaction and "leftists" regard as the main obstacle to their policy in Africa and elsewhere. Maoist subversion is spearheaded against alliance of the forces of socialism and national liberation.

Peking has for years been trying hard to isolate the peoples of Africa from their reliable allies, first of all from the Soviet Union. The Maoists attach

special importance to plans of fanning the anti-Soviet campaign. The notorious concepts of "superpowers", "poor and rich" countries, and so on, are expected to serve the same purpose. In advocating the nationalist and racialist idea of "uniting the poor countries" of the "third world", of which, the Maoists say, "developing, socialist China" is part, Peking propaganda describes the Soviet Union as the "number one enemy", alleging that imperialism no longer presents any serious danger.

Maoist leaders feel no qualms about using falsehood or calumny against the Soviet Union. A record was probably set by Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua at a Peking reception in honour of a Zairean delegation, at which he made a slanderous anti-Soviet speech. Commenting on the Angolan events, Chiao deliberately increased the usual dose of stock accusations and vituperation of the Soviet Union to conceal the crisis and daily condemnation of Maoist policy in Africa, primarily in view of the Chinese position on Angola. By coordinating its subversive policy with the policy of the imperialists and South-African racists and by assuming the role of "guardian" of the FNLA and UNITA puppets and their leaders, Roberto and Savimbi, the Maoist leadership has fully exposed itself as an enemy of African peoples.

The Maoists' solidarity with the worst enemies of an independent Angola was a real culmination of the exposure of the methods used by Peking against the genuinely revolutionary forces of liberation movements.

The history of this betrayal goes back to the early 1960s, when the Chinese leadership took a hostile attitude towards the Angolan people's vanguard, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). Peking showed especial benevolence towards the "Angolan revolutionary government in exile" under Holden Roberto. At the same time the Maoists tried to disrupt the MPLA from within. They supported the liquidationist attempts of Da Cruz, ex-secretary for organisational matters who later deserted to Roberto. In other words, the Maoists' traitorous role in Angola today is a logical sequel of their earlier policy.

"All my men were trained by the Chinese," Roberto bragged. "Besides the Chinese gave me their unqualified aid." To this day, US and Chinese instructors train bands of traitors to the nation, pitting them against the finest patriots of the country's liberation movement. In a statement released on 17 November 1975, the Central Committee of the African Independence Party of Senegal expressed deep concern about the activity of the Maoist-CIA alliance in Angola and denounced it as collusion against the people.

Maoist intrigues in Angola caused a storm of anger on our continent. The most influential and authoritative leaders of African revolutionary democratic regimes criticised the Chinese leaders' position, which is also emphatically condemned by the Angolans themselves. President Agostinho Neto of Angola, criticising Peking's attitude, said that China found itself in the camp of the enemies of the republic's lawful government. Widespread inter-

national recognition of the People's Republic of Angola, primarily by most members of the Organisation of African Unity, and its admission to the OAU are indicative of the extent of Peking's isolation over this issue.

The prevailing mood of progressive world opinion in regard to the subversive policy of Peking was expressed by the Extraordinary International Conference of Solidarity with the Struggle of the Angolan People (Luanda, February 1976), attended by prominent politicians and other public figures from numerous countries, particularly African countries. The participants sharply criticised the Maoist manoeuvres and showed them up as being thoroughly alien to the interests of the national-liberation movement. In a general declaration adopted by it, the Luanda forum condemned the Peking Maoists, who sided with the enemies of the Angolan people and found themselves in an "unholy alliance" with the South-African racists, US imperialism and its puppets.

It is becoming more and more difficult for Peking to smuggle its ideas into Africa and win support for them. At a press conference in July 1975, President Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania dismissed out of hand the possibility of economic relations with China being used for influencing Tanzania ideologically and politically. In Congo, Tanzania and Guinea, Chinese military experts have been forbidden to carry on propaganda in the armed forces. The channels through which Peking tries to impose its influence are narrowing.

Maoist attacks on the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community are fittingly rebuffed on our continent today. They are condemned both by the ruling quarters of many countries and by African opinion at large. This is particularly evident in the case of Angola. President Ahmed Sekou Toure of Guinea stressed that the political and diplomatic victory of the MPLA was due to the decisive material, military and diplomatic aid given primarily by the Soviet Union and Cuba. This assessment is shared by the whole of progressive Africa, which underlines the importance of the socialist community's support for the liberation struggle. Lopo do Nascimento, prime minister of the People's Republic of Angola, said he knows no African country opposed to colonialism and imperialism that has not been backed by the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist camp.

In our region as everywhere else, people are becoming more and more aware that growing interaction of the main revolutionary forces of the world is the central trend of international relations.

The Maoist leadership has long broken with Marxism-Leninism and caused tremendous damage to the international communist movement by its policy of division and ideological subversion. And now Peking has exposed itself once again, as recent events have shown. The world now sees that Peking has betrayed not only the interests of socialism and the international working class, but also those of the national-liberation movement and that it forms a united front with imperialists and racists.

THE CLASS CHARACTER OF A MASS PARTY

Atos Fava
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The *WMR* Commission on Exchange of Experience of Party Work is starting a series on theoretical and practical problems of building a mass Marxist-Leninist party. Commission members consider these problems relevant because many communist parties are working to increase and strengthen their ranks. The series will deal with the class nature of the mass Marxist-Leninist party, its organisational principles, quantitative and qualitative characteristics, recruitment methods, starting new nuclei and training of new members. *WMR* has asked leaders of a number of communist and workers' parties for contributions on the subject based on their parties' experience.

The problem of building a mass Marxist-Leninist party is highly relevant for Argentina, which as the Eighth Party Conference (1975) pointed out faces the threat of a civil war. The country is going through a severe crisis. The ship of state is drifting along unsteered. The ruling classes are confused. There is deep discontent at the sharp decline in living standards. The crisis of the Peronist party as well as of traditional aligaments is deepening. The country is on the verge of a CIA engineered coup. In this situation, fraught with danger but also rich in opportunities, the elements of a revolutionary situation are maturing and the role of subjective factors, in particular of militant action by the Communist Party, is growing.

Amid the prevailing disarray, the tried and tested leadership of our party steeled by 58 years of struggle points to the need to defend democracy, which is in peril, and calls for a national democratic agreement on a minimum programme making it possible to form a military-civilian government based on a broad democratic coalition. At the same time, our party leadership stresses that the anti-imperialist agrarian and democratic revolution will be a bridge on Argentina's road to socialism. The magnitude of these tasks makes it imperative to turn the CPA into a mass party capable of stepping up the strug-

gle within the framework of broad-based alliances to free our people. This is why the party strives to increase its membership in the course of struggle and not in isolation from it. Recruiting is linked to all the issues, particularly the crucial ones, facing our people. The complicated domestic situation and the urgent problems arising from it make the effort to reinforce the party a veritable race against time.

The importance of the goal we have set ourselves necessitates a deep analysis of the problems of building a mass party from the point of view of general theory, international experience and the special aspects of applying general Marxist-Leninist tenets and this experience to the social and economic realities of our country, in particular to so distinctive a phenomenon as Peronism, the characteristics of our own party, its social and national composition and methods of work. Our exposition follows these lines.

Our conception of a mass party is based on Lenin's definition of the Communist party as a class political organisation, the political party of the working class, its vanguard. The party, Lenin pointed out, directs all forms of class struggle and leads the proletariat to the revolution. At the same time, it "reveals to all the other toiling and exploited masses the hopelessness of their position in capitalist society and the need for a social revolution . . . The party of the working class, the Communist party, calls upon all sections of the working and exploited population to join its ranks insofar as they adopt the standpoint of the proletariat" (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, pp. 121-122). In this way, the Communist party becomes a mass party, bringing into its ranks the finest and most advanced members of every class and every social stratum, without, however, abandoning the class positions of the proletariat, or dissolving itself in the sea of social-democratic tendencies to represent all sections of the population "on an equal basis".

What makes any communist party a genuine mass party is not its numerical strength alone. Its main forces must be concentrated in industrial and other key centres; it must follow a correct political and tactical line and know how to approach the masses, establish links with them, mobilise them to fight for their immediate demands and draw them into the general political struggle. Such a party will retain its class character even when its ranks are swelled by the influx of new members and will be able to unite large sections of the working class and other working people on the ideological platform of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Ideological unity is a primary requirement in building a mass party and has become particularly important of late. The 1960 and 1969 meetings of communist and workers' parties, as well as the Havana conference of the communist parties of Latin America and the Caribbean, pointed to the increased importance of the ideological struggle. There can be no progress without studying theoretical works to acquire deeper knowledge, and without carrying on a daily struggle against bourgeois ideology. Unless the party em-

phasises these aspects of its ideological work, its class character and its ability to transform society may be gradually weakened as it becomes a mass party.

Proletarian internationalism, a key component of our ideology, is of decisive importance to the growth of international anti-imperialist solidarity. Imperialism banks on chauvinist nationalism, which it counterposes to the patriotism advocated by the communists. The internationalism of our party is rooted in the history of the world communist movement and our struggle, in turn, contributes to the tradition of proletarian internationalism.

There is no doubt that when we are building a mass party, such general provisions as the Leninist principle of democratic centralism and the principle of collective leadership likewise have an important bearing. They are set out in the party rules, and each acquires added importance depending on the situation.

Why is it that in building a mass party, we stress the importance of the same fundamental criteria– ideological unity, organisational cohesion, proletarian internationalism—that form the Leninist basis for building every party of the new type?

Our party programme specifies the stages of the revolutionary process by applying Marxism-Leninism in Argentine conditions and shows the way to necessary changes. It proceeds from the key principle that the working class must be the hegemon of a broad alliance of progressive forces at the democratic stage of the revolution. This is the chief prerequisite of carrying the revolution through to the victory of socialism.

It is only the hegemony of the working class that gives the people's democratic state the strength needed to prevent or foil all attempts by imperialist reaction and an oligarchy linked with it to re-establish their rule. Argentina's experience indicates that an old, obsolete order never reconciles itself to its downfall but fights on, using every weapon and shrinking from no crime in an attempt to check the progress of the revolution. The democratisation process begun in 1973 was hesitant and contradictory. It has been sabotaged by the landed oligarchy, big capital and the US monopolies. Reaction exploited the absence of a broad democratic ruling coalition under the leadership of the working class to push the country to the brink of a terrorist coup. If this is happening at the democratic stage of the revolution, working-class hegemony is still more indispensable at the socialist stage. The proletariat and its allies must be strong enough to crush even fiercer resistance from the exploiting classes.

What is the social basis of our party's growth, the outlook of its quantitative and qualitative strengthening? To answer this question we must analyse the trends of social development.

Why have antagonisms in Argentina reached fever pitch, and why have economic, political and ideological problems been aggravated to the utmost?

Fundamentally, the worsening of the structural crisis is due to the gei crisis of the world capitalist system. Other causes are the imperialist p of "destabilising" Argentina to shut the only "open window" among fascist dictatorships of the southern cone of Latin America, and country's increased dependence on imperialist monopolies, which control the main economic, financial and foreign trade levers. The effec imperialist plunder and the latifundium system (six per cent of propri own 74 per cent of all lands and forests) are evident in a foreign amounting to $10,000m., spiralling inflation, which exceeded 300 per in 1975, and rampant profiteering. In a short time, the working class has half of its purchasing capacity and the peasants and middle strata are be ing impoverished while five per cent of proprietors control 40 per cent o national income. Argentina, once an agricultural country, has becom agrarian-industrial state, our programme points out, but dependence of ign capital and backward agrarian structures deform and limit this dev ment. The contradiction between the productive forces and productio lations has increased and this translates itself into anarchy in production an intensifying class struggle.

Capitalist development has given rise to a working class. The propo of industrial workers has increased from 889,000 in 1946 to more than million today. Together with building workers, miners, quarry workers workers employed in the gas and power industries, agriculture and trans they number over 3,800,000 and, if salary-earners are added, 70 per of the economically active population. Increased concentration and ce lisation of production have given rise to big industrial centres. About 5(cent of all workers are now concentrated in enterprises making up one cent of the total number. Upwards of 400 enterprises employ more 1,000 workers each. Almost seven million wage workers (including t engaged outside industry), over 350,000 poor and middle peasants an most two million members of the middle strata have learned from the s gle against the small privileged upper stratum of society.

Drastic aggravation of all antagonisms, confusion "at the top", widesp discontent among the people and a sharp drop in the standard of life behind he rapid process of revolutionisation of the masses mentioned al

Speaking of the social basis of party growth, account must be take certain Argentine realities. After the 1929 world capitalist crisis and d and after World War II, our industry grew apace. With the discontinu of immigration, the demand for labour power was drawn from among poor peasants, semi-proletarians and agricultural workers in the ir areas eager to raise their standard of living. They were unorganised without political experience. This was the new working class, the pro of the agrarian crisis and the massive exodus from the countryside. It

not immune against the influence of ideas alien to the working class, especially Peronism, with its ideology of bourgeois nationalism and class conciliation. By taking advantage of the favourable situation of the war years and the early post-war period, Peronism managed to win the support of large sections of the working class and the people.

This is why the struggle for a mass communist party in our conditions is inseparable from work among the Peronist rank and file aimed at formulating joint economic demands, from work on political and ideological lines. The communists should have been with the masses, helping them to learn from their own experience. As far back as 1962, Victoria Codovilla predicted that "the dialectical evolution of the situation is bound to lead the workers and people from Peronism to communist positions and to the gradual assimilation of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine". He saw in this process the promise of a united working-class party guided by Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Our party has grown and will go on growing by exposing the ideological content of Peronism. We cannot ignore the fact that the Peronists, most of whom are workers and other working people, predominate in big working-class centres. They show increasing class awareness, militancy and trade-union discipline. They oppose imperialism and the oligarchy and are friends of the socialist countries. Needless to say, all this is mixed in their minds with the bourgeois nationalist ideas publicised by the mass media. The fact that 90 per cent of those joining the Communist Party or its youth organisation come from the Peronist party is evidence of both the correctness of the CPA attitude towards the Peronist rank and file and of the need for a special effort to fully rid those who join the party of bourgeois nationalist ideas and to educate them in a Marxist-Leninist spirit.

Nor does the party neglect ideological work against "leftist" groups, which prejudice the revolutionary cause in Latin America. Objectively, these groups help imperialism. Their activity accords suspiciously with CIA plans to disrupt stability in their countries, is aimed at isolating the working class and helps to establish fascist dictatorships. It is important to note that mass demonstrations take place in Argentina and that workers' meetings and mass rallies adopt decisions against both fascist bands and ultra-leftists.

Our efforts to win over the working class and broad sections of the working people should be seen against the background of mounting mass activity, which is gradually becoming a decisive factor in Argentine politics. The working class is the epicentre of the gathering storm. The Peronist right, helped by successive governments and the employers, still dominates the labour movement, but has not been able to contain the intensifying struggle for economic demands, trade union democracy, against reaction and imperialism. Nor has it been able to check the growth of the

strike movement, the conversion of passive strikes into active ones, in which economic and political demands are intertwined. Last year, 28 million were involved in strikes despite rightist attempts to prevent working-class solidarity. The strike struggles have produced united inter-factory and district coordinating committees in which the communists and the more active left Peronists play a leading part. Our party's work is steadily changing the line-up of forces on the decisive front, the struggle of the industrial proletariat. It need hardly be added that this is a complex and difficult process: bourgeois nationalism is deeply rooted in the working class, and the trade union bosses, though their grip on the movement has been weakened, still hold key positions.

The communists have a part in all major mass movements for democracy and united action. And outstanding among these movements is the National Encounter of Argentinians. Started in 1970 at the height of the fight against the military dictatorship, its slogans have strongly influenced popular risings. The experience of this period, and identity of views on political issues and the need for democracy, led to the emergence in different parts of the country of united-front "multi-sectoral" and "multi-party" organisations. Their aim is to unite all the forces against the ultra-right and CIA fascist organisations, such as the AAA (Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance) and a motley collection of others.

Imperialism is using terror to paralyse mass activity. We are witnessing the paradoxical coexistence of formal democracy and police terror. The people's answer has been powerful militant demonstrations. The Argentine League for the Rights of Man and the Assembly in Defence of Human Rights play an important part in the fight for democratic freedoms and in the solidarity movement with political prisoners (of whom there are now 4,000) and in actions against the terror, which has already claimed more than 1,000 lives. The Party and Young Communist Federation (YCF) are devoting much attention to the coordinating committee of political youth organisations, which includes the country's three biggest—Peronist, radical and communist. The women's movement likewise claims our close attention: the Union of Argentine Women has 250 branches and the Association of Women Members of Political Parties includes representatives of pro-government and opposition organisations. The party is also working among the middle strata, Catholic and progressive religious groups.

Work in the rural areas is still far from satisfactory, all our efforts and partial successes notwithstanding. We are trying to improve the position here, for the worker-peasant alliance is fundamental to our policy and aims.

Lenin emphasised the importance of work in the armed forces for developing the revolution.[1] Our party has consistently explained the character

[1] See *Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 284.

and role of the army. It takes into account the changes in its social composition, now that there is a greater influx of members of the middle strata. We make a special effort to circulate and popularise our policy statements among the troops.

Our ideological, political and organisational efforts to build a mass party are beginning to pay off. Party membership now stands at 146,000, organised in 3,981 primary units which are directed by 629 district and 24 provincial committees. The YCF now has 67,773 members, 2,533 primary units and 408 district organisations. No less than 70 per cent of new party members are wage and salary workers, and 40 per cent are employed in industry, transport and building. Most new recruits are between 25 and 30. There has been a bigger influx of poor and middle peasants. Last year, 15,227 joined the party and 10,769 the YCF. We are concentrating on recruiting more workers; our goal is 200,000 party members and 100,000 in the YCF. We consider recruiting the most important part of our struggle to develop and strengthen the party and the YCF. With this aim in view, our main recruiting effort is among workers. We have set ourselves the following tasks:

—concentrate on the 118 biggest enterprises which account for the mass of the industrial proletariat (iron and steel, automobiles, meatpacking, power, textiles, transport, etc.). We already have nuclei or committees at all these enterprises; now the target is ten per cent of their workers in the party;

—provincial committees and district organisations will concentrate on factories employing not less than 500 workers each.

—in rural areas, the accent will be on recruiting poor and middle peasants and agricultural labourers;

—recruit more women, and here the goal is 30 per cent of new members, drawn mainly from industry and agriculture;

—the YCF will devote its main attention to young workers, peasants and students.

This, of course, does not preclude recruitment from other sections of the population. Our aim is to strengthen the general structure of the party now a national party in its programme and organisation, with branches throughout the country. Workers predominate in the party, but it includes also many representatives of the progressive sections of society.

There are, naturally, many objective difficulties: hard living, housing and working conditions leave little time for party work. Besides, there are a number of problems that have to be solved within the party itself. This refers, for instance, to the tendency to rely on a limited "iron-clad" cadre of activists, the proclivity to accept such false notions as the impossibility of combining mass work with the recruitment and training of new members.

How is our recruitment organised and conducted? The most widely used

and effective form of winning new members is through open meetings of party nuclei. Activists invite workmates or neighbours to join in the discussion of concrete economic demands and ways of winning them, of the poiltical situation, party decisions, etc.

The admission meeting, at wnich the new member is given his party card and is instructed in the party's policy, programme and organisational principles, is a key element in our work with new members. If a full branch meeting proves impossible, arrangements are made for a small group to attend.

Nothing can replace the primary organisation, the nucleus, in forming contacts with the masses. It is in the nuclei that the party trains its new members and through them extends its message to the working class and the people. It is important to have a coordinated plan of organisational, propaganda and financial measures designed to bring every nucleus member into mass work, winning new readers for the party weekly *Nuestra Palabra*, etc.[2] for it is in such practical work that new members are tempered. The nucleus is the starting point for training the party's future cadres. It selects students for the party's first-stage courses, which train nucleus leaders. The party training system has five stages, from the first to the full-time three-months' course run by the central committee. In the past year, 7,540 were involved in party training, of whom 3,140 attended first-stage courses.

The training of party cadres is of prime importance in building a mass party. The cadre department which is under the national organisation committee, is responsible for the selection, training and assignment of cadres. The chief criterion is working-class background, loyalty to the party, the working class and the revolution, close ties with the masses, and combat ability. In selecting cadres the central committee is concerned to continue and enrich the party's revolutionary traditions, its patriotism and fidelity to proletarian internationalism—traditions instilled by Victorio Codovilla—and assure continuity of policy. The point is to combine the experience of veterans with the energy of the young cadres. But in all our cadre selection work special attention is paid to advancing workers, poor and middle peasants, women and young people.

However, experience has shown that it is not obligatory for a promising party worker to attend one of our schools before being given a responsible

[2] Communist education is greatly facilitated by Victorio Codovilla training centre, the party's theoretical journal *Nueva Era* the journals *Quadernos de Cultura*, *Problems de Economica* and our factory newspapers (of which there are 105 with a circulation of over 100,000). Marxist literature holds an important place, too. In the past two years we published 322 titles in a total printing of 2,843,000 copies. The list includes works by Lenin, Marx, Engels, Brezhnev, Fidel Castro and books and pamphlets on mass work, political, social, historical, cultural and other problems.

post in the primary unit or at district level. That is particularly important in respect to factories or residential areas where the party is breaking new ground. We can say that we have an inexhaustible reserve of cadres, so that we can avoid sectarianism, or a routine and mechanical approach. Of course, young party members assigned to leading positions should be the first to go through party training courses.

We have also to reckon with regional differences: some provinces have a bigger recruiting potential then others, and we have made it a rule to help provincial committees with lesser opportunities for party growth by despatching cadres to strengthen existing organisations and train activists for leadership positions. This has not been easy, for the training of leading cadres is a long and difficult process. It takes time for them to assimilate Marxism-Leninism and acquire the ability to overcome the difficulties of revolutionary struggle.

We are building a mass Marxist-Leninist party capable of upholding the interests of the nation and of leading the working people in the battle against imperialism. But we do not counterpose this to the struggle of the international working class. On the contrary, we regard this as a weighty contribution to strengthening the international communist and working-class movement. For we are winning over the masses not by chauvinist slogans, but by setting an example of patriotic struggle for the vital interests of the working class and all working people, an example in promoting the great ideals of international solidarity. *Proletarian internationalism has always been fundamental to building our party.*

A crucial test for any revolutionary is his attitude to the greatest gain of the working class, the socialist world system, the main source of our strength, and from its experience we draw lessons of universal applicability that help our struggle.

The Communist Party of Argentina has always championed international solidarity. In its early days it organised a broad solidarity movement with the Soviet Union. It came out in support of the Spanish revolution, of liberation movements, the struggle of the peoples of Vietnam and Cuba. It has demonstrated its active solidarity with the fraternal people of Chile, the victims of Latin American dictatorships, notably in the South of the continent, with the people of Portugal. It helps the Argentine Peace Committee. The final document of the conference of communist parties of Latin America and the Caribbean and the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba were hailed with enthusiasm throughout the party. Now as in the past, the Communist Party of Argentina will continue to work for the unity of the world communist movement, will contribute to the common struggle against imperialism, for peace and peaceful coexistence. Loyalty to proletarian internationalism does not contradict our patriotism,

deeply rooted in the most progressive traditions of the Argentine people, but complements it and enhances the Party's prestige and influence.

Imperialism is stepping up its slanderous campaign against our party. It is trying to split our ranks by alleging that the communists "do not think for themselves". Nothing could be further from the truth. For the fact is that, precisely because the communists of each country "think for themselves", they are able to find creative solutions not only for national, but also for international problems. The masses appreciate the political and tactical line of the communists because it is expressive of the finest national traditions and makes them part of the revolutionary movement.

The imperialists are grossly miscalculating. The communists will continue to "think for themselves", and will become still stauncher internationalists, more closely linked with their class brothers in other countries in the common fight for socialism and communism, for internationalism is the source of their achievements, the earnest that their Parties will grow in strength and numbers, enabling the peoples to see their radiant future.

THE SYRIAN COMMUNISTS AND THE PEASANTRY

Interview with RAMO SHEIKHO, *member of Political Bureau, Syrian Communist Party*

Q. The Syrian Communist Party is known to have a strong influence among the peasants. How did it achieve its close ties with the rural masses?

A. Immediately after independence, guided by the decisions of their Second Party Congress (1944), the communists set out to mobilise the masses. They organised peasant congresses and meetings, and helped form peasant delegations to present petitions to the authorities concerning their vital needs. They showed the peasants that the aims of the party, the working class, were entirely consonant with the interests of the rural population. The Communist Party rallied the masses against the feudal lords, campaigned for distribution of state land to land-hungry peasants, opposed eviction of peasants, demanded an end to feudal duties and urged opening schools in rural areas and that villages get enough drinking water. And it was thanks to our perseverance and the firm support of other progressive forces, notably the Arab Baath Socialist Party, that in 1957 parliament passed a law prohibiting eviction of peasants.

The peasants learned from experience that the communists, the foremost workers, were their most consistent, courageous and selfless defenders. They took the side of the villagers in the peasants' sharp conflicts with the landowners, and continued to support them even when, as it frequently happened, peasants were jailed. Workers visited the prisoners, and sent them food and clothes. The communist press defended the peasants subjected to repression, and many members of our party paid with their lives for promoting the interests and rights of the rural masses.

The communists brought political enlightenment to the villages. At festivals, rallies and other rural gatherings on national and international holidays and anniversaries, we spoke to the peasants about socialism, how the Soviet Union solved the agrarian, national and other questions, and the immense contribution of the socialist community to national and social

emancipation. And the growth of the peasants' political consciousness was best evidenced by the fact that they raised their voice in support of the demands of the Syrian proletariat. This was how the peasants acquired class consciousness. Like the workers, they became more and more deeply convinced of the necessity of the worker-peasant alliance.

Q. How much has the country achieved in agrarian reconstruction, and how great are the difficulties in this area?

A. As a result of determined efforts by the peasant masses and all progressive forces, the government passed an agrarian reform law which, though restricted, was an important and progressive step. It was a blow to the feudals, and destroyed much of their political and economic influence. The act envisaged the expropriation for an appropriate compensation of some 1.5 million hectares of mostly unirrigated landlord holdings, and their distribution among some 60,000 peasant families. The Communist Party campaigned for its consistent implementation. They called for the utmost consideration of the interests of the poorest section of peasants, and demanded that the tillers take an active part in conducting the reform.

Despite fierce feudal resistance, the area expropriated by the end of the sixties was even somewhat greater than that envisaged in the reform act. And after the left baathists came to power, amendments were introduced, making the reform still more progressive. As a result, more than 60,000 peasant families were allotted expropriated land, and another 20,000 received parcels of state land. Peasants began forming cooperatives. The rural masses grew visibly more active.

But the agrarian problem is not yet entirely solved. Only 20 per cent of the needy peasants have received land. Besides, unable to make a living from their plot, many of them are leasing it out. The class of rural capitalists that emerged in the post-reform period is taking advantage of this to gain control of large holdings, and exploits the peasants ruthlessly.

The private sector is still predominant in agriculture. It accounts for as much as 81.8 per cent of the farm land, while the state sector and the cooperatives have just 2.1 and 16.1 per cent, respectively. With the growth of village capitalism, the situation of the peasant poor has become still worse.

The resistance of the bourgeois-landlord elements is not completely broken. The former landed proprietors still hope to regain their more fertile holdings.[1] And the many clashes between landlords and peasants throughout the early seventies are evidence of the sharp confrontation.

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[1] Recently, they demanded that the authorities should "better" their situation and return some of the expropriated land. A delegation headed by such formerly wealthy landowners as Duham al Hadi and Abdel Aziz al Musalat—the latter owned more than a million dunams (one dunam is one tenth of a hectare) in El-Haseke province—even contrived a meeting with highly-placed government officials.

Q. What is the relationship between the Syrian Communist Party and the baathists in the struggle for the interests of the peasant masses? What are the favourable factors?

A. First of all, we must remember that the situation in Syria is entirely different from that of the past. The big bourgeoisie and the feudals have been removed from power. We have a progressive national regime. In the centre and locally communists take an active part in the Progressive National Front formed in 1972, and deliberate vital problems with leaders of the district and regional committees of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, representatives of peasant organisations, governors and government officials.

The peasants' political consciousness has grown in recent years. The revolutionary change in Syria and other Arab states, and the struggle for the liberation of Israeli-occupied territories, have given rise to advanced, radical sentiments.

I must particularly emphasise the strong influence the help of our great friend, the Soviet Union, exercises on the progress of radical transformations, including those in agriculture. The hydropower complex on the Euphrates, built with Soviet assistance, will more than double the irrigated area. This is sure to bring about far-reaching changes in the life of Syrian farmers.

All in all, the conditions are favourable for the peasants' struggle against the remnants of feudalism, for a more radical solution of the agrarian problem, and for rallying broader patriotic forces to this cause. Close contact has arisen between communists and Baathists during the implementation of changes in the countryside.

Here, special mention should be made of the General Peasant Federation. This mass organisation has performed creditably in defending the interests of the rural population. It is highly influential, and has its own newspaper and radio programme. Incidentally, it took a very firm stand against the demands of the delegation of feudals. Pursuing the policy of alliance with the ruling party, we are aware that a large part of it represents the middle peasants. We are for restricting kulaks and oppose any invigoration of their influence, but are nonetheless convinced advocates of cooperation with middle peasants. However, elements in the Baath Party connected with feudal or bourgeois forces are trying to hamper progressive changes. In fact, some baathists side with the rural rich in agrarian conflicts.

Q. What are the party's present objectives on the agrarian question?

A. Briefly, the programme is as follows:

— to deepen the agrarian reform, leaving the big landowners the same

amount of land as for peasant farms and distribute all the rest among the poor peasants;

— to set a legal ceiling on leased land;

— to prevent discrimination, on whatever pretext, of poor peasants in the distribution of land;

— to distribute unused land among the poor peasant.

There is still much to be done in building up the cooperative movement, the aim being development of producers' cooperatives. The cooperative movement is only successful if kulak elements in the cooperatives are combated, if the will of the middle and poor peasants is respected, and if the structure of the cooperatives and the elections to their boards are democratic. There must be more and diverse help to the cooperatives. So far, it has been insufficient.

Lastly, working for a conclusive solution to the agrarian problem, the Communist Party is seeking to unite the efforts of all progressive patriotic groups. We want our party and the Baath Party to examine the agrarian problem together, and to draw up joint plans for radical transformations in agriculture. Most baathists accept that and speak with approval of the communists' contribution to the struggle for the peasants' interests. As we see it, collective efforts by the communist and baath parties and other patriotic forces would substantially expedite new democratic changes in Syrian agriculture.

ANALYSING LESSONS OF THE PAST IN THE INTEREST OF THE FUTURE

Hugo Fazio
Representative of the Communist Party of Chile on WMR

Recent years have made it more evident to Chile's communists than ever that a profound knowledge of economic problems is a vital necessity to every party of the Leninist type. Being particularly eventful, they enabled us to draw serious lessons, for, to quote Marx, "every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programmes" (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Sell. Works*, Vol. 3, p. 11).

In this decade the communists of Chile had to carry on a resolute fight for power after advancing, in common with other Popular Unity parties, a programme for revolutionary changes taking strict account of the domestic situation. For three years the communists were in the Popular Unity government, which set out to effect radical changes. Attention at the time was focused on economic problems. Now that a fascist regime has forcibly imposed a regressive process in every sphere the party thinks it necessary to advance an alternative economic policy stimulating the people's struggle and facilitating alliance between the working class and all the other classes and strata whose interests are infringed by the dictatorship.

Our experience shows that the party must devote daily and growing attention to the analysis of economic problems. The task is gaining in importance although the communists are compelled to operate in conditions of illegality. In June 1974, or a few months after the fascist coup, the party presented to the people a document analysing the dangerous domestic situation created by the fascists' economic policy and putting forward specific slogans for struggle to defend the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population. Subsequent developments proved the document correct.

In investigating the economy, communists appreciate that Chilean society needs radical change. As early as 1956, the party programme stressed the need to eliminate imperialist and monopoly domination and abolish the

latifundium system in order to pave the way for socialism. Under a fascist regime, with the country's antagonisms aggravated to the utmost, these changes are an urgent necessity. Obviously, democratic revolution in Chile must today begin with the overthrow of the dictatorship, "an instrument used by the financial oligarchy and US monopolies to impose their extreme reactionary policies on our people".

The economic tasks which the party sets itself range over a wide field.

First of all, we must make a closer scientific analysis of the experience of the Popular Unity government. This is particularly important today as one of the main aspects of the party's ideological struggle against the fascists, who put the blame for the present difficulties on the Allende government, against those who argue, falsely, that the dictatorship can be overthrown without a broad popular movement, and against the ultra-leftists, who also vilify the revolutionary activity of the Popular Unity. Besides, study of the experience of those three years makes it possible to assess achievements and reveal the mistakes made all the more fully, which is most important to our work among the masses because it helps to give them a clearer idea of the revolutionary way of solving their problems It also makes it possible to reveal the nature of the revolutionary process in Chile, whose analysis is important to communist theory and practice, as has repeatedly been stressed.

On the other hand, it is indispensable to disclose the profound difference between the economic policy of the Popular Unity government and the policy of the fascist regime and, above all, to reveal its class content. This analysis is decisive in objectively determining the forces that can be drawn into an anti-fascist alliance and in advancing appropriate slogans to mobilise the people.

Depending on this analysis—one taking into account the need for radical changes in the country—the party's fundamental tasks still include continuous development of its alternatives as opposed to the junta's narrow class policy, the retention of economic experts already trained by the party and having much experience, specifically in accomplishing tasks on state level, and the training of new cadres.

Scientific analysis of the activity of the Popular Unity government should be carried on with due regard to the experience gained in economic work. It must be harmonious and closely linked with the problems whose solution was necessitated by the given situation.

The Popular Unity government carried out far-reaching economic changes of a revolutionary nature that were "a tremendous *step towards* socialism, a step from which, if complete democracy is preserved, there can no longer be any retreat back to capitalism, without unparalleled vio-

lence being committed against the masses",[1] as our tragic experience has demonstrated.

These changes tended to eliminate the backwardness and poverty[2] that existed in the country in the early 1970s and to seriously undercut the domination of imperialist monopolies, domestic economic clans and the landed oligarchy.

The facts showed the programme to be correct. The tasks set by it were accomplished in the main. Before October 1972, when reaction resorted openly to subversion all over the country, economic indices were high and the economy was essentially sound. Furthermore, the government effectively countered imperialist plans to blockade the country economically. The new balance of world forces, the growing influence of the socialist community, increasing trends in Latin America towards resisting the power of the multinational monopolies and the intensification of antagonisms in the imperialist countries themselves played a decisive part in foiling those plans.

Nevertheless, in spite of the unquestionably important gains, the mass basis of the government turned out to be considerably weakened when the coup was staged. The putschists must have borne in mind the numerous economic difficulties (shortages, the existence of a black market, growing prices, and so on) that were largely a result of the economic subversion planned and carried out by the centre set up for the preparation and execution of the fascist coup.[3]

We cannot consider the economic policy of Popular Unity outside the context of the sharp class conflicts of the time. Nor must we forget that the people had only won part of the power and that this made the work of the state apparatus exceedingly difficult in many cases, with the revolutionary forces in a minority and wielding very little influence in certain government agencies. However, it would be wrong to attribute the problems that had cropped up solely to factors beyond Popular Unity's control. This would mean taking a fatalist stand. It would be just as wrong merely to state that the Chilean economy inherited enormous difficulties from earlier governments. But while the impact of these difficulties was very strong, a careful analysis must be made of the economic activity of the Popular Unity government itself, of its mistakes and weak points and the responsibility assumed by the communists

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[1] Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 360.

[2] According to findings of the National Planning Board (ODEPLAN) and the Economic Institute of the Catholic University of Chile, 21 per cent of the people were on the verge of extreme poverty at the time and the economy was in state of semi-stagnation, its woefully slow.

[3] For details, see Millas, "From Economic Subversion to Fascist Putsch", *WMR* November 1975.

The principal weakness of Popular Unity was the lack of a united leadership. It prevented managing the economy on a centralised basis although this was indispensable and, consequently, making full use of all the economic levers the state had in its hands. Hence the discrepancy between the forms and methods of economic management, on the one hand, and the character and development level of the productive forces, on the other. "Speaking frankly", said Luis Corvalan in March 1973, when Popular Unity had been in power for two and a half years, "the activity of the government shows trends that can no longer be tolerated. The government cannot follow two or three orientations, two or three lines in making decisions on matters of vital importance, such as on setting up diverse property sectors or on the issue of distribution... To be specific, the task is to engage seriously in economic planning and the full utilisation of available resources and production capacities in the manufacturing and mining industries, of the tremendous opportunities afforded by the growing scale of voluntary work, of the movement of innovators... of emulation and incentives to labour, of the close connection that must exist between increasing production, rising labour productivity, growing wages and the working people's improving standard of life."

The Popular Unity government did not make the mistake of the Paris Commune which the founders of Marxism-Leninism described as failure to "expropriate the expropriators". It carried out expropriation correctly, in the main, albeit with certain shortcomings and distortions for which bourgeois quarters were to blame. The government's great weakness was that it proved unable to "firmly to eliminate, under the leadership of Popular Unity, ultra-leftist deviations and reactionary economic subversion."[4]

In the absence of a united leadership and of planning, old methods, forms and management routines that had developed historically, according to the needs of social groups which had traditionally managed the economy in their class interests, exerted considerable influence on the structure of the state, which had undergone no radical changes. This caused anarchy and prejudiced economic activity as a whole.

Activity leading to disorganisation found concrete expression in economism, which was encouraged by ultra-rightists and ultra-leftists and manifested itself even in the ranks of Popular Unity. The Chilean events fully confirmed the validity of Lenin's theses concerning the lower and higher forms of the economic struggle of the working class. Under the Popular Unity government, the struggle of the working people should have acquired a qualitatively new content in connection with the working class and the people as a whole accomplishing general tasks, and with historic achieve-

[4] Partido Comunista de Chile, *La junta fascista es responsable de la ruina de Chile*. Santiago de Chile, Edicion Clandestina, Abril de 1974.

ments which could have been multiplied as the government strengthened its positions. Further improvements in the working people's life (with due regard to the substantial redistribution of the national income in their favour that had already taken place) should have been achieved, as the more class-conscious workers realised, by increasing production and raising productivity.

But the ultra-leftists, in particular their most influential group, the MIR group, who proceeded from the abstract postulate of the "socialist character" of the revolutionary process and strove to skip necessary development stages of the revolution, took a stand against the communists and the Allende government, who insisted on giving priority to increasing production and productivity. They alleged that increasing production was "a matter for the capitalists and not for the people". They denied the importance of the changes effected in the country.

Direct participation in economic management was one of the most important qualitatively new tasks that the working class and the people were faced with. Although what had been done had deeply impressed many, this work fell short of solving the problems still there. Lenin wrote that it is impossible to carry out a revolutionary policy "without organising the entire people for democratic administration of the means of production captured from the bourgeoisie, without enlisting the entire mass of the working people... for the democratic organisation of their ranks, their forces, their participation in state affairs" (*Coll Works*, Vol. 23 p. 25). By participating directly in the production process, the working people can reveal the potentialities of its growth and make better use of raw and other materials and resources than anyone else. In my capacity of Vice-President of the Central Bank, I took a direct part in carrying out measures to increase exports, cut imports and accumulate foreign exchange. My experience showed that numerous highly useful suggestions came from workers.

Lastly, another important conclusion to be drawn from analysis of the government's economic activity is that many economic executives underestimated the operation of objective economic laws, which led to serious manifestations of voluntarism and subjectivism. This expressed itself in, among other things, a superficial attitude to financial problems. The development laws of the economic, in which the market forces continued to play a notable role, were ignored. As a result, the effort to increase output, productivity and profitability and to use resources effectively, with due regard to the perspective of economic development as a whole, did not receive proper attention. In fact, enterprises in the public sector, far from yielding profit, had to meet their financial deficit at government expense. There were various reasons for this, some of which were linked with the need to accomplish tasks set by the government while in other cases the reason was incompetent management.

History supplies evidence of the universal validity of lessons of this nature. A further indication of it was Fidel Castro's report to the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba. This is why we intend in our economic work to make an even more careful study of the experience of the revolutionary forces of other countries, above all of the vast experience of Lenin's party.

In the last months before the coup, the Popular Unity government developed qualitatively new methods of economic management (already there were signs of application of planning and centralised management). As the range of forces that can unite in an anti-fascist front is very wide today and as the government to be formed after overthrowing the dictatorship will comprise diverse currents, the experience gained in economic management is as relevant as before. It is obviously necessary to work out on its basis an explicit agreement on fundamental economic measures and assure strict adherence to a joint programme (a principle which was not always, and not by everyone, respected under the Popular Unity government). The greater the influence of the working class in controlling events, the greater the possibility of accomplishing this task.

Communist economic activity was raised to a new plane in the three years of cooperation within the Popular Unity government. But it has to be said that we lacked the skill to solve many concrete problems, including those central to our programme. In a number of cases we simply improvised, because the party did not have a competent economic apparatus to cope with the new tasks.[5]

The deep regression that came with fascism seriously sharpened the severe crisis that for several years had been playing havoc with Chile's economic structure. It brought to a head the contradictions between the tiny minority and the overwhelming majority of the population. The aggravated crisis is the result of the discordance between the level of the productive forces and production relations, and also the result of the junta's class policy, which, the Communist Party leadership has pointed out, serves the interests of a tiny minority, the national and international monopolies, the financial and

[5] Many of our difficulties were caused by the division of assignments to the party apparatus and the communists appointed to government posts. A splendid example of overcoming these difficulties was provided by the party commission, led by Luis Corvalan, which effectively helped the government. Specifically, it was instrumental in drawing up the agricultural plan for 1973-74 with account to the views of peasant organisations and specialists on such important aspects as when to begin the sowing, how to procure the necessary equipment, how to stimulate production through the emulation movement, etc. This plan, as the results were to show, was carried out with a fair degree of success.

banking interests, the big exporters and importers and the latifundists. Fascism is using an imported economic model to attain its goals.[6]

How has this policy fared? Chile is a dependent country and the junta has made it more dependent than ever. Its suggested cures inevitably lead to a tighter stranglehold of US monopoly capital, which is beginning to dominate every branch of the economy it has penetrated. And the junta has legalised that, and is giving foreign investors every preference. Things have reached a point when even the pro-regime fascist press admits that the present policy leads, in effect, to "preferring the foreign to the local investor, who, potentially, could show an interest in these branches of the economy".[7]

Multi-national capital is working in close contact with powerful and reactionary Chilean financial groups. In fact, the "social market economy" and the "free competition" principles have resulted in a giant concentration and centralisation of economic activity, which has meant abolition of freedom for most Chileans, including the non-monopoly sections of the bourgeoisie. The process is being intensified by the junta's transfer to private firms of a large number of enterprises from the public sector. By making very modest investments and enjoying numerous privileges, the new owners have acquired considerable resources over which they now have full control.

On the other hand, concentration and centralisation, despite the anti-inflation scheme proposed by the Chicago school, have accentuated the main causes of inflation. That monopoly capital is the main factor of inflation is demonstrated by high inflation in periods of declining—even drastically declining—demand, as is the case under the present fascist regime. The junta banked heavily no financial measures to stabilise the economy. These measures have not produced the expected results; government expenditure (allowing for the present level of inflation) has shrunk by 39 per cent. There

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[6] Its authors are the leaders of the reactionary "Chicago school", headed by Milton Friedman. It thought up the "social market economy" similar to the "recommendations" of the International Monetary Fund for Latin-American countries. These are based on the assumption that society can best function if the area of "free exchange" is constantly expanded while the "authoritarian" activity of the state is kept to a necessary minimum. And "necessary minimum" is understood as guaranteeing the undivided dominance of the "free market". Its functions, Friedman argues, consist in steadily limiting the number of problems that should be solved politically and thus minimising government participation. And this from another Chicago school pundit, A. Harberger, who wrote that the main diagnosis for Chile remains unchanged—inflation, the mechanism that produces it is the constantly increasing money supply, and the basic cause is the huge government debt. Consequently, in Harberger's opinion, it is enough to reduce this debt and all economic ills will be cured (Milton Friedman, Chile, Bases para un desarrollo *economico*. Santiago de Chile, 1975. *El Mercurio*, March 26, 1975. Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom*, The University of Chicago Press, 1962, p. 12).

[7] *Que Pasa*, 23 October 1975, p. 41.

has been a drastic decline in production and employment, also in credits, as interest rates have increased. The rate of inflation, regardless of certain fluctuations, remains high. The government has failed to reduce the money supply to the level it had set.

The reason for all this is simple enough. The "stabilisation" measures mentioned above were accompanied by "liberation" of the financial sphere in order to "limitlessly" extend the capital market. As a result, a few economic groups gained control over the market and used it to finance their speculation and, also, their parasitic way of life.[8] And so, contrary to the "stabilisation" measures taken over the past two years, inflation is spiralling at an annual rate of 400 per cent. (Retail prices increased 340.7 per cent in 1975 and wholesale prices 438.2 per cent in the first ten months of the year.)

The "social market economy" was predicated on the assumption that the early emergence of a "free" market would invigorate economic activity. In a shrinking market and with declining government expenditure, this proved totally unrealistic. The precipitous drop in purchasing power is most glaringly evident in the stagnant state of the building industry. Yet housing is one of the country's most difficult problems. The Ministry of Housing has officially reported that "73 per cent of the population cannot afford even a 36 sq.m. semi-standard cottage with a 30-year mortgage (which means paying out 15 per cent of monthly income)".

No wonder thousands of small, medium and even big businesses are compelled to cut back, close down shops, go over to short-time working, etc. Statistics compiled by the National Commercial Organisation show that last June alone at least seven per cent of small enterprises had to close down.

The catastrophe into which fascism has plunged the country is measurable in facts and figures. Gross national product—and this has been publicly admitted by Pinochet—declined by 10 per cent in 1975, which means that per capita incomes were thrown back to the level of 10 years ago. University surveys indicate a still sharper decline in GNP. In manufacturing (according to official data), it dropped by 27.4 per cent in the 11 months of 1975. The share of wages in September 1975 (allowing for price and wage fluctuations) was only 22.3 per cent of the January 1973 figure. Unemployment, a mere three per cent under the Popular Unity government (the lowest recorded figure) was 18.7 per cent (December 1975) in Greater Santiago, where a large part of the country's work force is concentrated, and nationally unemployment is estimated at 20 per cent. No other Latin American country

[8] Catholic University researchers find that the increase in the money supply (taken in all its forms, and not merely those singled out by the junta) continued at a high rate and has led, in particular, to faster turnover of money. The most probable explanation the junta press says, should be sought in the changes on the capital market which prompted people to put their money into securities.

(with the sole exception of the Dominican republic during the civil war and the US armed intervention) has known anything like this in the post-war period.

It is no exaggeration to say that fascism's economic policy has proved disastrous. That is why the junta is concentrating on propaganda designed to prove that there is no alternative and that the present recession was inevitable. Consequently, it is now more necessary than ever, especially with the regime in control of the mass media, for the anti-fascist forces to draw up a government programme.

The Communist Party has pioneered in this. In spite of the conditions of clandestinity, it has comprehensively analysed the junta's economic policy and published the fundamentals of a programme outlining minimum economic measures to guarantee the country's independent development. The Communists believe that, casting aside leftist deviations and inadequate measures against reactionary sabotage, the Popular Unity economic policy has lost none of its validity.

An independent policy, the Communist Party emphasises, entails control over the country's basic assets, an end to US and other foreign monopolies, and to those national monopolies which control the key industries, trade, finance and foreign trade. It also means encouraging non-monopoly enterprise. In agriculture, the need is for agrarian reform, incentives to cooperative farming and the provision of farm machinery to raise output and productivity. Higher purchasing capacity, now drastically reduced by the regime's policy, would enliven economic activity, now restricted by a contracting home market. Bringing the people to share in the management of the economy should be a major aim. This is closely connected with economic planning carried out with the participation of all the anti-fascist forces. This would be the best guarantee of safeguarding the interests and rights of all the classes and strata involved in the anti-fascist front and the surest guarantee of uniform economic management.

Implementation of this programme, the communists stress, would wipe out the economic foundations of fascism and could prevent a fascist comeback.

An independent policy requires broader ties with other countries based on Chile's national interests, full re-establishment of relations with the socialist countries and with all Latin American countries. And here priority should be given to relations that preclude any participation by US imperialism.

The communist programme, and a similar document prepared by the Popular Unity, could be the basis for a common programme of the anti-fascist forces.

This should be seen in the context of efforts to give the demands of the people greater depth, as it were. In present-day conditions, the Communist Party declares, "we must learn to pass from the simple to the complex, from mobilisation of the masses for their immediate demands to formulation

of concrete programmes that would merge their numerous actions in a powerful movement capable of attaining ever greater successes". The communist government programme gives a new dimension to this effort.

Experience has shown that a popular and democratic alternative can be formulated on the basis of a programme the masses understand and accept as their own. Today no one in Chile disputes the fact that the communist message reaches the people, and this is decisive in promoting mass action.[9] The people are coming to see that there are other alternatives that coincide with their interests. Thanks to the party's mass work, its proposals and those of the Popular Unity are gaining support and being translated into practice. Backed by most of its trade unions, the working class has advanced a number of demands and supports the demands of other sections of the population. Many facts could be cited to illustrate the scope of such actions, which are helping to disintegrate the dictatorial regime.

Chile's communists are well prepared for this work. Active participation in the Popular Unity government gave them a wealth of concrete experience and taught them how to tackle and solve economic problems. Many of our party cadres learned "the art of management". This is a valuable asset we must safeguard and develop. Despite the present difficult conditions, the party is using every opportunity within the country and abroad.

We communists must be prepared to employ all methods of struggle, including those expressed in Lenin's formula, "to achieve victory also by methods of administration".

Our ability to analyse national problems, the main directions of policy, our realism, based on a clear understanding of the alignment of class forces and on the nature of each of them, indicate that the party is in a position to cope with this work. Our conclusions regarding Chile's economic problems are gaining acceptance and are absorbing everything valuable proposed by representatives of other anti-fascist forces, for we avoid any tinge of sectarianism.

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[9] See article by S. Gonzalez in *WMR*, March 1976.

THE KEY TO VICTORY OVER REACTION

SATIADJAJA SUDIMAN
Member of Leadership, Communist Party of Indonesia

For more than ten years Indonesia has been a police state. Many of the gains of the national revolution so dearly paid for have been wiped out. Imperialism and its local allies—landlords and compradors—have managed to recover their positions in the economy and society. Indonesia is clearly becoming a neocolonial country.

As a result of the military regime's "open door" policy foreign investments in the economy topped $2 billion in just 1972-1974.[1] The liberal investment policy permits the multinational monopolies to plunder our natural wealth, to appropriate the fruit of the people's labour practically without hindrance.

By opening the doors to multinational companies, the authorities are aggravating Indonesia's dependence on the world capitalist economy, and plunging the country into a severe crisis. The price of staples is rising steeply, inflation is practically uncontrollable, unemployment is growing ([illegible] million fully and 15 million partly unemployed), and local businesses are shaken by a wave of bankruptcies. On top of this there is a food crisis. The shortages of rice and sugar have to be covered by imports.[2] Half the [illegible] million population of Java suffers from chronic undernourishment.

The foreign debt to imperialist powers is growing. From $200 million in 1967, Indonesia's debt to the consortium formed by those powers in

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[1] Foreign monopolies are mainly active in capital-intensive fields—mining and logging. Local capital is concentrated chiefly in the light industries, and the arts and crafts.

[2] In the 1974-75 fiscal year, official estimates show, Indonesia imported [illegible] million tons of rice and 300,000 tons of sugar at $475 and $400 per ton respectively. Fertiliser imports totalled 1.3 million tons. Given the present extremely high prices of imported goods, Indonesia's association with the world capitalist market is doubly damaging.

1966, approached $5.5 billion in 1975, and annual interest payments amount to $275 million.

The home scene is marked by increasing police oppression. In 1975 the authorities issued laws to further restrict the activity of parties. The only exception is GOLKAR, a pro-government organisations. The regime shows a total lack of inhibitions in turning the bourgeois parties it permits to function legally into obedient puppets. Now, with the new laws, they must act in accordance with official guidelines.

Political prisoners are treated with indescribable cruelty. More than 100,000 patriots, fighters against imperialism, are kept in prisons and concentration camps without formal charges. Actually, they are doomed to a slow and painful death. Their numbers are rising. The campaign of repressions is being stepped up.

The brutal military regime relies on imperialist support in all its reactionary activity. This is easily seen in the field of foreign relations. Behind the demagogic assurances of loyalty to non-alignment, the rulers pursue an essentially pro-imperialist policy. It is an open secret that after the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia scored their historic victory over Yankee imperialism and its agents, President Suharto hastened to the US to obtain additional military aid and to urge a continued US military presence in Southeast Asia. After President Ford proclaimed the "new Pacific doctrine", the mutual understanding on this score between Jakarta and Washington became still more apparent.

The military regime's foreign policy in the region is contrary to the emergent positive changes, such as the break-up of Seato, the beginning of the withdrawal of US troops from Thailand, and the general growth of anti-imperialist sentiments. The anti popular regime is, in substance, plodding on against the tide. Of this the Indonesian aggression against East Timor is ample evidence.

Ever since decolonisation began in that former Portuguese territory, Jakarta adopted an openly hostile attitude towards the patriotic FRETILIN (which has the population's support) because it is alarmed by the prospect of a progressive, anti-imperialist neighbour. The imperialist circles, too, reacted swiftly against this prospect. The fact that the December 7 1975 intervention was launched twelve hours after the official meeting of Presidents Suharto and Ford is hardly a mere coincidence.

The aggression against East Timor is an undisguised violation of its people's legitimate right to self-determination and independence. And it was firmly denounced as such by world opinion. By occupying part of the former Portuguese colony and imposing a puppet government, Indonesian rulers committed yet another crime against their own nation which is by nature anti-imperialist and freedom-loving. But they could not crush the resistance of the East Timor patriots.

The Indonesian communists condemn the aggression and demand respect for the right of the East Timor people to self-determination and independence. They are doing their utmost to have the regime fulfil the UN Security Council resolution (December 1975) requiring the immediate withdrawal of all Indonesian troops from East Timor, and are guided by the desire to restore Indonesia's international prestige. However, we are aware that it will not be properly recovered until our country gets rid of the fetters of neo-colonialism.

The riptide of reaction, the continuously deteriorating economic situation, and the pro-imperialist policies of the military rulers are generating popular discontent and stimulating the forces opposed to the regime.

As the Communist Party of Indonesia sees it, a new situation is shaping, impossible in the earlier years of military rule. At that time, on the crest of anti-communist hysteria, the generals were still able to deceive the gullible and, disguising the anti-popular essence of their rule, parade as the "saviours of the fatherland from communist oppression." Now, the mask has been torn off.

The forces opposed to the regime have become more active. Broad sections of the people are demanding better conditions of life, denouncing the lawlessness of the authorities and the all-pervasive corruption,[3] opposing the predominance of foreign imperialist monopolies, and calling for restoration of democracy. The opposition forces encompass workers, peasants, youth, students, intelligentsia, religious groups, and even a section of the armed forces.[4]

Our party's latest document, entitled "For Democracy, Social Justice and the People's Well-Being", describes the basic features of the present situation and shows the alignment of class forces. The document registers "changes in the situation favouring unity and democracy". The growing polarisation of classes and social strata gives an increasingly clear picture of who are true followers of the regime and who are its opponents. The numbers of the former are shrinking while the latter are expanding. The class basis of the regime is increasingly unstable. True there is no opponent yet able to bring it down. The patriotic and democratic elements are only just squaring their shoulders. They are still divided, and there is mutual suspicion and even hostility. But the time has come, the communists hold, for all patriots and democrats to realise the main thing: the

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[3] Corruption flourishes even among the president's closest associates and the state corporations and companies connected with the ruling group. One high-ranking Indonesian official said, "We know it has brought down other governments in Asia, but we are powerless to stop it" (see *International Herald Tribune*, 5 January 1976).

[4] The discontent reigning among different social classes and strata is dealt with in the January 1976 issue of WMR. See S. Sudiman, "The Power Structure and the Finance Problem".

enemies of Indonesia—imperialism and the ruling military regime—are out to split the opposition forces.

Our party says: there has been enough suspicion and hostility among patriots; the time has come to unite against the declining, but still strong adversary. To win we must have a front of national unity encompassing workers, peasants, youth, office employees, intellectuals, national industrialists, religious elements, and patriotic servicemen. The unity of the patriotic forces is essential, says our party document, because there is no force that can overthrow the regime unaided.

The Communist Party of Indonesia has been driven deep underground. It is recovering from the heavy blows struck by reaction, and has shaken off the influence of the Maoists, who are mainly to blame for the disaster that befell our party. And though the CPI is still insufficiently strong, it is the vanguard in the struggle for liberation. The communists are the most determined and consistent opponents of the present regime and imperialism. And they are the main target of the enemy's blows.

But the onslaught of reaction cannot break revolutionaries. The fact that the mass movement is becoming more active in recent years inspires new hope. The workers and the peasants—the biggest and most bitterly exploited classes of Indonesian society—will be the main motive force of our revolution, and, consequently, of the front of national unity.

We consider it important to define the principles of unity. To begin with, the front of national unity must represent voluntary cooperation of patriots of different political and ideological trends accepting the aims and objectives of the joint struggle. This is why organisational and ideological independence is an essential condition. Second, and this is stressed in the new CPI document, the question of leadership should not figure as a condition for joining the front. It must be settled in the course of the struggle. Our party will consistently fulfil its mission as the most active member of the front, displaying the greatest initiative.

Understandably, the front will have to function underground due to the draconian conditions and persecution of all patriotic opposition, every progressive organisation or idea. That, of course, will be a major obstacle. Communists bear a special responsibility; they must display a high degree of organisational skill and ability to apply revolutionary theory to the extremely complicated and perilous conditions of struggle. They must be flexible, firm in their principles, courageous, and cautious. Excessive haste in a bid for a "quick victory" depreciates vigilance. It increases the chances of falling into enemy traps and suffering defeat. On the other hand, passive "waiting" for a revolution results in loss of initiative, loss of the vanguard role, and also leads to defeat.

To win the sympathy of the masses we must have slogans that express the aspirations of the most oppressed classes and strata. This is why we

approach with so much care the matter of elaborating an action programme that would unite the patriotic and democratic forces. The party's new document, "For Democracy, Social Justice and the People's Well-Being", has been an important step in this direction. In the struggle to restore democracy Indonesia—the main objective in the present conditions—the CPI is working to unite all patriotic forces around the following demands:

— to create a national-democratic government expressing the interests of workers, peasants, artisans, a section of civil servants and national industrialists, the youth, and other democratic strata;

— to eliminate the dictatorship and end the tyranny of the armed forces, democratise the state apparatus, judiciary and police;

— to end the disgraceful court trials of progressive figures, release all political prisoners, and shut down concentration camps;

— to withdraw the extraordinary prerogatives of the executive arm, dissolve the security service and other unconstitutional organs,

— to restore political freedoms, including freedom of speech, activity of parties, freedom of assembly, demonstrations and strikes;

— to introduce progressive election laws at all levels,

— to win freedom of association for workers (in trade unions) and peasants (in peasant leagues);

— to lift the outrageous legal ban on scientific socialism and Sukarnoism;[1]

— to assure academic freedoms for universities and other higher educational establishments.

The CPI programme orientates patriotic elements on struggle to ease the lot of the peasants, on agrarian transformations, accelerated development of the state sector in key economic branches, effective control over foreign capital, and an independent and active anti-imperialist foreign policy.

We are convinced that these demands are the only way out of the crisis caused by the military regime.

We know from experience that the regime will stop at nothing to prevent national unity, and will try to strike another devastating blow against our party. This is why we consider it so necessary to strengthen the Party's ranks, tighten its bonds with the masses, invigorate ideological and political work, and always observe the principle of close interaction with fraternal parties in the framework of the world communist movement, with all anti-imperialist movements. Nothing can stop the people of Indonesia from eventually making their country truly independent peaceful, democratic and progressive, with its eyes on socialism.

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[1] This is how the anti-imperialist, patriotic system of views of the late President Sukarno is known in Indonesia.

The PUWP is recruiting more peasants; they made up 9.5 per cent of the new members in 1971, and 13.4 per cent in the first half of 1975.

The overwhelming majority of the intellectuals joining the party are of working-class or peasant background. During the last exchange of party cards it was established that 55 per cent of all members joined the party when they were workers, and that 60 per cent of the membership are of working-class origin.

Sixty-six per cent of all those admitted within the last four years and over 21 per cent of the present membership of the party are under thirty.

There have been great changes in the educational level of party members. Today, 15 per cent of all members have a higher or incomplete higher education, and 26 per cent have secondary educations; 166,000 received their higher education after joining the party.

The party now has 75,200 branches, 23,000 shop units and 61,000 groups.

Uruguay

In spite of the brutal terror, the Communist Party is re-establishing its organisations at various levels. Party branches are operating and the party circulates its press and propaganda publications. *Carta Semanal*, the underground communist newspaper, writes that torture, kidnappings or assassination cannot break the spirit of fighters against the Bordaberry fascist dictatorship and that the people's courageous struggle, backed by international solidarity, will triumph.

ANOTHER METAMORPHOSIS OF ANTI-MARXISM

Otto Reinhold
Member of SUPG Central Committee and Director of its Social Science Institute

One of the most characteristic features of our time is the steadily increasing influence of Marxism-Leninism. Together with the growing impact of existing socialism and the deepening general crisis of capitalism (including the crisis of bourgeois ideology), there is a growing need among the masses for a theory to guide them through the complexities of social development. It is against this background that one should consider the intensified attacks on Marxism-Leninism by reactionary groups of bourgeois ideologists.

Attempts to refute, falsify or ridicule the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin never stop. A Sisyphean toil, as several generations of bourgeois apologists have learned. Time and again it seemed that they had reached their goal, the "collapse of Marxism", but the facts showed the absurdity of all their claims.

New generations of critics of Marx have naturally tried to learn from the discomfitures of their predecessors. Their inventiveness (which should not be underestimated) in finding new forms and methods has not made their attacks on Marxism-Leninism more effective.

One can distinguish two directions in present-day anti-Marxist criticism. First, there is the "frontal attack" meant to "refute Marxism" once and for all (though it had been declared "dead and buried" dozens of times). Second, there is the more flexible, "Trojan horse" tactic.[1] It is the purpose of this article to examine some of the new anti-Marxist arguments advanced against the background of the sharpening crisis of capitalism.

[1] Catholic sociologist von Bell-Bronning, for instance, says: "All of us stand on the shoulders of Karl Marx" (Oswald von Nell-Breuning. Katholische Kirche und Marxsche Kapitalismus-Kritik in: "Kritik der politischen Okonomie heute—100 Jahre "Kapital", Frankfurt/M/Wien, 1968, p. 91).

The Economic Cycle and Bourgeois Ideology

The changes in bourgeois criticism of Marxism are largely conditioned by the state of the capitalist economy. In the period before the last economic crisis, particularly in the 60s, with the rapid expansion of the productive forces, bourgeois ideologists of every persuasion, including "Marxologists", maintained that capitalism had "ceased to be capitalism", being transformed into the "affluent society", the "industrial society", and so on. The men who speak for the monopolies argued that qualitative changes in the economy, more state participation in the economy, and the technological revolution had brought the capitalist countries into an age of prosperity and economic growth, with wages and profits higher, and all the fundamental social problems solved.

The purpose of this criticism was to prove, first, that the changes in capitalist society were fundamental, and, second, that as long as Marxism-Leninism clung to its 19th-century "dogmas" it could not properly understand the new processes and draw the necessary lessons therefrom.

Marx, bourgeois ideologists affirmed, could not foresee the changes in the world of today, including the changes in capitalism. "World history has followed a different path than the one charted by Marx and Engels."[2] We were told that they "underestimated capitalism's tenacity and its adaptability to change", its dynamism.[3] That was a cardinal proposition of the anti-communists. The reasoning behind it was that Marx lived in the 19th century and his analysis was valid only for the capitalism of his time. But we are living in the second half of the 20th century, the critics argued, and therefore "all Marx's hypotheses are obsolete".[4]

This line of reasoning testifies not only to a vivid imagination, but also to ignorance. To cite but one example, Marx and Engels wrote in the *Communist Manifesto* of the dynamism of the bourgeois system in all spheres of social life. In particular there is this passage: "The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society. Conservation of the old modes of production

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[2] Iring Fetscher, Nachwort zu Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels, *Manifesto der Kommunistischen Partei*, Grundsatze des Kommunismus, Stuttgart, 1969, p. 84.

[3] Hermann Weber, Einleitung zu K. Marx und F. Engels: *Das Kommunistische Manifest*, Hannover, 1966, p. 30.

[4] [illegible], *Marxisten uberwinden Marx*, Dusseldorf-Wien, 1969, p. 109. True, [illegible] those, like Galbraith, who admits that Marx perceived a definite tendency [illegible] development of capitalism, but this is cancelled out by another remark: but [illegible] not know how it would work out. John K. Galbraith, *Wirtschaft fur Staat* [illegible]*llschaft*, Munchen-Zurich, 1974, p. 45-46.

in unaltered form, was, on the contrary, the first condition of existence for all earlier industrial classes".[5]

Later, and primarily in *Capital*, Marx revealed the substance and the specific features of expanded reproduction under capitalism. That dynamism can make itself felt also in the present stages of capitalist development. But what is that dynamism? "It would be a mistake to believe", Lenin wrote in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, "that the tendency to decay precludes the rapid growth of capitalism... But this growth is not only becoming more and more uneven in general, its unevenness also manifests itself, in particular, in the decay of the countries which are richest in capital."[6]

In the early 70s we could discern a new tendency in bourgeois ideology. Repeating in ideology the course of the economic cycle, or following in its wake, bourgeois futurologists abandoned the optimism of the boom period, and with it their contention that capitalism could effectively undergo positive change. Instead, they plunged into near despair, resorting more frequently to incantations. All the rhetoric about "overcoming" Marxism and capitalism's ability to curb crises was left behind—a natural and understandable metamorphosis.

Only yesterday, bourgeois ideologists were boasting that, at long last, capitalism had found the means and levers to control economic development; they even claimed it could engineer an economic upsurge at will. It was that simple. But as the months passed these predictions remained as far away from reality as ever. More, it is now being said that the FRG is going through a "year of wrong economic prognoses". In fact, one of the government's economic experts has said: "We are doing better than in the football pools, but not much better." In other wards, no one now ventures to deny that all the past theories of economic growth, based on capitalism's ability to overcome cyclical development, have proved wrong. There was this sardonic remark in *Die Zeit*. "There is little sense in inviting specialists in economic forecasting: instead of oracles we get cheap magicians who, try as they may, can't extract a single rabbit from the hat."[7]

Side-Tracking Manoeuvre

Apologists for capitalism and anti-communists have thought up rather a surprising side-tracking manoeuvre: "Socialism too, is in the throes of crisis", is now their line. In fact, that was said at the social-democrat congress in Mannheim towards the close of 1975: "The world economy

[5] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 111.
[6] *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 300.
[7] *Die Zeit*, No. 29, 11 July 1975, p. 1.

is now in a recession unprecedented in the past several decades. With the sole exception of the oil-exporting countries, it affects *all* industrial, *all* developing countries as well as *all* communist countries... All existing social and state systems are caught in this crisis of the world economic system."[8]

Imperialist and right-wing social-democratic politicians and ideologists are at pains to prove that the present capitalist crisis extends to the whole world, the capitalist as well as the socialist—in short, it is a crisis of the whole of mankind. And every propaganda ploy is being used to create the impression that it is due not to the capitalist mode of production, but to some inherent fatal flaw in civilisation itself. This is a relatively new argument, and I think it deserves a closer look.

Of course, there are many channels through which the socialist countries are linked with the world capitalist economy. An appreciable share of their foreign trade is with non-socialist countries. And it would be wrong to believe that the capitalist economic crisis has no effect whatever on the economic development of the socialist community. The communist parties of the CMEA countries have made a thorough study of the question and have taken the necessary measures, reflected in their new five-year plans, to safeguard the socialist economy. There is also this: in the first half of the 70s the socialist community had a higher growth rate than the EEC.[9] A few relevant facts: the Central Committee of the CPSU was able to record at its December 1975 plenum, that "in absolute growth of social production, the ninth five-year plan was the best in the history of our country". Growth rates have heightened also in the GDR: 5.6 per cent in 1971, 6.3 in 1972, 6.8 in 1973 and 7.3 in 1974.

This is how growth rates in the CMEA countries compare with those of the EEC:

AVERAGE ANNUAL PERCENTAGE GROWTH

	National income		*Industrial output*	
	CMEA countries	*EEC countries*	*CMEA countries*	*EEC countries*
1961-65	6.1	4.7	8.3	5.3
1966-70	7.3	4.5	8.4	4.8
1971-74	6.6	3.6	8.1	3.4
1974	6.4	1.7	8.5	0.5

[8] *SPD Parteitag*, 11-15 November 1975, p. 3.

[9] Naturally, growth of output or national income can differ from one socialist country to another. In the GDR, for instance, this was connected with the fact that the 1971-75 plan concentrated on eliminating certain disproportions by boosting production in industries supplying components, spare parts, etc.

CMEA economic development plans envisage a high and stable growth rate in the new (1976-80) five-year period. In fact, even the minimum rates in the new plans are higher than what bourgeois economists would consider the ideal after the present crisis.

Here, too, we have a metamorphosis of bourgeois apologia. For many years its pundits argued that socialism could grow quantitatively, that is, by expanding the economic structure, but could not raise its efficiency to a corresponding degree. True, there were times when the socialist countries concentrated on quantitative growth. But now the socialist community's accent is on intensive growth and higher effectiveness of social production. The imperialist ideologists try to interpret this, too, as a sign of crisis in the socialist economy. But if the word crisis is at all appropriate here, then obviously it should refer to the crisis of anti-communist argumentation.

The most important feature of socialism's economic growth over the past years was the new level of organic interconnection of economic and social policies. Social programmes unparalleled for scope and diversity have been introduced in all member states of the socialist community. In the USSR real per capita incomes rose by nearly a fourth in the past five-year period. Even in those socialist countries which have carried out price rises on certain goods, this was done in combination with other measures to assure higher real incomes. On the whole, social security and living standards in the socialist countries have increased considerably over these past years.

In 1976 all members of the socialist community are launching new five-year programmes, retaining practically the same growth rates in key branches as in the previous five-year period. Thus, in the Soviet Union national income will rise by 24-28 per cent and real incomes by 20-22 per cent in 1976-80. In the GDR, national income will increase at an annual rate of about 5-6 per cent and real incomes by 4.5 per cent. This stability and consistency of economic growth give the lie to all the bourgeois theories about the present crisis of capitalism extending to the socialist world. Addressing the 14th plenum of the SUPG Central Committee, Erich Honecker said: "Through the efforts of the people and for the benefit of the people we have made significant headway in building a developed socialist society in our country. The growing stability and prestige of our worker-peasant state, our economic strength and our obvious progress in raising the material and cultural level of the people are an expression of the success of the policy we formulated in setting our main goal."[18]

According to a recent forecast by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, the year 1976 will be one of upsurge in

[18] *Neues Deutschland*, 6 June 1975.

industrial capitalist countries and the gross national product in West-European countries should go up by roughly two per cent. Let us note in passing the strange logic of bourgeois ideologists, who see a two per cent increase under capitalism as a sign of upsurge and a five or six per cent increase under socialism as an indication of crisis.

Who Has Proved Right?

In speaking of the validity of our analysis of contemporary capitalism, we wish to stress that it proceeds from Lenin's doctrine of imperialism, which carried forward Marx's theory of capital.

Early in the second half of this century, Marxists-Leninists of many countries, both socialist and capitalist, did much research into contemporary processes in the capitalist world. The 1957, 1960 and 1969 meetings of communist and workers' parties were of vast importance. Analysing state-monopoly capitalism as a system that had fully taken shape, they proved that the more rapid economic growth of imperialism in the post-war period due to the scientific and technological revolution had not prevented the fundamental contradictions of capitalism from becoming sharper. Marxists showed that the monopoly system aggravates existing contradictions and breeds new ones and that it can modify the crisis cycle in one respect or another but cannot eliminate it. The 1969 meeting concluded that the imperialist world was at the threshold of a period of crisis and social upheavals affecting every social sphere.

In the mid-70s every serious observer can see that the Marxist-Leninist analysis is correct.

It will take further effort by Marxists to study every aspect of the present capitalist economic crisis. In this particular case, we wish to point out that the current crisis goes beyond the cyclical crisis of overproduction and is closely linked with the deepening general crisis of the capitalist system. Its dimensions and gravity as well as its evolution are decisively influenced by the general crisis, which, in turn, it largely influences. The transition from the acute phase of the crisis to the upturn forecast by bourgeois economists cannot, therefore, bring back to capitalism the confidence that characterised it in, say, the 1950s and 1960s. At any rate, current analysis suggests that in the next few years economic growth indices will remain low, that inflation, a high unemployment rate and the crisis of neo-colonialism will persist and structural crises will recur.

It follows that the capitalist world is about to enter a very complicated period owing to marked instability and diverse temporary and permanent crisis phenomena. These factors are bound to lead to a still more violent class struggle, to a new upsurge in class battles.

Most imperialist and right-wing social-democratic politicians and ideologists sense this and try to adapt to it. Zbigniew Brezezinski, the American anti-communist scholar, says that bourgeois society is in transition from the idea of progress to the idea of decline and feels ever more strongly that changes are a bad thing, that the world has reached the ceiling of its opportunities, the natural resources are limited and the future is dark.[11] Erhard Eppler, a leading German social democrat, writes: "Everything is much harder than we had imagined. We come up against limits everywhere."[12] And elsewhere he comments that "these are years of change, the depth of which we cannot yet fathom".[13]

The current crisis is evidence of the complete failure of the postwar social theories of both imperialists and right-wing social democrats. Bourgeois socio-economic thought is thoroughly pessimistic today. The hope of overcoming the antagonistic contradictions between labour and capital has turned out to be as illusory as the hope of coping with the crisis. The Marxist-Leninist analysis of the contemporary epoch has proved correct.

Marxism-Leninism Will Survive Its Critics

Bourgeois ideologists, describing the crisis as a global development involving socialism, are concerned with more than economic growth rates. They cast about for new arguments to discredit the common policy of the USSR and other countries of the socialist community in building socialism and communism. The unity of the socialist community frightens them. Leading quarters in imperialist countries "fear that they may lose the economic and socio-political competition with the other social system. socialism," wrote the West Berlin *Extradienst* on 15 July 1975.

In the first half of the 1970s the communist parties of the socialist community evolved a common strategy of building and perfecting a developed socialist society and made its realisation their paramount practical task. L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU, pointed out the great importance of this at the 11th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. "We all realise, comrades," he said "how important it is to correctly visualise the development of socialist society at every new stage of history. From this point of view, it was highly important for the brother parties to work out, jointly and, on the basis of their collective experience, the policy of building developed socialism, which most socialist countries are now putting into practice with due regard to their distinctive features."

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[11] *Europa-Archiv*, Bonn, 23 Folge 1974, p. 778.
[12] Erhard Eppler, *Ende oder Wende*, Stuttgart, 1975, p. 25.
[13] *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 1 February 1975.

This policy is very important also for the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and contemporary bourgeois ideology. It adds to the practical impact of socialist and communist construction on social development in the world. To build a developed socialist society means, first of all, to materialise the social substance of socialism. Naturally, it implies a high and stable rate of economic growth. However, this growth is merely the basis on which to achieve the goals of socialism: ensuring the fullest possible satisfaction of the people's material and cultural requirements and the harmonious development of the socialist individual. And this means that the *inherent connection between economic growth and improvement of living and working conditions,* on the one hand, *and the further development of socialist democracy,* on the other, acquires decisive importance in a developed socialist society.

In the 1960s the socialist countries created the prerequisites for closely linking economic and social policies and economic growth with the formation of a socialist way of life. As a result, there is increasing coincidence of the public interest and the interests of the individual on a new level, and every working man or woman feels this. New creative forces are being released in the socialist community.

This in no way squares with the anti-communist ideas and "models" conceived by imperialist and right-wing social-democratic politicians and ideologists. They go on searching for a chance to prove that the policies adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU, the Eighth Congress of the SUPG and congresses of other fraternal parties have "failed" or are bound to "fail". Vain hopes. The inherent unity of our economic and social policies, which is a result of and a condition for building socialism and communism and an important aspect of developed socialism, is a dependable basis for the further progress of socialism. Communists realise that to put their common policy into practice, they will still have to exert much persevering effort and solve numerous complicated problems.

In applying a common strategy based on the general laws of building the new society, the communist parties of socialist countries bear in mind national specifics. The Soviet Union has already built a developed socialist society and will continue to perfect it while laying the material and technical basis for communism. In the case of other socialist countries, developed socialism is the immediate goal of social advance. Guided by a common goal, the socialist countries set social development tasks that largely coincide. For instance, it is in virtually identical terms that the brother parties formulate the task of closely linking economic with [illegible] policies. Accordingly, they regard the formation of a socialist way [illegible] a priority, and intensification as the main line of economic deve-

lopment. As for the time limits of accomplishing the various tasks, they are similar in a number of countries.

The actual work of building and perfecting a developed socialist society gives the lie to bourgeois Marxologists, who allege that Marxism-Leninism uses outdated concepts as a guide and takes a static approach to present-day problems. That is not so: the communist parties are doing extensive theoretical research to assure further achievements in practice.

The communists would never have succeeded in building socialism had they merely repeated and clung to Marxist tenets formulated in the past. In the early 1960s the foundations of socialism were laid and socialist production relations gained the upper hand. There arose the question of the next strategic objective, of the content and development of socialism as the first phase of the communist social formation, and of the dialectical interconnection of socialism and communism. This question had to be answered, and the answer was given by the theory of developed socialism. It is now safe to say that this theory has, in the main, been formulated and the parties continue to perfect it. This theory, which carried forward Marxism-Leninism, takes account of the new conditions for the development of socialism and the fight against imperialism.

Communist parties concentrate on research into problems of the scientific and technological revolution, of raising the efficiency of social production, perfecting economic planning and management and forecasting socio-economic processes. They have made a substantial contribution to the study of problems of socialist economic integration and present-day world development. Marxist theory answers new questions and shows how problems can be resolved for the good of all working people. Revisionist, reformist and other bourgeois ideologists find it harder and harder to peddle their "models of socialism" as a counterweight to scientific socialism.

One of the main allegations of critics of Marxism-Leninism is, as has been said, that communists view society, socialist society as well, from the level of knowledge attained in the last century. We know how groundless this allegation is, but we wish to say again that we Marxists-Leninists are proud that the fundamental tenets of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin have been proved correct by history and are as valid and relevant as ever. Those who do not ignore reality must see that in no country could socialism have triumphed without the dictatorship of the proletariat, without the leading role of the working class and its party, without making the principal means of production public property. We are deeply convinced, therefore, that in this closing period of the 20th century, as in the past, it is only the theory of socialism, based on these fundamental tenets, that can assure success.

The successful realisation of a common conception of social development by the communist parties of the socialist community is a serious defeat for the adversaries of Marxism-Leninism, a defeat for anti-communism.

Both history and the present show that neither adaptation, nor tactical inventiveness has brought the critics of Marxism any nearer to their goal. Marxism-Leninism, which is continuously enriched by the communist and workers' parties and furnishes answers to the most pressing problems of world development, is the lodestar of revolutionary struggle in our epoch.

AGAINST "ZIONIST SOCIALISM"

The ideological and political education department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel organised a conference on " 'Zionist Socialism' and the Ideological Battle Against It".[1] The speaker, Chairman of the CPI Central Auditing Commission Dr. Wolf Erlich, dwelt on three basic aspects of the problem: the place of "zionist socialism" in the general ideology of zionism; the general and the distinctive features of "zionist socialism" and right-wing social-democratic tendencies in the working-class movement; the successes and the setbacks of "zionist socialism".

Basing himself on extensive historical material, Dr. Erlich revealed the anti-working-class, zionist-chauvinist ideas behind the "socialist" rhetoric of David Ben Gurion, B. Katznelson and their present followers. He showed that their references to socialism are only a camouflage for their nationalist and racist ideology and policy (one of their slogans is "work for the Jews only") and their policy of placing the working class under the domination of its class enemies and turning the labour movement into an instrument of reactionary forces.

Although the "zionist socialists' " leaders managed to deceive large sections of the working class in Israel, this trend is now experiencing a crisis, for it clashes with the vital interests of the working people fighting for their demands.

The conference analysed the ideological basis of "zionist socialism" and discussed the practical aspects of the struggle against it in the context of the common effort for working-class unity, peace and social progress.

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[1] In view of socialism's attraction for the Jewish workers, the zionist leaders began using socialist terminology in the early 1900s to instil the idea of a special "zionist socialism". In today's Israel the zonist "socialist" policy is to promote "class peace" and subordinate the working-class movement to the interests of the bourgeoisie. They support the expansionism of the Irael rulers and, proceeding from the racist doctrine on the "exclusiveness" of the Jews, replace the concept of the international solidarity of the working people with the call for "solidarity of the world jewry"—*Ed.*

IS THERE STATE MONOPOLY CAPITALISM IN BRAZIL?

ROGERIO FREITAS
Brazilian Sociologist

In recent years there have been many Marxist-Leninist studies of state-monopoly capitalism (SMC), mostly as it exists in highly developed capitalist countries. But there is a new aspect—elements of SMC in medium-developed capitalist countries. An interesting example is Brazil. Capitalist production relations predominate in the social and economic structure (as in highly developed capitalist countries), but there is still dependence on imperialism and elements of pre-capitalist relations (as in backward countries). It is therefore right to say that Brazil occupies an intermediate position between highly developed and backward countries.[1]

Accelerated development of capitalism, attended by concentration of production and capital, has led to the rise of monopoly. The merger of monopoly industrial and banking capital produces financial capital, and financial groups, i.e. a Brazilian financial oligarchy. And these groups (Vidigal, Antunes, Villares, Itau, Peixoto de Castro, Ermiriode Moraes, Matarazzo) play an important part in the economy.

Of course, the emergence of monopoly and financial capital does not preclude, but rather presupposes, the existence of a wide non-monopoly sector. We have, on the one hand, a tendency towards elimination of small and medium enterprises and, on the other, an increasing number of big firms, which creates the conditions for the rise of new small and medium firms (producing spare parts for old automobile models, etc.).

The state played a significant part in monopolisation of the economy. And here we had three distinct processes: capitalist industrialisation, increasing

[1] A look at Brazil's social and economic structure will reveal a fairly high level of productive forces and the existence of a large working class. In 1970 it accounted for nearly 30 per cent, and total wage and salary earners for more than 50 per cent of the gainfully employed population. The predominance of capitalist production relations, as understood by Marxism-Leninism, can therefore be considered an irrefutable fact. But small commodity production, the latifundia, minifundia, etc. remain,

state take-overs, and monopoly. The Brazilian bourgeoisie, forced to compete with foreign capital, more and more frequently turns to the state to facilitate accelerated monopolisation.[2]

The changes following the reactionary 1964 coup focused on boosting the accumulation of capital, whatever the cost in hardship for the people. There are two basic sources of capital: "internal resources" (stepped-up exploitation) and foreign investments. The government's new economic policy and its "development models" are based on stringent wage-freezing, speed-up and a sharp rise in indirect taxes, plus all manner of levies to contain inflation. This is complemented by an increasing flow of foreign capital attracted by preferential treatment.

Since 1964 the government has shown a visible interest in drawing up jointly with the monopolies a "global economic strategy", "global planning". There are very ambitious "permanent national aims" and a "synthesised aim", i.e. Brazil joining the club of developed countries by the end of the century and becoming a "great power". In fact, there is a whole hierarchy of plans—national. regional industry-wide, etc.—all of them geared to monopoly interests. The administrative structure has been largely remodelled to suit these aims: There is a planning secretariat under the president and several other organisations, including an economic development department (a kind of economic general staff), a social development council, inter-ministerial council for prices, national currency board, etc. The purpose behind this mushrooming of government agencies is to speed up capitalist development in the interests, needless to say, of the monopolies.

A closer examination of government investments will show that they are not only increasing. but are also being directed into new channels. According to official data, the state sector accounted for more than 60 per cent of direct investments as early as 1969. In fact, Brazil holds a top place among capitalist countries in the share of state investments. They are directed mainly to mining, iron and steel. petrochemicals and the infrastructure, in other words, concentrated in the main industries requiring long-term credits and holding no promise of quick returns. Such investments do not attract foreign capital, and local private capital cannot afford them.

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[2] UP to the 1964 coup, the state played. to a certain extent, a progressive role inasmuch as it helped the growth and strengthening of national industries and, consequently, of diverse groups of the national bourgeoisie. This aggravated contradictions with the imperialists and latifundists. spurred resistance to imperialist penetration (one example is organisation of the national oil company Petrobras). The state was promoting the interests not only of various strata of the bourgeoisie and the latifundists, but also made certain concessions to other strata, including the proletariat.

The present structure of state investments follows a policy advocated at one time by Antonio Dias Leite, former minister of Mines and Energy: Brazil must have an "economic expansion core" to help the monopolies controlling the "dynamic" industries.[3]

There have been visible changes in recent years also in the government's credit and tax policy, affecting public works, state-owned trading enterprises, agrarian policy, small and medium enterprises, and labour relations. All these changes, however, are exclusively in the interests of the monopolies. We can therefore justifiably conclude that the state is not merely guardian of the class interests of a definite group of the bourgeoisie, i.e. the financial oligarchy. What we have is the monopolies and the state joining together to form a single mechanism. This signifies the beginning of state-monopoly capitalism which, in its main features and direction, is no different from SMC in other countries.

But there are a number of specific features. First, there is the merger of three forces: local monopoly, the state, and foreign financial capital. Capitalist development, as pointed out above, has been against a background of increasing economic dependence on imperialism, chiefly North American. Now this dependence is assuming new forms. In the past its dominant features were unequal foreign trade, shackling loans and credits, economic and political pressure. Today, while the foreign monopolies have abandoned none of these methods, they make wider use of concealed and more "effective" forms of exploiting the Brazilian people. One of these is direct capital investment, with profits exported openly or in disguised form. The dependence of many of Brazil's industries on foreign capital is now more "subtle", hidden behind a facade of "independence".

Foreign trade has also acquired a new content. Specifically, export has become a channel for taking foreign monopoly profits cut of the country. Besides, the requisites of reproducing capital (certain capital goods and a substantial part of technology) have become an essential item of import.[4]

Foreign capital pervades the economy. As for the highly profitable "dynamic" industries (motor vehicles and spares, rubber products, electrical equipment, chemicals, machines, metals), foreign capital holds key positions in them. In 1972, some 38 per cent of the capital of 377 major industrial enterprises belonged to multinationals while domestic companies of the private and state sectors owned 30 and 32 per cent respectively.

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[3] State investments do not always go to this "economic expansion core". For instance, state capital is also invested in nuclear power and telecommunications.

[4] Imperialist monopoly on scientific and technological research is also a sign of the economic dependence of Brazil. The country is compelled to import numerous up-to-date and sophisticated facilities needed for the extended reproduction of capital and purchase licences owned by highly developed countries.

Considerable foreign investment in Brazil leads to the conclusion that imperialism no longer imposes its domination from without alone and that branches of foreign monopolies have become a component of the country's social and political structures.[5] US enterprises in Brazil, said Aristoteles Moura, an economist, in the late 1950s, make up a powerful system enabling them to control the country's economic development, interfere in its domestic affairs and exert effective pressure on its government.

Thus Brazil has a dependent SMC, with foreign monopolies dominating the economy and other key spheres of national life. The state and imperialist monopolies "interpenetrate".

Brazilian SMC is also characterised by a distinctive composition of the financial oligarchy, which may be divided into three groups: (1) agents of the foreign financial oligarchy (managers of foreign monopolies operating in the country); (2) the local oligarchy and (3) technocrats and government officials. The first group holds dominant positions. The very composition of the country's financial oligarchy is indicative of the dependence of SMC in Brazil.

The local oligarchy and financial groups are associated with foreign monopolies and submit to them as their junior partners. This does not rule out more or less serious antagonisms between domestic and foreign groups, nor does it prevent local monopolies from trying to use the state for their own imperialist and expansionist ambitions or from entertaining the hope of establishing a degree of control over foreign capital.

Another aspect of SMC in Brazil is that although capitalism is developing in the countryside, big landed monopoly persists and so do, to a considerable extent, survivals of pre-capitalist production relations.[6] As large estates are transformed into capitalist enterprises the traditional latifundia are subordinated to and incorporated in the system of SMC.

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[5] Prior to the 1964 coup there were no facts of joint participation in any enterprise by the state plus domestic and foreign capital. In spite of growing state participation in the economy and strong monopoly influence on the state and reproduction of capital, imperialism and its local partners dominated the country mainly through pressure on the state apparatus.

[6] The latifundia (2.3 per cent of the holdings) take up 80 per cent of the registered lands (exclusive of urban land and vacant lots), while the minifundia (71 per cent of the holdings) account for only 13 per cent of the registered land area. With the former still there, the latter break up into smaller units and the rural masses become more and more impoverished. The more the latifundium system is "updated", the more peasants are evicted from the lands they till. Although the proportion of agricultural workers and rural semi-proletarians has lately shown a noticeable increase, landless and land-hungry peasants still constitute a substantial part of the rural population. Rural working people are often exploited in pre-capitalist forms that include extra-economic coercion.

The growth of elements of SMC has been accompanied by the introduction of fascist methods of government. We regard this development as a most noteworthy feature of SMC in Brazil.

It will be recalled that the 1964 coup was the counter-revolutionaries' answer to the extreme sharpening of capitalist contradictions. The progressives were unable to resolve them on revolutionary lines. Reaction won the upper hand. In Brazil, as elsewhere, fascism is a product of a deep social crisis.

The victory of fascism revealed both the strength and the weakness of the working-class movement: strength inasmuch as the monopolies resorted to a coup and gradually imposed fascism precisely because they were frightened by the mounting struggle of the working class, and weakness inasmuch as the working class and its allies proved unable to prevent the imposition of fascism.

The fascist-like regime set up in 1964 contributed to the formation of SMC. Consistent fascization of the state became the political form of establishing SMC domination in Brazil.

Brazilian fascism as a form of SMC can only be understood in the overall context of capitalist development. We have said that Brazil is a medium-developed capitalist country. In these conditions, the transition to SMC can be effected only by exploiting the workers and expropriating the non-monopoly bourgeoisie. Only a fascist-like regime could check the mass movement and bring down the fairly high level of the class struggle against unchecked monopoly exploitation.

Brazilian fascism is essentially analogous to the fascism that existed in Europe. It is a terrorist dictatorship of financial capital, a form which may be taken by SMC as domination of not only the economy but the social, political and ideological spheres of life by financial capital. In the case of Brazil, it is a dictatorship serving primarily foreign financial capital.

Knowing the distinctive aspects of SMC and fascism in Brazil is very important if the communists and other anti-fascists are to evolve proper strategy and tactics,

The development of SMC, far from eliminating capitalist antagonisms, aggravates them. Indeed, the only way to ensure reproduction of financial captial in Brazil is to overexploit the working people and other non-monopoly groups. This understandably worsens the working people's condition, leads to the pauperisation of the majority of the population and dooms the mass of the people to dire poverty.

The dependent nature of fascist-like SMC confronts the communists and other democrats and patriots with the task of ending foreign and domestic monopoly domination. This will characterise the next stage of the Brazilian revolution, whose ultimate objective is socialism. At this early stage of the revolution, the working class and other anti-monopoly forces must over-

throw monopoly power and first of all imperialism, the people's chief enemy.

Today the decisive step towards accomplishing the above task is to sweep away the fascist dictatorship and establish a democratic system. Accordingly, the communists strive in common with other democratic forces for the formation of a broad anti-fascist patriotic front whose main goal will be to win democratic freedoms for the people.

FROM DIALOGUE TO JOINT ACTION

ALCESTE SANTINI
Italian Journalist

We continue our discussion of problems of cooperation between communists and catholics for peace, democracy and socialism. Earlier articles on the subject in this journal will be found in the June, August and October issues for 1974 and in the June issue for 1975.

The dialogue between communists and catholics understood as a search for points of contact leading to all-round constructive confrontation of views and positions as the prelude to a common effort for a new, democratic and socialist society, has now become part of Italian history.

Even before the founding of our party in January 1921, Antonio Gramsci gave serious thought to relations with the Vatican and the large and varied catholic world. He wrote in March 1920: "In Italy, in Rome there is the Vatican and the Pope: the liberal state was obliged to devise a system of equilibrium with the spiritual power of the church; the worker state will likewise have to devise some such system." On October 2 of the same year, *Ordine Nuovo*[1] carried an interesting article titled "The Roman Question".[2] Departing from radical-socialist traditions and positivist culture, it took a new approach to relations between the labour movement and the catholic world. In particular, it said that "communism, as a harmoniously integral doctrine based on highly humane and genuinely realistic concepts, neither rejects nor negates any aspect of modern civilisation. Communism—and

[1] A newspaper published in 1919-20 by the left wing of the Italian Socialist Party led by Antonio Gramsci and Palmiro Togliatti, the Italian Communist Party newspaper from January 1921 to April 1925—*Ed.*

[2] "The Roman Question" refers to the conflict between the secular power of the Pope and the national movement for the autonomy and independence of the Italian state. The pattern of state-church relations was set in the Lateran agreements of 11 February 1929. The Second Ecumenical Council (1962-65) sought to conceptualise the new elements history brought into the question over the past 100 years.

we say this openly—has no intention of suppressing religious freedoms. On the contrary, it strives to guarantee all these freedoms in their fullest form."

In the 56 years since these thoughts were first expressed, the Italian Communist Party has done much to elucidate the theoretical aspects of the problem of relations with the catholic masses and the Vatican. In fact, this theoretical work has become not only a highly characteristic feature of our mass party, but also a contributing factor in our progress over the years.

Today, with the changing situation in Italy and the world, and despite the retention of diverse contradictions and apprehensions and the rise of relatively new problems (the relation, for instance, of democracy and socialism within the socialism-capitalism confrontation), there is increasing evidence of the correctness of our party's policy and of the role Gramsci and Togliatti played in its formulation.

In 1944, discussing the "new party",[3] Togliatti said: "Italian reality is such that we could be the first West-European communist party to come face to face with a problem that had never arisen with us in the past... We Italian communists are the first in Western Europe to cope with the new and serious task of creating a communist party in entirely new conditions and with entirely new tasks, differing from those our party had to cope with in the past."

In this way, the question of our attitude to catholicism was bound up with the need to expand the traditional sphere of socialist and communist activity. Concretely, we had to determine how religious believers could be brought into a party for which Marxism was its guide to revolutionary action and share in the historic advance to socialism, individually or through their organisations.

I shall not dwell on Togliatti's contribution to developing a dialogue, to the understanding of our "reciprocal recognition of values and the resulting concord and agreement to work for common aims". That contribution is being complemented by the party's analysis of all that is new in the church and the catholic world since the Second Ecumenical Council.

But it should be emphasised that if today more and more catholic workers are joining our and other left parties, that is due to the lifting of religious bans. It should likewise be noted that the Party Rules adopted at our Fifth Congress in 1945 do not stipulate acceptance of the Marxist philosophy, only acceptance of the party's programme and the communist code of conduct. This, of course, does not mean renouncing the ideological struggle; it only expresses the fact that our party is not an academy of philosophy, but a big popular organisation guided by revolutionary theory, Marxism, which is not a dogma, or catechism, but a guide to action.

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[3] Reference is to the drive for a mass Communist Party.—*Ed.*

Continuing the line worked out by Togliatti, our Ninth Party Congress (1966) emphasised that the socialist state we want to build would be "genuinely and absolutely secular. We are opposed to both state religion and state atheism". The 13th Congress (1972) reaffirmed that we would "facilitate the free development of all genuinely democratic catholic forces, the values towards which they aspire, and find historically justified forms to enable them independently to contribute to the building of a higher type of society". These theses were confirmed by the 14th Party Congress (Mrach 1975) and carried further in the documents signed by the Spanish and Italian communist parties in July 1975 and the French and Italian parties on 15 November 1975. The joint FCP and ICP communique says: "Socialism is the highest stage in the development of democracy and freedom: democracy implemented in its fullest form." Western Europe's two biggest mass communist parties declared that they would "guarantee and develop . . . all manifestations of freedom of thought, expression, the press, assembly, association, demonstration, free travel within and beyond one's country, inviolability of the person, freedom of worship, full freedom for expression of philosophical, cultural and artistic trends and views".

From this follows that the church and believers will enjoy not only the full freedom of thought and organisation provided for by Article 7 of the Italian Constitution, to the framing of which the communists made a decisive contribution. For in the future socialist state, as in the ranks of our party today, there will be no ideological or cultural division into first and second-class people; there will be equal rights and equal obligations, with everyone expected to share in building socialism, which objectively will become the "highest stage in the development of democracy and freedom".[4]

The intensive Marxist-Christian dialogue of the 1960s, with all its cultural and political implications, would have been impossible without the experience of the ICP, based on effective Marxist analysis of Italian and world realities. However, we must also acknowledge the contribution made by the Pontificato of Pope John XXIII (1958-63) and the Ecumenical Council.

In his encyclical *Pacem in terris* (Peace on Earth) the Pope drew a distinction between ideological and historical movements.[5] This was important because it gave the church, the catholics and Christian-oriented movements a methodological criterion in overcoming the old, one-dimen-

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[4] Joint ICP and FCP communique, *Unita,* 18 November 1975.

[5] The encyclical distinguishes between "doctrines", which "remain unchanged", and "historical movements", which influence the "constantly changing historical situation and cannot but themselves be affected by it, thus becoming a subject of these, often major, changes". And the conclusion is drawn: "It could come about that rapprochement and encounters of a practical nature, which yesterday were considered untimely and useless, could today or tomorrow become timely and useful" (*Pacem in terris,* pp. 59-160).

sional view of history. Now they could use dialogue and confrontation of views to explore the possibility of a new pattern of relations with the various forces of the present-day world. And a dialogue began on the diplomatic plane, between the Holy See and socialist and non-catholic countries, and between the church and Christian-oriented movements, on the one hand, and Marxist movements, on the other. The 1960s thus became a turning point in relations between communists and catholics in Italy—from ideological confrontation and cold war to dialogue. And despite all the existing contradictions and the resistance of forces clinging to their integrationist positions,[6] this opened new prospects of rapprochement and cooperation in resolving the cardinal problems of our times.

Today we can say that the theoretical schema of traditional Christian doctrine (the temporal character of Papal power, the constancy of dogmata, the corporative and non-class character of the church) is in a state of crisis. Influenced by the decisions of the Ecumenical Council, Christian-oriented movements and organisations—the Italian Trades Union Confederation, the Christian Association of Italian Workers, the Catholic University Graduates Movement, the Catholic University Federation, Catholic Action, etc.—have abandoned their traditional submission to the Christian-Democratic Party and the idea of "catholic unity" within one party (an unchallenged postulate in the days of Pope Pius XII—1939-58). They have also given up the equally traditional exclusive claim to Christian solutions of the problems of the modern world. On the contrary, after the council, theological studies began to accept the need for comparing views and ideas with movements of diverse orientation (this is gaining increasing acceptance in the Catholic world).

This found confirmation at the 1972 and 1974 sessions of the World Episcopal Synod.[7] The discussion centred around the problems of "human development", and the documents approved by the synod declare that today evangelisation, or conversion to christianity, must be considered only in the context of human development and the process of national liberation. There were differences on another subject widely discussed—relations between Christians and Marxists. The more realistic ideas came from the Latin-American, African, French and Spanish bishops, and the more retrograde from the Italian, Belgian and Dutch bishops, with their brethern from the FRG and Poland making up the reactionary wing. The Hungarian and Yugoslav bishops took a pragmatic stand. But all were constrained to admit the growing world-wide influence of the socialist countries, and the growing attraction of socialism, notably among the youth.

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[6] Clerical integrationism insists on rigid ideological and political conformity by all believers—*Ed.*

[7] Formed by Pope Paul VI in 1963, as a consultative and information conference —*Ed.*

It was because of the deep-going changes in the world in the present century (the most important being the October Revolution), and, more especially, developments after the Second World War, that prompted Pope John XXIII to convoke the Ecumenical Council. This time, however, not for purposes of excommunication of benefiction, but to sum up a whole period of history. And it is no accident that the concluding chapter of *Gaudium et Spes* (the status of the church in the modern world) is devoted to dialogue, and is addressed "to all people", catholics and non-catholics, believers and non-believers, for all "must help build the world we all share together".

The council supported Pope John's invitation to all men, various forces and movements, to work together for the common good, whatever their ideological differences. The Pope not only drew a distinction between ideologies and historical movements, helping in this way to end religious wars and predictions of a head-on collision, but also formulated the prospect of rapprochement. "Rapprochement and agreement in various fields of temporal life between believers and non-believers, or those whose belief is tempered with doubt, and are therefore misled, can be employed to bring out the truth and its meaning", he wrote in *Pacem in terris*.

In his lecture on "Communists, Catholics and the Struggle for World Peace: The Destiny of Man", delivered on 20 March 1963, or 20 days before *Pacem in terris* was published, Togliatti expressed the view to which our party adheres to this day.

"We have always rejected attempts", he said, "to predict a rapprochement between communists and catholics on the basis of a compromise between the two ideologies. Indeed, we must regard the communist world and the catholic world as a complex of real forces—states, governments, organisations, individual views, various movements—and see whether (in view of present-day revolutions and future prospects) mutual understanding, mutual recognition of values and hence concord and agreement are possible for achieving common goals, because they are necessary, indispensable to all mankind."

Thus the problem has never been to find a compromise between the two ideologies, although it is possible to arrive at common conclusions on this or that issue even if the points of departure are different. It consists in finding the points on which rapprochement and cooperation are possible in the interests of peace and the liberation of all peoples.

This means that dialogue and coinciding aspirations are the only practicable way to build something new and positive, provided, of course, that they lead not to confusion or abstract antinomies, but to the understanding that everyone's ideological arguments are meant to free man from exploitation and suppression of his dignity and freedom. In his report to the 13th Party Congress (March 1972), Enrico Berlinguer, speaking of the ferment

and new trends in the catholic world, pointed out that the Second Ecumenical Council was an attempt "to call attention to what Pope John XXIII described as a 'sign of the times'. Among new developments at the council was the discovery by the church that the central problem is man's emancipation here on earth, and not only his salvation in the hereafter, as well as the conviction that solution of the two problems involves thorough reappraisal of his attitude towards the community."

Indeed, such values as social justice, a new family life, the complete assertion of man's dignity and peace in conditions of broader democracy inside states and on the international scale can now be assured only if the problem of man's all-round emancipation is made central to political activity and if social usefulness is the guiding criterion. It is a question of values typical of movements inspired by socialist ideals. But these values are also dealt with in texts expounding the Christian message After the council, many catholic theologians seemed to have rediscovered the message, ridding it of the mythological and metaphysical elements added by certain trends of Western philosophy.

It is on these new lines that the communist-catholic dialogue has been going on for ten years. It has largely contributed to a change in thinking and behaviour and has given rise to new cultural, social and political processes, as many facts show.

Today it is objectively unhistorical to try to rekindle religious wars or provoke ideological confrontation. Such attempts were made in the closing months of 1975 by some Italian prelates, including Cardinal Ugo Poletti. In anticipation of the municipal elections to be held in Rome in the spring of 1976, Poletti spoke about "a confrontation between the city of god, which is the church, and the city of the godless', supposed to be inhabited by communists. But most people, including many Catholics, and notably the youth, no longer think in terms of "two cities". Everyone wants to live in one "city". The "Roman question" was settled when Rome became the city of all Romans, believers and non-believers. Incidentally, Pope Paul VI admitted during his visit to Campidoglio Palace on 16 April 1966: "Pope Pius IX came here about a hundred years ago but how has everything changed! We have no more temporal authority to assert here... We neither regret nor long for it today, and still less do we have any secret intentions to claim it. As regards the little power that the Pope has it is symbolic rather than real."

Unlike Pope Pius IX (1846-1878), who advocated temporal papal power, Paul VI lays claim to only spiritual authority, which he, moreover, wants to put in the service of mankind, as he solemnly declared in the UN on 4 October 1965. "You are being addressed by a man like yourselves", he said, "one of the men who represent sovereign states. This man represents one of the smallest states. He, too, is vested, in you like to look on

us in that way, with some little, almost symbolic temporal power that is just enough for him to carry out his spiritual mission freely... We have nothing to ask and no question to raise. The only desire we would express is to have your permission to serve you in humility and love."

The statements of Ugo Poletti and the Standing Council of the Italian Episcopal Conference (13 December 1975) certainly point in a different direction. They are intended to reaffirm the ideological incompatibility of Marxism and the gospel ("One cannot be both a Marxist and a Christian") in order to raise obstacles to the process in our country described by Enrico Berlinguer as the "historical compromise". It should also be noted that this position, which is not alien to an influential part of the Vatican or to Paul VI himself, was upheld by certain foreign, first of all American, West-German, Portuguese, Polish, Austrian and Latin American episcopates. They fear that a left-wing municipal council in Rome, with communist participation, would make it easier for the Communist Party to join a national government and help to overcome anti-communism in the world. People might think that if communists are members of the municipal council of Rome—where the Papal See and the leading centre of the catholic church are located—what is to prevent them from controlling other areas?

It is also feared in these circles that if the communists came to power and a socialist society were built in Italy, the existence of that small state, the Vatican, would be imperilled. A large segment of the official catholic press recognises the importance of ICP statements about guaranteeing all freedoms, including religious freedom, but fears that later the situation might change. These misgivings are naturally played up and exploited by all the economic and religious forces which have long had certain privileges (in schools, hospitals, commercial activities, and so on), and enjoy support abroad.

Undoubtedly, the catholic world is deeply disturbed today because a part of its refuses to accept the new realities and clings to the past. But there is another church growing, that of the council, which has adopted the provisions of *gaudium et spes* as its line of action. "The church", this Constitution says, "does not put its hopes on the privileges granted it by the civilian authority" but will operate "for the good of all, in accordance with changes in time and situation". Elsewhere we read: "The political community and the church are mutually independent and autonomous in their respective spheres. But both serve, if in different ways, the personal and collective interests of the same people."

The spread of these ideas among Italian catholics has caused a deep and serious crisis in the Christian-Democratic Party. It is not an unimportant fact that after the 12 May 1974 referendum on the divorce law and the 15 June 1975 elections the more extremist and integralist wing of the CDP

led by Fanfani was defeated within its own party, even though the defeat is not yet complete.

It was this defeat that prompted the more conservative section of the Italian church and the Vatican to announce a new anti-communist crusade, although the times have changed. This phenomenon is typical of Italian catholicism but examples of it can also be found in other countries. It is explained, among other things, by the years-long domination in Italian catholicism of ideological and political integralism and the policy of compromise between church and state.

However, other views are not lacking. They were expressed, in particular, by Cardinal Michele Pellegrino, Archbishop of Turin, in August 1975, upon his return from a tour of Latin America and after a communist had been elected mayor of Turin (June 15). "The great ambiguity of our time", he said, "lies in the fact that Marxism has an ideology of its own and is an instrument of analysis of social, economic and political realities. Marxism is becoming a system of government, of politico-economic action. Now it is clear that as far as ideology is concerned, the opposition is radical. Apart from this, cooperation on all that serves the advancement of man is—I will not say legitimate, but necessary and we must work for this."

This is why the problem of fully emancipating man and thoroughly renovating society is not posed in terms of an abstract ideological confrontation but, first of all, in terms of a confrontation between those who want to lead the commune, region or state in the interests of society and the individual, and those who tend, on the contrary, to promote group and clientele interests to the detriment of the common good.

It is on these problems of moral purity and the attributes of a new, democratic and socialist society that we must now exchange views with the catholics in explicit language, always with due regard to real problems.

We consider that the method of comparison and joint action is the only practicable one today if we want our country to overcome a crisis that is not only economic but also political and cultural because it involves our entire way of life, still praised so much by capitalist forces and by political and cultural movements linked with them, including catholic ones. Many catholics, having rediscovered the authentic Christian message after the Ecumenical Council, commit themselves to the common good as a priority. We consider, therefore, that it is possible not only to hold discussions with these forces but to build together with them a society without exploiters and exploited, a society in which the people's participation, backed by the entire system of representative bodies (parliament, regional, provincial and municipal councils), would make for the gradual spread of different, direct forms of political rule typical of the "higher type of society"—socialist society.

WITH THE PARTY, WITH THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE

We continue our interviews with editors of the central party dailies in the socialist countries.[1] In this one, *Istvan Katona* editor-in-chief of *Nepszabadsag* and member of the Central Committee, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, discusses the role of the newspaper in furthering the party's ties with the masses.

Q. The activity of a Marxist-Leninist party, and consequently of its press organ, is characterised by close ties with the masses and complete devotion to their interests and cause. How is *Nepszabadsag* extending the party's ties with the masses at the present stage, described by the 11th Party Congress as one of building a developed socialist society?

A. Like the newspapers of other fraternal parties, *Nepszabadsag* maintains that extending ties with the masses is not only a distinguishing feature, but also the fundamental basis of party policy. For communists, close ties with the masses is not a means of promoting the interests of the party alone nor is their struggle an end in itself, for it is waged for the sake of the prosperity of the whole nation. Herein lies one of the ultimate goals of a Marxist-Leninist party.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has been convinced by its own experience, of the necessity to unswerving follow Lenin's behest: to strengthen the party's ties with the working class above all, to come closer to, and to a certain degree fuse with, the broadest, including the non-proletarian, masses of working people (see *Collected Works,* Vol 31, p. 25).

While basing its policy on mutual confidence with the working class and all working people, the HSWP bears in mind that the confidence and support of the people, far from being automatically guaranteed, have to be won and constantly enhanced. Looking at the progress of socialist Hungary

[1] Earlier interviews were with M. Zimyanin of the Moscow *Pravda*, G. Bokov of the Sofia *Rabotnichesko Delo,* J. Barechi of the Warsaw *Trybuna Ludu*, J. Herrmann of the Berlin *Neues Deutschland*, in *WMR* for August and November 1974, and for March and June 1975.

over the last twenty years, we not only perceive the continuity and principled nature of the HSWP's political line; we also see how the party's policy was enriched, how its ties with the masses assumed new substance and vigour as it resolved increasingly complex tasks.

Twenty years ago, when he had to defend the gains of socialism, we could not speak of the socialist unity of the nation. Today, when our party is carrying out the task of building a developed socialist society set by its 11th Conress, it is sure of and relies on this unity. This shows that the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, socialist morality and the socialist way of life have taken deep root in the course of socialist construction, forming the basis for uniting communists and non-party people, atheists and believers—all who, despite differences in outlook, link their fate with, and find happiness in, people's Hungary.

It took time to show that the struggle against anti-socialist views is a struggle not against man, but in the name of man. This struggle made it possible to broaden contact with the masses, to explain to those whose ideas did not coincide or even conflicted with communist ideology what socialism really means, and to enable them to find their place in society.

This is how *Nepszabadsag*, too, sees the matter. Just as the party expresses the basic interests of the working class and of the people as a whole, so *Nepszabadsag*, the main daily of the party, is at the same time a paper for the whole people. It is meant for communists and non-communists alike, and takes an active part in the diversified work for the ideological and political education of the masses.

In our work we of course take account of the specific development of Hungarian society, including the present level of social consciousness. We know full well that much still has to be done in this complex sphere, where progress is particularly difficult because of the habits and survivals of the past.

What distinguishes the present situation is that, on the one hand, the working people approve and accept the party's policy, thus helping to build up political unity, which is the main tendency in our development. On the other hand, Hungarian communists have to disseminate even more widely the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, foster socialist consciousness in the masses, and combat anti-socialist views, the emergence of which cannot be ruled out.

That is why the newspaper continuously propagates the party's policy and communist ideology and views, and combats ideas and behaviour that run counter to socialist morality.

Q. Could you tell us in greater detail how *Nepszabadsag* facilitates the HSWP's work in the ideological and political education of the working people?

A. The present task of our ideological and political work is to encourage every citizen to make his code of conduct the motto of the socialist labour

teams, "live, study and work in the socialist way". And we believe the very practice of socialist construction to be the best school for training and for developing an advanced world outlook. Hence the foremost task of *Nepszabadsag* is to draw the broad masses into social and political life.

To carry out this task *Nepszabadsag* regularly reports on the work of front-rankers, and here it is important to avoid triteness, idealisation and unconvincing examples.

Like the newspapers of fraternal parties in other socialist countries, we publish what I might call briefing articles. For example, since preparations for the 11th Party Congress began every Saturday issue of the newspaper has been carrying materials which discuss and explain the most acute and significant political problems.

Needless to say, moral substance, conviction and high principle should be inherent not only in articles of this type, but also in the general trend of the newspaper in the choice of themes, in the way of presenting all materials ranging from editorials to news items.

In our propaganda work we base ourselves on comprehensive, topical and authentic information. Being a daily paper, *Nepszabadsag* tries to inform the reader as quickly as possible on the country's political, economic and cultural life, and on world events. Comprehensive, diverse and prompt information (provided, of course, that promptness is not detrimental to authenticity) helps the reader to perceive the essence of the social processes and to realise his role and responsibility. This, in our view, is the type of information which promotes success in spreading communist ideas, in inspiring the masses and giving them the correct orientation.

While pursuing an open policy based on confidence in the people and talking to them in the language of truth, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and its central committee demand the same of its press organ.

For us, party-spirited journalists, who bring the party's message to the masses, Lenin's behest is a permanent principle of work. "Our propaganda and agitation must be open and above-board", Lenin pointed out. "We must condemn most resolutely those who regard politics as a series of cheap little tricks... Their mistakes have to be corrected. You can't fool a class" (Vol. 32, p. 215).

We believe the truthfulness of information to be the most important requisite for enhancing the prestige of the newspaper as well as of the whole party, for promoting greater confidence in it on the part of both party members and non-party people, and in helping to mould public opinion.

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This fundamental principle, to which *Nepszabadsag* unfailingly adheres, has proved its value in elucidating the present economic crisis in the capitalist world and its consequences.

Considering the limited natural resources of our country, the specifics of

development of the Hungarian economy, and its close ties with the foreign, including the capitalist market, it is not difficult to understand why our economy was somewhat affected by the changes that took place in international economic conditions, especially by the rise in prices of raw and energy-producing materials.

We had to reduce imports from capitalist countries, especially goods which are not absolutely necessary. At the same time we had to increase our exports and revise the prices of some consumer goods.

Bourgeois propaganda tried to exploit these measures to misinform Hungarian and world opinion. In view of this, *Nepszabadsag* explained the true nature of capitalism's economic crisis and its consequences.

The crisis showed that changes in the world capitalist market may affect our socialist economy and that world prices cannot be disregarded in our domestic prices. We said this frankly to the people, and explained to them that even under these circumstances the great advantages of the planned system of economy are not upset. Socialism precluded the upheavals which the capitalist countries experienced and which would have hit Hungary too if it were a capitalist country.

Our country has fulfilled its fourth five-year plan. By raising the efficiency of social production and labour discipline and relying on the conscientiousness and support of the working people and on our strong internationalist ties with the Soviet Union and other socialist states, we were able to make headway in building a developed socialist society. We ensured planned economic development and a steady rise in the people's living standards.

It is indicative that our party's principled stand, which is reflected in the pages of *Nepszabadsag*, compelled the bourgeois propagandists, at least in their broadcasts for Hungary, to give up the fabrications they concocted in connection with the "energy crisis". "Despite the shortage of raw materials and energy," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* admitted, "Hungary has proved to be an economically more stable state than one might have imagined."

The attitude to *Nepszabadsag*, readers' confidence in it (which also means confidence in the HSWP's policy) is evidenced by the fact that in so small a country, with little more than 10 million inhabitants, we have a daily circulation of 750,000 on weekdays and 800,000 on Sundays.

Q. The dialectics of socialist development is such that with social progress the party's guiding role in society grows and life makes greater demands on the party and its organisations, and on every communist. What are the tasks of *Nepszabadsag* in this connection? How does it help party organisations to cope with the complex tasks of building a developed socialist society? What does it do to make every communist a really advanced builder of the new society?

A. That the party plays a leading role in our society has long been a generally acknowledged fact.

But the party has never regarded this role as a privilege. Communists have only one privilege—to serve the interests of the people as best as possible. So it is quite understandable why the 11th Party Congress emphasised that in the context of building a developed socialist society, when the dimensions as well as the complexity of the tasks increase, when advance becomes complicated, higher demands are made upon every party organisation and every communist. And we are not speaking of a short-term campaign, but of day-to-day painstaking and diversified work, better organised and more efficient. What is required is that every communist should live and work in conformity with the Leninist norms of party life; they should constantly improve their knowledge and do their utmost to carry out their tasks.

It would not be easy to enumerate everything *Nepszabadsag* does towards these ends. I shall only touch on a few trends in our activity.

In the first place, we always help party organisations to improve their style of work, to enhance their role and activity. This presupposes, among other things, resolute struggle against bureaucracy, false pretences and formalism.

Secondly, we see to it that party decisions are observed in letter and in spirit. In other words, we work for their accurate and unconditional implementation, and this further enhances the prestige of the party at all levels. We also work hard to accentuate party leadership in economic, social, scientific and cultural activities.

The newspaper is doing a great deal in connection with the current exchange of party membership cards. This will no doubt promote the party's ties with the masses, its ideological and political unity, and the mobilisation of the working people to carry out the decisions of the 11th Congress. The exchange of party cards lends still greater urgency to the demands made by the HSWP upon each of its members.

The party considers the participation of a communist in executing specific tasks to be the main criterion by which to judge his activity. It emphasises that agreeing with its policy is not enough; one must fight for its implementation in order to be worthy of the title of a communist. It is imperative to put this principle into practice: "The more active a man's participation in public affairs is, the greater moral and material encouragement he deserves." This principle, enunciated by the November (1975) central committee plenum, is being popularised by *Nepszabadsag* by highlighting communists who afford a good example both at work and in daily life.

It should be pointed out that this is a very delicate task, above all because it is not in the nature of communists to praise one another. Their

work must be judged by the working people. Besides, it is difficult to give a rounded-out picture of a person. One has to know what makes him forward-looking in the context of the dynamic social advances we are witnessing today, and of the complex processes brought about by the growing scale of industrialisation in our relatively small country.

To illustrate one such process, I shall refer to a fact which is very typical of Hungary. It was recently cited in *Nepszabadsag*. Most rural dwellers who are joining the ranks of the working class today change their places of employment while continuing to live in the countryside. This is the case in the Zala region, where most of the 29,000 people now working in industrial enterprises and urban institutions still live in their villages. On the whole this is no doubt a positive process, since it broadens the influence of the working class and spreads its ideology in the countryside. But there is another point to be considered: the way of life of the new workers, though changing rapidly, retains many of the characteristics of peasant life. This accounts for the peculiar social psychology of that section of the working class.

You will agree that it is not easy to perceive all the complexities of a process of this kind, especially to detect its manifestation in the character and behaviour of people.

Yet, we try to show man in the making, to examine the moulding of his character and fate. This is all the more important since nobody is a "born" communist; each came to the party by his own way, each links his life with the ideas of Marx and Lenin in his own way. Struggle for communist ideals, increased responsibility to society and selfless work—these are some of the things which mould a person into a real communist, a man who cherishes the freedom and happiness of other nations like those of his own people.

When speaking about the demands the HSWP makes upon its members, we mean above all a communist's attitude to his work, his contribution to the solution of the tasks set by the party congress. At the same time we remember that as socialism advances and prosperity standards grow, the problem of the way of life becomes even more urgent. No wonder this problem takes up much space in the pages of *Nepszabadsag*, which regards combating individualism, indifference, hypocrisy and negligence as one of its major tasks.

These qualities are particularly intolerable when they show up in the activity and mode of life of executives. While constantly enhancing confidence in our executives, we call for the top offices to be given to people who are devoted, and capable of working with zeal and initiative, receptive to the new and voice their opinions openly. "To be a communist, a party functionary, or a public figure", Comrade Janos Kadar told the 11th Party Congress, "does not mean holding a lucrative post; it implies duty,

work, struggle, selfless service to the ideas of communism, to the cause of the working class and the whole people." This is how the HSWP sees the duty and responsibility of executives, and it is from this standpoint that it judges their work.

This approach fully accords with the basic principle by which we are guided in allocating personnel and which underlies the entire social life. The essence of this principle is that all top posts are open to all Hungarian citizens; the only qualifications are political maturity, professional training and executive ability.

The inculcation of respect for staunch champions of socialism, for those who show others an example by their labour and behaviour, is definitely a central objective in the propaganda activities of the party and its press organ. At the same time, we shall continue to fight tirelessly against everything that hampers our advance, "against the sluggishness and deterrent forces of mediocrity, for mediocre work is no help in building a developed socialist society," as our Premier, Gyorgy Lazar, once said in the State Assembly.

In this case, too, the tested instrument of the party is criticism and self-criticism. The critical writings of our newspaper embrace a wide scope—form raising serious economic problems and analysing the work of one party organisation or another, to criticising individuals and defending those in need of help.

Our editorial board knows full well that the prestige of the party's central press organ is in many ways the prestige of the party itself, and that the confidence of the reader in the newspaper depends not only on the level of criticism, but also on how prompt and efficient are the measures taken to eliminate the shortcomings revealed. We try to make our paper more effective by informing our readers of the results of all criticisms made, and if necessary we return to a subject that was already discussed.

In coping with this task we base ourselves on the existing Statute of the press and on central committee instructions concerning the dissemination of information. These documents formalise not only the principles of party criticism, but also the obligation of the organisations and institutions concerned to tell the editorial board in good time about what was done to rectify the shortcomings revealed.

Generally speaking, I would like to emphasise that our party stands for all-round development of criticism and self-criticism. Yet we never forget that criticism is not an end in itself, but an instrument for progress. If we just criticised shortcomings and mistakes and did nothing to rectify them we would have easily lost sight of our general objective and find ourselves in a blind alley.

It is said in our country that criticism is particularly painful in two

cases: when it is truthful and when it is unfair. There is a great deal of common sense in this saying. At any rate, bearing in mind what a strong weapon the press has in its hands, we try to make rational use of it, and the most important thing is that we are always aware of our responsibility. That is why *Nepszabadsag* does not often err.

Q. What forms of work, including organisation, does *Nepszabadsag* use to strengthen ties with its readers?

A. To engage in politics, Lenin said, means above all to examine phenomena from the point of view of the masses, rather than from one's personal point of view (*Collected Works,* Vol. 29, p. 230). This requires a knowledge of people, of their interests, needs and moods, and the ability to analyse and even forecast social processes. The party newspaper, with its diverse contacts with readers, plays a considerable role in this respect. Through the letters it receives from the working people, through their responses to particular events, and also with the help of the direct contacts its correspondents have with readers, *Nepszabadsag,* like the newspapers of other fraternal parties, feels, as it were, the pulse of life, gets to know the opinion of the masses, and learns about their needs.

We are particular in our attention to letters from readers. It is their letters that bring to us fresh ideas and topics which really have the "human appeal". Every year *Nepszabadsag* receives about 25.000 letters, and we use them in diverse ways. Every week a page is devoted to the most interesting letters and to reports from our non-staff correspondents. We also print remarks, essays, reports and articles prompted by readers' letters.

Letters containing requests and complaints get special consideration. We have a consultation and complaint bureau, at which any citizen may call. If a complaint is well grounded, the newspaper asks the respective public or government body to look into it and set things right.

Readers' letters are also used for our own information. When we make quarterly reviews, taking account of the letters received, of their contents and of how they were used in the newspaper, we outline the topics of future writings. Thus there is a kind of dialogue between the newspaper and the reader, and this definitely strengthens our ties with the working people.

The diverse use of readers' letters presupposes rather than rules out another form of contact—live contact—between journalists and readers. Jointly with party organisations and industrial enterprises, the newspaper annually organises 30 to 40 meetings with readers, as well as discussions with party workers and activists in regional committees. These meetings and discussions deal with topical questions to be raised by the newspaper.

In party work, especially when complex problems are analysed, in-

creasing use is made of such methods as sociological and public opinion surveys. We try to popularise these methods and employ them ourselves.

While consolidating its ties with the masses, *Nepszabadsag* seeks all-round assistance from the party and its central committee; without their support it would not have achieved the success it enjoys today. Help is received in the diversified practice of journalism, in evaluating the materials printed by the newspaper and in providing our employees with information derived from top-level government bodies.

To conclude, I shall quote what Janos Kadar said at the 11th Congress of the HSWP:

"Over the last 18 years we spared neither effort nor time to explain our views to our allies. We implemented our decisions only after having convinced people of their correctness. That is why our socialist system rests on a firm foundation. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party will always march together with the masses. We have good slogans, including this one: 'With the party, with the people, for the people'. We must remember that even with the best of intentions we cannot make one happy against his will. We must first convince people of the correctness of the road we are urging them to take, and we must try to get them to follow us."

Being the central press organ of the party, *Nepszabadsag* considers it its duty to help the party in every way to extend ties with the masses.

THE EXPERIMENT THAT FAILED

A short while ago some bourgeois papers announced that the Soviet Union was exploiting the labour of foreign workers. The London *Observer*,[1] noting that workers from the East-European countries "have begun to help the Russians" build a pipeline that will bring gas from Orenburg in the Urals to the western border of the Soviet Union, wonders why the communist press denounces the use of foreign workers in developed capitalist countries. There were similar reports in other bourgeois papers, including the London *Times* (in an article entitled "Comecon Experiments with Guest Workers")[2] and the Hamburg *Stern* (in the article "The Red *Gastarbeiter*").[3]

Repeating the *Observer* almost word for word *Stern* wrote: "The Soviet Union has introduced what it formerly criticised as a crude form of capitalist exploitation."

Comments of this kind are a stock-in-trade of the bourgeois press. And they are meant for the credulous: maybe some will believe that the countries of the socialist community, where exploitation is a thing of the past, are resorting to this "crude form" of wage labour. And it is no mere accident the bourgeois press avoids explaining the purpose of the Orenburg pipeline; nor does it give any information about working conditions at the construction site. Had it clarified these truthfully, the ulterior motive of the talk about "exploitation under socialism" would have become obvious.

The bourgeois press purposely uses the word *gasterbeiter* (or "guest workers"), which first appeared in the Federal Republic of Germany a few years ago and is now commonly used in West-European countries. This term means much more than workers of one country earning their living in another; it is, in effect, a social concept which implies ruthless exploitation, discrimination and poor living conditions.

It is destitution and unemployment that compel Greek, Turkish and Italian workers to look for jobs in France, Belgium and Federal Germany. The work is hard; labour power is cheap, which means additional profits for the capitalist and helps him cope with the economic crisis.

[1] *The Observer*, 16 November 1975.

[2] *The Times*, 29 November 1975.

[3] *Stern*, 27 November 1975.

The labour of participants in socialist international construction projects in general, and that of the builders of the Orenburg pipeline in particular, has nothing in common with immigrant labour. They do not work for capitalists, but for the worker-peasant state. They are not driven by poverty and unemployment, for they have been doing very well in their own countries. It is for the good of their own country and of the socialist community as a whole that they go to work in other socialist countries. In return their country takes care of them.

The plight of immigrant workers is a disgrace to bourgeois society. Everybody knows how they are being used. The communist press has written about this more than once, and the bourgeois press found itself compelled to comment, too. For instance, the Swedish *Dagens Nyheter* wrote: "The immigrants are supposed to promote higher living standards in Western Europe and then go back to wherever they come from. This state of affairs is maintained by a complicated system of discriminatory measures which confirms the privileges of citizens of the host country and exempts it from the duty to care for the immigrants."[4]

"Guest workers" are engaged in the most arduous and unhealthy jobs. Nearly all the street cleaners in London and Paris are immigrant workers; and in Switzerland and Belgium more and more immigrants are being brought in to work in the mines. Moreover, their wages are much lower than those of native workers engaged in the same trade and having the same qualification.[5] Yet they have the longest working week.

The specialists working in all sectors of the Orenburg project are highly skilled. Take, for instance, the Polish group: it is made up of 1,100 men, including 265 engineers and technicians, 100 welders and 300 mechanisation experts; the rest are fitters and general building workers.

Wages are high—the pipeline is being built in complex conditions—and on the whole higher than that of Soviet building workers.

Most immigrant workers in capitalist countries live in dirty and overcrowded slums which lack elementary conveniences.[6]

Under the terms of the agreement on the building of the Orenburg pipeline, each signatory country erects housing complexes for its specialists. This work has been completed and the Orenburg builders have received well-appointed houses and can avail themselves of canteens, shops, hospitals, and libraries with fresh newspapers and periodicals, and books in their native languages. Apart from engineers, bulldozers drivers and welders, each country has sent its own doctors, nurses and librarians.

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[4] *Dagens Nyheter*, 1 December 1974.

[5] In France they get 10 to 20 per cent less.

[6] Although immigrants account for only 8 per cent of the population of France, they make up 24 per cent of the total number of people in need of housing.

One can easily guess why the bourgeois press has concocted the fabrication about the Soviet Union employing "guest workers".

The already grim plight of the foreign workers have been further aggravated by the current economic crisis. It is mostly they who were hit by the crisis and by the entailing unemploment. No wonder statesmen in a number of capitalist countries (for example, West German Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Walter Arendt) are talking about the need for rigid measures to restrict immigration.[7] But employers have vigorously opposed all restrictions, thereby showing once again that they have no intention of giving up the additional profits they derive from the poverty and rightlessness of foreign workers.

That is why bourgeois propaganda is trying to assure the public that exploitation of foreign workers is a universal phenomenon, existing both in capitalist and socialist society. Since it is impossible to prove this, it resorts to distortion of the facts by means of "sensational" reports about "red *gastarbeiter*" building the Orenburg gas pipeline. The authors of such reports obviously want the reader to believe that the Soviet Union has been hushing up the fact that it employs foreign workers at its projects.

But the fact that the socialist countries often undertake international construction projects is well known, and such projects get wide coverage in the press of the socialist countries. For example, nobody denies that long before the Orenburg pipeline began to be built, Bulgarian workers were working on timber-felling sites in the Soviet Union, that a large group of Soviet specialists worked on the construction site of a soda ash plant in Bulgaria, that Soviet specialists participated in the building of the Prague metro, that Hungarian hydrologists and geophysicists helped their Mongolian colleagues locate new water sources in Mongolia, and that youth detachments from member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance have of late been coming to Siberia to help build the Ust-Ilimsk industrial complex.

When coping with complex economic problems jointly, countries of the socialist community pool not only their financial and material, but also their manpower resources. This is fixed in a clause of their comprehensive programme of socialist economic integration, adopted way back in 1971. It stipulated "the use of building and assembly organisations, manpower and the necessary material resources of the participating countries in building projects for the production (transportation) of the products which these countries want to receive."

The building of the gas pipeline running from Orenburg to the western border of the USSR is yet another example of the CMEA countries' success in realising their plans. A *WMR* correspondent has interviewed A. I. Sorokin, deputy minister for oil and gas development and honourary

[7] *Der Spiegel*, 8 December 1975.

president of the International Gas Union. This is what he told our correspondent:

"The exploitation of the gas deposits in the Orenburg region and the building of a huge gas pipeline running to the western border of the USSR is of vast importance to the European countries of the socialist community. Their demand for natural gas is rapidly increasing, but to build an industrial complex for the extraction and transportation of gas involves enormous difficulties and expenses. The present project provides for the laying of a pipeline 2,750 km. in length and 1,420 mm. diameter, with a working pressure of 75 atmospheres, and construction of 22 powerful compressor stations. The builders will have to overcome about 170 water barriers, including the Volgograd reservoir, the Dnepr, the Don, the Dnestr and other rivers; about 200 km. of the line will pass along the Carpathian range.

"In the summer of 1974 the heads of government of Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Rumania, the USSR and Czechoslovakia signed in Sofia an agreement on cooperation in developing the Orenburg gas deposits and in laying a gas pipeline running from Orenburg to the western border of the USSR. Under the terms of the agreement, the participating countries provide equipment and specialist personnel.

"With the help of Soviet building organisations experienced in the installation of gas-transportation systems, the national groups lay separate sections of the pipeline in their own sectors of the pipeline's route; each of the sectors presents equal difficulties.

"When the pipeline comes into operation in the autumn of 1978, each of the countries participating in its construction will get 2,800 million cubic metres of natural gas a year. Rumania, whose only commitment is to supply equipment for a gas-processing plant in Orenburg, will receive 1,500 million cubic metres of gas annually."

The countries of the socialist community will continue to resolve major economic problems by means of joint building projects, as stipulated in their plans. Besides being economically expedient, projects of this kind are, as it were, a school of internationalist education. It is this aspect that comrade L. I. Brezhnev referred to when he said: "When tackling specific economic problems our countries see to it that economic ties are not only mutually advantageous, but take full account of one another's interests. Comradely concern for the successful development not only of one's own country, but also of other friendly socialist states, is the highest expression of socialist internationalism."

All-round cooperation between the socialist countries will continue to broaden and deepen no matter how the bourgeois press tries to distort the facts.

— V. Vladimirov

"WE ARE USEFUL EVEN AFTER DEATH"

J. A. Mella : Documentos y Articulos (Mella : Documents and Articles), Havana, Editorial de Ciencias Sociales. Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1975, 622 pp.

Fidel Castro, speaking of the early history and roots of the victorious revolution in Cuba, pointed to the close connection between the fight for independence and the fight for social change. "Our revolution", he said in his speech on the 50th anniversary of Cuba's Marxist-Leninist party, "is part of a process that began in 1868[1] and has been going on ever since" (**Revista de la Casa de las Americas**, November-December 1975, p. 3).

Yet chroniclers of the heroic Cuban revolution, which transformed this Antillean island into the first free territory and first socialist country on the American continent, failed to take this into proper account, at least until recently and above all outside Cuba. The reason must have been the widespread lack of knowledge of the history of a people that was the last in Latin America to smash the chains of Spanish colonial rule and the first to find itself in the clutches of US imperialism. The Cubans' unrelenting and courageous struggle, first against colonial oppression by Spain and then against neocolonialist domination by the United States, was punctuated with heroic but fruitless attempts to win freedom. Regrettably, many of these attempts, except the great flare-up marking Jose Marti's[2] valiant effort, went unnoticed by the world, and indeed, many Latin American countries.

The founding of the Havana Institute of the History of the Communist Movement and Socialist Revolution of Cuba was a noteworthy step towards studying the Cuban people's struggle for liberation. An

[1] In 1868 the Cubans began their national liberation war against the Spanish colonialists—*Ed.*

[2] Ideologist and leader of the liberation movement against Spanish rule, founder of the Cuban Revolutionary Party (1892). He fell in the armed struggle against the Spanish colonialists.

indication of this is the collection **J. A. Mella : Documents and Articles** published by the Institute. It comprises all the works known so far of Julio Antonio Mella, an outstanding revolutionary, co-founder of Cuba's Marxist-Leninist party.

The reader is bound to be amazed at that short yet eventful life, at the scale and variety of what Mella accompanied within a mere six years of politcial activity. He lived at a pace that today we might describe as supersonic. He had done a job of vast importance before he turned 26.

Mella was born in Havana on 25 March 1903, and died in Mexico city on 10 January 1929 at the hands of hired assassins sent by Gerardo Machado, dictator of Cuba, a flunkey of the US imperialists.

At the very beginning of his revolutionary career, Mella saw the world-historic significance of the October revolution in Russia and of the great mission of the working class. In collaboration with Carlos Balino,[3] he founded Cuba's first Communist Party in 1925. Forced to emigrate to Mexico, where he lived from 1926 to 1928, Mella carried on anti-imperialist activity, with the whole South American continent as its area. In March 1927 he went to the Soviet Union after attending a world congress against colonial oppression and imperialism, held in Brussels. What he saw during his Soviet trip found expression in articles he contributed to **Machete**, the Mexican Communist Party newspaper, in his speeches on the achievements of the Soviet system, his participation in anti-imperialist international solidarity campaigns, his exposure of Haya de la Torre's[4] petty-bourgeois reformism, and in his manifold other activities.

In the collection, compiled in chronological order, Mella's ideas and activity merge completely, in an autobiography. One gets a similar impression in reading Julius Fucik's famous book, feeling as if one knew the author personally.

We realise that Fidel Castro was right when he said: "Analysing Mella's ideological legacy... we see a coincidence between his ideas and the deeds of the Cuban revolution, between what Mella strove for and what the Cuban revolution has accomplished" **Revista de la Casa de las Americas**, November-December 1975, p. 5).

Dedicated to the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba (December 1975), the book is a further indication that those who carried out the Cuban revolution remain loyal to its glorious pre-

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[3] Prominent labour leader who played an important part in disseminating socialist ideas in Cuba and in organising its workers—*Ed.*

[4] Raul Haya de la Torre was leader of the Peruvian pro-imperialist, pro-monarchist party (APRA) —*Ed.*

decessors. Just as Carlos Balino was a revolutionary fighter who established, to use Fidel Castro's phrase, the necessary link between the struggle for independence and the struggle for social revolution, so Mella, who linked the students struggle with the struggle of the working class, symbolises the deep-rooted continuity of the revolutionary process and the ideological unity linking the early Cuban communists with subsequent generations of Marxists-Leninists. Mella's revolutionary motto—"We are useful even after death"—fully applies to himself, for his contribution to the Cuban revolution is truly invaluable.

The book under review has now put Mella's ideological heritage within reach of all revolutionaries, setting off his role in the anti-imperialist struggle of the twenties and in the dissemination of Marx's and Lenin's ideas in Latin America. "The documents and articles in this book", says the preface, "is of value to both those who wish to know better what held Mella's attention in his short but eventful life and those who would like to acquaint themselves in greater detail with the historic events... of 1922-28, a period highlighted by the activity of our legendary comrade" (p. 12-13).

This is why we believe the publication of Mella's literary heritage will arouse interest among the revolutionaries of Latin America.

—JERONIMO CARRERA

THE OUTLOOK FOR CAPITALISM'S ENERGY CRISIS

The capitalist energy crisis, which broke out in the early 70s, raises a number of hard questions. Does it portend the exhaustion of energy resources? Is the world about to undergo radical changes in the production and use of energy? What are the economic, social and political consequences of the crisis? Many of the answers are given in this book,[1] compiled by a group of researchers at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the World Economy and International Relations. The value of the book lies in its in-depth examination of the political implications of the crisis.

It discloses the origins and essential features of capitalism's energy crisis, showing that it stems from the contradictions inherent in the economics and politics of state-monopoly capitalism and imperialist international relations. In investigating the main trends in the development of energy economics, the authors essay a forecast of how they will affect economic growth rates in the capitalist world and capitalism's basic contradiction.

The energy crisis, with all its complexities, the authors stress, is the result of such factors as the disproportion between the production and use of energy in countries of state-monopoly capitalism, the new developments and contradictions in world trade, the impact of political factors, notably the national-liberation struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, the imperialist monopolies' appropriation of the developing countries natural resources, a price structure that gives the latter meagre revenue from the sale of their primary goods and sets high prices on their imported manufactured goods. The monopolies have thus artificially reduced the income of developing countries and maintained the gap between the prices of crude oil and oil products. Both mean higher capitalist profits.

The coincidence of two processes—the discrepancy between the output of energy and the amount needed for consumption in deve-

[1] *The Energy Crisis in the Capitalist World* (edited by Y. M. Primakov, L. M. Gromov and L. L. Lyubimov, in Russian), Moscow, 1975, 478 pp.

loped capitalist countries, (clearly manifested in the late 50s and early 60s) and liquidation of the omnipotence of the International Oil Cartel[2]—were, the authors say, the direct forerunners of the present energy crisis.

The authors refute the contention that the Arab countries are to blame for the crisis. Though the measures taken by them in 1973, during the Middle East crisis, complicated the energy situation in the capitalist world, they were not the primary cause of the energy crisis. Significantly, the main crisis factors continued to operate even after the embargo on oil deliveries to the US and a number of other countries was lifted.

Another important conclusion drawn in this study is that the energy crisis extends to the entire capitalist world system and is the focus of all the sharpened contradictions of capitalism. It reflects the instability of relations between developed capitalist and developing countries and is a major new expression of capitalism's basic contradiction. In the past, the impact of this contradiction on economic development could be moderated through the cyclical mechanism, through overproduction crises. And though this still acts as a brake on expansion of the productive forces, the disorganisation of production and distribution in the capitalist world economy is not confined to crisis periods: there is disorganisation even when there are no recession signals. The discordance between capitalist production relations and the productive forces now presents itself in the more dramatic form of an energy crisis. But this crisis should also be seen in the context of other, non-cyclical processes in the capitalist world—inflation, currency and financial upheavals, the ecological crisis.

Capitalism can no longer count on relatively cheap liquid fuel, the authors say, and this is bound to have far-reaching consequences. The imperialist countries, the US in particular, are spending vast sums on research in cutting energy production costs, economising energy, devising new methods of its production and use, prospecting, and on other means of solving the energy problem. Energy policy has become the scene of sharp competition and a factor for growing international rivalry, especially between the US, Western Europe and Japan.

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[2] Formed in the 20s and formalised by the Anglo-American agreement in 1945, it is composed of five American corporations, Exxon, Socony Mobil Oil, Texaco, Gulf Oil and Standard Oil of California, one British, British Petroleum, and the Anglo-Dutch Royal Dutch Shell. In 1972 the cartel accounted for about 60 per cent of the capitalist world's oil output and for between 85 and 90 per cent of oil exports from developing countries.

Numerous facts are cited to show the state of energy sources and supplies in capitalist countries, the stepped-up production of energy, changes in production costs and prices, the scope and structure of state-monopoly energy programmes, and the use of internal resources to reduce dependence on imports.

In their search for a way out of the crisis, the monopolies and the imperialist states try to shift all the expenditure on to the working people. In this context the authors spell out the proposals made by a number of communist parties to resolve the crisis and implement a national energy policy in the interests of the people and social progress. Reflected in these proposals is the all-important fact that the energy industry is highly centralised and is ripe for democratic control, planning and nationalisation. It should be equally clear that the energy problem can only be solved through international division of labour, in which the CMEA countries, and notably the Soviet Union, one of the world's biggest energy producers, play an increasing part. The Soviet Union has made many cooperation proposals and has always regarded its contribution to the development of a world energy economy as part of its efforts to refashion international relations in the interests of world peace.

Crisis processes in the capitalist world pose new problems for the revolutionary and anti-militarist forces. This study by Soviet researchers helps towards their more profound understanding.

— LUTZ MAIER

THE TRUTH VERSUS FICTION

The Ruinous Policy of the Peking Leaders (in Mongolian), Ulan Bator, 1975, 87 pp.

Some of the articles appearing in the Mongolian press over the past two years exposing the policy of the present Chinese leadership have now been put out in a volume titled **The Ruinous Policy of the Peking Leaders.**

It analyses the essence and implications of Peking's great-power chauvinist foreign policy. Special attention is devoted to such anti-scientific concepts as "poor and rich countries", "two superpowers", etc. The articles show up the Maoist leaders' open resistance to detente, their attempts to discredit the ideas and principles of collective security, and their readiness to join forces with the most rabid reactionaries. "The Peking leader's great-power hegemonistic policy, their opening of a new front against the socialist community and the international communist movement have deprived Chinese foreign policy of all class content" (p. 45) is the conclusion drawn in this book.

Much of it is devoted to exposure of Peking's anti-Mongolian policy. Evidence is cited to show that Mao Tse-tung's great-power proclivities go back to 1936, when he openly made a perfectly unfounded claim to Mongolia. The Maoists did not abandon that claim even after diplomatic relations were established with the Mongolian People's Republic.

The Maoists are trying to prevent Mongolia's friendship with other members of the socialist community. To that end they resort to the most unseemly methods and violation of the elementary principles of international relations. The list includes political blackmail and economic pressure, threats of armed intervention and—as was only to be expected—ideological subversion. Their most vicious attacks, and their crudest slanders, are aimed at Mongolia's fraternal friendship with the USSR and the latter's foreign policy. In asses-

sing these actions of the Peking leaders, Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, first secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and Presidium Chairman of the Great People's Khural, has said: "It should be emphasised that the cynical anti-Mongolian policy of the Chinese leaders is animated by deep hatred of the Mongolian people, its free and independent development, and its most cherished gain, indestructible fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union. The Chinese leaders' policy and actions in relation to Mongolia are based on great-power and colonialist claims inherited from the Chinese militarists and the Chiang Kai-shek clique."

The book reveals the true nature and methods of the Maoist ideologists and their use of half-truths and outright distortions of history to provide a "scientific" basis for Peking's expansionist propensities. Significantly, official histories put out in Peking openly extol the conquests of Genghis Khan, describing him as the "unifier of Chinese lands". They also justify the savage suppression of the Dzungarian khanate[1] by troops of the Ching dynasty in the mid-18th century, and deny the contribution of the nomad peoples of Central Asia to world civilisation and culture.

The articles in this collection show that Maoist ideology and theory are in crying contradiction to Marxism-Leninism. Convincing evidence is adduced to expose the demagogic use and gross distortion of the concept of proletarian dictatorship, that cardinal tenet of Marxism-Leninism.

The book is expressive of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party's principled stand in safeguarding the purity of Marxism-Leninism and promoting unity of the international communist movement on the principles of proletarian internationalism.

B. Lhamsuren

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[1] An independent state which in the 17th and early 18th centuries controlled Western Mongolia. In 1756-58 Manchuro-Chinese troops invaded Dzungaria and massacred its population.

KENYA'S YOUNG WORKING CLASS

R. Sandbrook, **Proletarians and African Capitalism,** the Kenyan Case, 1960-1972, Cambridge University Press. 1975, 222 pp.

Among the books about developing African countries one does not often come across studies, especially from non-communist authors, dealing with the role and place of the working class. It is only natural therefore that every study of the working-class movement in African countries attracts special attention.

"Proletarians and African Capitalism", by Richard Sandbrook, Assistant Professor at the Department of Political Economy, University of Toronto, is one of such few works. It looks at the trade-union movement in Kenya, in the period from 1960 to 1972, and its relationship with the national bourgeoisie.

Speaking of the road Kenya is following, the author notes that, with its relatively developed industry as compared with other African countries, Kenya is an example of a state which has chosen the capitalist path of development despite government statements about commitment to socialism. To increase industrial output rapidly, laws have been enacted to encourage foreign capital and the national private sector. Considering the structure of the Kenyan economy, the author arrives at the conclusion that foreign capital dominates in all its sectors, including agriculture. In other words, Sandbrook maintains, a "dependent capitalism" has arisen in Kenya, whose further development depends upon the continuous flow of capital and skilled personnel from abroad (pp. 3-28).

The book deals at length with the social structure of Kenyan society. Roughly 90 per cent of the population resides in rural areas, most of them peasants possessing small plots of land. Each plot is ordinarily cultivated by one family using the most primitive implements. At the same time the author notes that a process of social differentiation, though not sharply pronounced, is developing in the countryside.

The author points out that groups performing the function of p- litical, administrative and ideological leadership, have taken shap[illegible] in the country. He calls these groups "the political class" [illegible] that they represent the interests of foreign capital, the local [illegible] geoisie and the big African farmers, and that they abuse their [illegible] sitions to enrich themselves (pp.19-23). It should be pointed [illegible] that Marxist-Leninist literature, too, notes the formation [illegible] developing countries of ruling groups which claim to have [illegible] ed an intermediate, a "third" road of development, "neither [illegible] geois nor proletarian". While admitting that these groups [illegible] independent political force, Marxist scholars do not regard [illegible] a "class".

Wage-earners are as yet a small contingent comprising about [illegible] fourth of the country's gainfully employed population. Only [illegible] cent of that contingent are employed in industry concentrated [illegible] Nairobi and Mombasa. The author maintains that these categor[illegible] workers represent an emerging proletariat whose class conscious[illegible] does not always prevail over tribal consciousness.

In this connection the author examines the role of trade unions in forming class consciousness, their place in the country's politic[illegible] and economic life, and the history of the trade-union movement b[illegible] ginning with the first organisations that came into being in 19[illegible]. Although, as the book emphasises, in those years the colonial autho[illegible] rities tried to bring the unions under their control and keep them away from politics, the union leadership was compelled, under rank and file pressure, to advance political demands.

Presenting the picture of the trade-union movement as it is today, Sandbrook stresses that to ensure its complete loyalty both to the government and the ruling party, many laws have been passed, ranging from the law which prohibits any strike action to the law whereby the secretary-general of the Kenyan Federation of Labour is appointed by the president of the republic.

The book pays special attention to the relations between the trade-union leadership and the rank and file, and also with political leaders. In this case the author, in our view, somewhat exaggerates the significance of the subjective factor and tribal identity. He considers the desire to retain the top posts to be the mainspring of the behaviour and action of the union officials, the secretary-general included. Sandbrook also maintains that factionalism in the unions is due to competition between individual leaders who resort to bribery and use their tribal identity to recruit followers. The author says this competition is also one of the causes of disunity in the working-class movement.

The last part of the book, entitled "The Working-Class Struggle", an attempt to sum up the results of the research. It says, in particular, that Kenyan workers have developed only a trade-unionist consciousness, and are prepared to act only for immediate economic interests. In Sandbrook's view, this is due to the absence of a socialist vanguard. At the same time, he points out that in recent years the rank-and-file have been putting increasing pressure on their leaders, demanding more vigorous action of them. They also want more active and militant people in the leadership.

The objective conditions, Sandbrook concludes, the steadily sharpening class antagonisms in a country where the exploitation of the working people is becoming increasingly severe, are revolutionising the consciousness of the working people, above all the Kenyan proletariat. With the growth of its awareness and militancy, the proletariat's influence on the peasantry and other labouring strata also increases. And it today, as the author suggests, the government still controls the trade union leadership in the interest of the ruling elite and foreign monopolies, the growing activity of the working people may alter this situation and make the trade-union movement more militant.

—ZAHI KARKABI

NEW BOOKS

V. I. Lenin, KPSS o bor'be s natsionalizmom. Dokumenty i materialy (Lenin and the CPSU on the Struggle Against Nationalism: Documents and Other Material), Moscow, Politizdat, 1975, 319 pp.

The collection comprises writings by Lenin, extracts from some of his works, and CPSU documents exposing the reactionary theory and practice of nationalism. It shows nationalism's close connection and ideological and political kinship with right-and "left"-wing opportunism. It also deals with the party's uncompromising fight against every manifestation of nationalism and analyses the experience in founding and consolidating a mutlinational state, in eliminating nationalist prejudice and uniting working people of every nationality on the principles of proletarian internationalism.

R. Page Arnot, **South Wales Miners.** A History of the South Wales Miners' Federation 1914-1926, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 350 pp.

The author is known to the British working class as a historian intensely concerned with the miners' struggles. His previous work was devoted to the Scottish miners. This new monograph deals with the 1912-26 period, specifically the first general strike (1926), whose 50th anniversary will be commemorated by the international working-class movement this year. The **Morning Star** considers the book invaluable to those who want to learn the lessons of past battles so as to be successful in today's struggle.

Voprosy teorii i zhizn (Theoretical Problems and Life), Sbornik statei, Moscow, Pravda Publishing House, 1976. 415 pp.

Articles on key aspects of the life of the Communist Party and the people between the 24th and 25th party congresses. They deal, in particular, with problems of perfecting the party's political, ideological and organisational guidance of communist construction, achievements in the economic and cultural spheres and in the promotion of socialist democracy, and gains of the Party's leninist foreign policy.

Mike Davidow, **Cities Without Crisis,** New York, International Publishers, 1976. 264 pp.

The author, born in New York, was Moscow correspondent of the **Daily World** for several years and visited many Soviet cities as a journalist. He concentrates on such matters as job opportunities for all, working conditions, education and culture, the nationalities question, environmental protection, housing, public health and urban transport in the Soviet Union and the United States. He comes to the conclusion that the planned economy, the laws and moral climate of Soviet society, primarily its unfailing attention to the requirements of the individual, spare Soviet citizens the grave social maladies affecting all big cities of America, the crisis of cities included.

Deistvie na ikonomicheskite zakoni pri izgrazhdaneto na razvito sotsialisticheskо obshtesvo (The Operation of Economic Laws During the Building of a Developed Socialist Society), Sofia Partizdat, 1975, 224 pp.

In examining the theoretical and practical aspects of the economic laws operating under socialism, the authors focus attention on the law of planned development of the socialist economy, the use of commodity-money relations, and on some methodological problems of raising labour productivity at a time when the building of a developed socialist society is under way. They show how the Bulgarian Communist Party's policy of raising the people's living standards takes account of the operation of economic laws.

Kopeczi Bela, **A magyar kultura harminc eve,** 1945-1975 (Thirty Years of Hungarian Culture, 1945-1975), Budapest, Kossuth Konyvkiado, 1975. 253 pp.

The themes of this book by the Vice-President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences include culture under capitalism and socialism; the main characteristics and stages of socialist cultural policy; the functions of science, art and literature in society; the socialist world outlook and the socialist way of life.

Kritika Burzoaznich a revizionistickych koncepci statu a prava (A Critique of Bourgeois and Revisionist Conceptions of the State and Law), Prague, Academia, 1975. 620 pp.

This collection of writings by Czechoslovak scholars shows the theoretical inconsistency of contemporary bourgeois conceptions of the state and law. It also makes a general assessment of the views advanced by revisionists in various periods of history, and of their attempts to distort socialism's fundamental principles regarding the state and law.

Marian Malinowski, **Geneza PPR** (The Genesis of the Polish Workers' Party), Warsaw, Ksiażka i Wiedza, 1975. 547 pp.

A monograph by a Polish historian covering the period from the late thirties to the mid-forties. It shows the Polish communists'

contribution to the fight against the threat of nazi aggression and elucidates the organisational activity of the Polish Workers' Party (PWP), which, during the fascist occupation, lost no time in forming party cells in all key areas of the country and, together with other democratic forces, brought into being a ramified anti-fascist underground movement. The author makes a detailed analysis of the conditions in which the PWP was founded and shows how its activity affected the country's fortunes.

La questione giovanile (The Youth Question), Rome Editori Riuniti, 1975. 83 pp.

In this collection of articles, Italian communists look into new developments in the youth and student movement of capitalist countries, expound their Party's stand on youth problems and tell about the work of the ICP and Communist Youth Federation among students and young workers.

Serge Paganelli, Martine Jacquin, **Peugeot, la dynastie s'accroche** (Peugeot: The Dynasty Adapts Itself), Paris, Editions sociales, 1975. 156 pp.

The authors—Serge Paganelli, a former worker at a Peugeot plant, now secretary of a FCP federation, and Martine Jacquin, a communist who taught for years in the neighbourhood where the plant is situated—expose the inhumanity and demagoguery of the French industrial magnates. Investigating the Peugeot dynasty, which has a history of more than a hundred years, they show how it rules its empire by stick and carrot. The book is an indictment against the monopolies. The story about the pioneers and the present-day fighters of the working-class movement, and about the party nuclei at Peugeot's, evinces confidence in the ultimate triumph of the French working people.

Sotsializm, nairamdal enkh taivny zamaar (On the Road of Socialism, Friendship and Peace), Ulan Bator, Ulsyn Khevleliin Gazar, 1975. 114 pp.

A collection comprising speeches made on the 50th anniversary of the Mongolian People's Republic by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU, and Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, and Chairman of the Presidium, Great People's Khural.

THE WORKING CLASS OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY

The working class makes a decisive contribution to socialist and communist construction. It is both the leading social and political force of society and the largest and growing population group.

The following table shows how the social composition of Soviet society changed at various stages of socialist construction.

CLASS COMPOSITION OF THE SOVIET POPULATION
(per cent)

	1939	*1959*	*1975*
Total population, including non-working family members	100	100	100
Wage and salary earners	50 2	68.3	82.9
Wage earners	33.5	49.5	60.9
Collective farmers and handicraftsmen in cooperatives	47.2	31.4	17.1
Individual peasants and handicraftsmen	2.6	0 3	0.0

Wage-earners, including their families today make up 60.9 per cent of the population in the Soviet Union, 60.8 per cent in Czechoslovakia, 58.0 in Hungary and about 50 per cent in Poland.

By far most of the wage earners of the CMEA countries are now concentrated in industry, the leading sphere of social production. In 1974, industrial workers made up about 49 per cent of the working class of the CMEA countries of Europe, the percentages for the various countries being about 50 in Bulgaria and Rumania. 45 in Hungary, about 60 in the GDR, 50 in Poland and 48 in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

Prepared by the Institute of Socialist World Economy, Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

The greater part of the working class is in large engineering plants where conditions are more favourable to raising the workers' professional, educational and cultural standards, class consciousness and activity in labour and politics.

In the GDR, in 1974 the enterprises employing over 1,000 people accounted for 65.9 per cent of all wage and salary earners and the enterprises with more than 5,000 people for 26.4 per cent, and in Czechoslovakia for 90.3 and 26.6 per cent respectively. In Poland, in 1973 over half state industry employees (50.3 per cent) were in enterprises employing from 1,000 to 5,000 people. In the Soviet Union, personnel in industrial enterprises employing from 1,000 to 10,000 or more make up 68.7 per cent of those engaged in industrial production.

The communist and workers' parties of the CMEA countries see one of their important tasks in raising the educational and proficiency standards of the working class. This has an important bearing on the leading position of the working class and expediting scientific and technological progress. The proportion of workers engaged in automated and mechanised operations is increasing fast, giving rise to new trades and skills. The demand for highly skilled workers with specialised secondary or higher education is growing rapidly. Soviet industry, for example, has up to 700,000 diplomaed specialists doing workers' jobs, and by 1990 their numbers will have increased to several million. In every thousand workers there were 396 with a higher or secondary education in 1959, 586 in 1970 and 697 in 1975.

In Poland, persons holding workers' jobs included about 23,000 technologists with a secondary education in 1964 and over 150,000 in 1972. In Bulgaria, the proportion of skilled workers has increased almost fourfold in the past 20 years.

In Hungary, the number of skilled and trained workers has more than trebled in 25 years (1949-74) and comprises 66 per cent of industrial workers.

In the GDR, roughly 19 per cent of young workers have a higher or specialised secondary education, 68 per cent have vocational training and only 13 per cent begin untrained. In 1962-71 the share of skilled workers rose from 31.6 to 43.6 per cent. Systematic primary or extension training is given to roughly two million workers a year.

In Rumania, over one million people received various forms of training in 1951-55 and 2.4 million in 1971-75.

In Mongolia, over 90 per cent of workers are skilled.

In Czechoslovakia, the number of industrial workers in 1962-74 increased by 24 per cent, and skilled workers by 54 per cent.

Labour productivity is steadily growing. We estimate that by raising labour productivity the CMEA countries achieve an 87-95 per cent increase in the national income and a roughly 75 per cent increase in industrial output. Higher productivity is brought about chiefly by using technological innovations equipping workers with greater technical facilities and organising production more effectively.

As the socialist economy develops and grows stronger, the living standard of all the people, including the workers of course, improves significantly.

In recent years the communist and workers' parties of countries of the socialist community have carried out a series of measures to raise wages, pensions and grants, and to increase public consumption funds.

Substantial changes have occurred in wages and salaries. In Bulgaria, for instance, the proportion of wage and salary-workers who earn up to 80 leva decreased from 12.5 per cent in 1971 to 4.1 per cent in 1974 and of those earning 81 to 100 leva, from 19.6 to 15.3 per cent. At the same time, the number of those earning between 151 and 250 leva increased from 39.5 to 48 9 per cent.

In Czechoslovakia, in 1970-73, persons engaged in the socialist sector of the economy (exclusive of members of agricultural cooperatives) who earned from 601 to 1,400 crowns a month dropped from 20 2 to 11.7 per cent and those in the 1,401-2,000 crowns bracket, from 35.6 to 30.5 per cent. In the 2,001-3,000 crowns bracket, however, their number increased from 35 to 41.6 per cent and in the case of those earning over 3,000 crowns, from 9.2 to 16 per cent.

In the GDR, wage and salary-earners' families with a monthly income of up to 600 marks dropped from 24.9 to 7.7 per cent in 1965-74 and those in the 600-800 mark bracket from 21.9 to 9.9 per cent. At the same time, those in the 1,200-1,400 mark income bracket increased from 6.6 to 19.6 per cent. in the 1,400-1,600 mark bracket from 2.8 to 14.6 per cent and those over 1,600 marks from 2.5 to 19.4 per cent.

It is important to note that cash incomes went up while the prices of food staples and other necessities stayed fixed or were lowered. As a result, the real incomes of Soviet wage and salary earners per working person in 1974 increased by 61 per cent over 1960 and by 31 per cent over 1970. In other CMEA countries, real wages and salaries went up as follows (1960=100):

	1970	1974
Bulgaria	130	161
Czechoslovakia	127	146
Hungary	130	147
Poland	119	162
Rumania	147	165

The workers of the socialist community take an active part in economic management and in the work of trade unions and other organisations that are vehicles of production democracy. In the Soviet Union, the institutions of production democracy are general meetings, various forms of public control and standing production conferences. Conferences now involve over six million people two-thirds of whom are wage-earners. In Poland it is the trade unions that play the main role in organising the participation of enterprise staff in management. Specifically, they see to the development of worker self-management bodies, such as production conference. Functioning effectively in Hungary are such institutions and forms of enterprise democracy as production conference, conferences of workers or workers' delegates, meetings of socialist work teams and team leaders, a youth parliament, and managing council meetings There is also an effective system of production democracy in all other CMEA countries. The leading role of factory party organisations is an important aspect of every form of production democracy. They take the initiative in socialist emulation and other fields, join in the drafting and implementation of decisions, supervise the activity of the management and take steps to improve the functioning of democratic bodies.

An important form of encouraging the activity of the working class in production and in public affairs is socialist emulation which involves virtually all working people. The emulation movement promotes diverse forms of cooperation between enterprises of com bines, improves production organization, labour becomes more efficient, and greater opportunities arise for the development and application of the workers' creative abilities. Communist and workers' parties promote the emulation movement in every way. In the Soviet Union, over 83 million competed for the pre-scheduled fulfilment of the Ninth Five-Year Plan (1971-75) and over 50 million have joined the movement for a communist attitude to labour.

Production innovators, who are mostly blue-collar workers, take an active part in the emulation movement. In the GDR, the number of innovators has almost doubled since the Eighth Party Congress

and was 1.4 million in 1974. Every fourth person working in the production sphere is an innovator. In the Soviet Union, the number of rationalisers and inventors increased by 40 per cent in 1965-74 and the savings resulting from their proposals went up 130 per cent.

The steadily increasing leading role of the working class is an objective law of socialist society. Workers actively influence every aspect of life in their country primarily through the Communist Party, the vanguard of the working class and all the people. They make up the largest contingents of communist and workers' parties in the countries of the socialist community. Workers constitute the following percentages of the party memberships: Bulgarian Communist Party, 40.6 per cent; Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, 44.1; Socialist Unity Party of Germany, 56.6; Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, 59.2; Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, 30; Polish United Workers' Party, 40.9; Rumanian Communist Party, 48.4, and Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 41.6 per cent.

Another important mechanism for giving expression to the will and interests of the working class is the workers' extensive participation in local as well as the highest government bodies guaranteed by a democratic electoral system.

To cite some examples, 101 of the 400 deputies elected to the Bulgarian People's Assembly in 1971 are engaged in material production;

—of the 350 deputies to the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia, 88 are workers;

—of the 352 deputies to the National Assembly of Hungary elected last year, 157 are of working-class origin;

—64 per cent of the deputies to the People's Chamber of the GDR and 63 per cent of the deputies to local government bodies are wage and salary earners;

—one-fourth of the deputies to the Great People's Khural of Mongolia elected in 1973 are workers;

—90 of the 460 deputies to the Polish Sejm elected in 1972 are workers;

—33 per cent of the 349 deputies to the Grand National Assembly of Rumania elected in 1975 are engaged in material production;

—of the 1,517 deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR elected in 1974, 498 are workers.

The working class of the socialist community is more than 97 million strong today. It is a great force uniting the peoples of fraternal countries in socialist and communist construction and exerting ever stronger influence on the world revolutionary process. It is a force building a new life in the name of the future of mankind.

STRIKE MOVEMENT IN LATIN AMERICA

Latin America is today a continent of sharp class contradictions. Imperialist rapacity, crying social inequality, millions living on the edge of starvation, shortages of bare essentials, high unemployment, soaring prices, repression and fascist terror—such is the reality in many of its countries and the background to the peoples' fight against imperialist appropriation of their natural wealth, against oppression by the landed oligarchy and ruthless capitalist exploitation.

The working class is in the van of this struggle. It has grown not only in numbers (as reflected in more trade-union organisation), but also in militancy and class consciousness. The struggle of the working people is being raised to a higher plane and is increasingly oriented on anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchical aims. This largely determines the character of the powerful strike struggles of 1975.

In **Argentina**, no less than 28 million people[1] were involved in strikes, which meant the loss of 262 million man-hours. The mass strike movement was triggered by the nearly 60-day stoppage at the Villa Constitucion steel mills (March-April), which paralysed the whole of the steel industry and many other branches. It was supported by workers throughout the country.

The many demonstrations in support of collective agreements developed into a general strike on July 7 and 8. It was essentially a political strike against the government's shift to the right, carried out under pressure of the reactionary forces led by Social Welfare Minister Lopez Rega. It was one of the most powerful and well-organised actions in the whole history of the Argentine labour movement and played a decisive part in forcing the resignation of the fascist-minded minister.

[1] By way of comparison, in 1961-71 there were about 130 million strikers in the whole of Latin America.

Besides the two general strikes there were 1,100 labour conflicts, as against 511 in 1974.

The following tables, compiled by the propaganda commission of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Argentina, show the dynamics of the strike struggle in the first eight months of 1975 and the industries affected.

TABLE 1

1975	*Number of strikes*	*Number of persons involved*	*Man-hours lost*
January-May	252	1,266,885	21,114,137
June	202	10,084,400	62,379,638
July	274	12,294,110	132,828,865
August	75	1,990,890	15,330,225
Total for 8 months	803	25,636,685	231,652,865

TABLE 2

Industry	*Number of Strikes*
Farming	13
Manufacturing	435
Civil service	150
Service industries, including liberal professions and middle strata	205
Total	803

Two national strikes were carried out by the General Confederation of Labour, 26 by its local or provincial organisations, 260 by local trade unions, 27 by national unions and 488 at individual factories.

Significantly, most of the strikes were called in defiance of the trade-union leaders, who shun the class struggle and are prepared to work out a deal with the employers.

In 1975, Argentine workers had more frequent recourse to "active strikes", i.e. sit-in stoppages, mass rallies and demonstrations, and coordinated action with other industries. There were also marches of strikers to the towns, joined on the way by workers of other factories.

The 1975 strike movement in Argentina demonstrated anew the

class consciousness of the workers. Economic and social demands[8] were attended by a persistent struggle for political rights, trade-union and democratic freedoms. Indicative in this respect was the strike of 1,500 workers at the Sierra Grande mines, the country's biggest source of iron ore. It began on 8 October and lasted 45 days, with the strikers occupying the mines to press their demands for higher wages and better conditions of work, and also for democratic trade-unions and more social rights. It was not an easy battle, because the trade-union leadership tried to prevent the strike and the ministry of labour denounced it as "illegal" and "subversive". It had wide political reverberations throughout the country. In the end, it was brutally suppressed by the army and police.

Despite the terror and repressions, the strike movement has not subsided. On the contrary, it is more closely linked with the popular democratic and anti-imperialist struggle, in which it plays a prominent part. The workers are countering the threats, arrests, kidnappings, and terrorist acts against trade-union leaders and militants, by strike action, mass meetings and demonstrations. Metro, power, steel and engineering workers and journalists called strikes in protest against the terrorist fascist Anti-Communist Alliance of Argentina. There have also been protests against ultra-left actions.

The strength of the Argentine strike movement lies in the militancy of the masses, who are steadily ridding themselves of the reformist illusions inculcated over many years, cementing their class unity and electing tested fighters to trade-union posts. All this creates the conditions for a successful popular struggle against the threat of a fascist coup.

The strike movement is growing in other Latin-American countries, too. One example is **Colombia**, where last year there were 109 strikes involving 197,550 workers of town and country. As in past years, the teachers were especially active, with nearly a 100 per cent increase in the number of strikes over 1974 and nearly a 300 per cent increase in the number of participants. Whereas in 1974 there were no solidarity strikes, last year there were four, in addition to many civil strikes, that is, involving the entire population of a town or smaller community. The proletariat played a leading role in all these actions.

The number of strikes carried out under the leadership of the Trade Union Confederation of Colombian Workers, which adheres to a class position, has increased. Some of these strikes were orga-

[8] Powered by the fact that in 1975 living costs rose by 338 per cent, while real wages declined by nearly 15 per cent.

nised in collaboration with the Union of Colombian Workers and with workers belonging to no union centre—evidence of the increased unity of action of the working class. It should be noted that the Confederation of Colombian Workers, which is influenced by the ruling party, carried out only three strikes in 1975. The following tables show the trend of the strike movement in 1974 and 1975.

TABLE 1

	1974		*1975*	
	Number of strikes	*Number of strikers*	*Number of strikes*	*Number of strikers*
Manufacturing industry	29	12,760	34	20,409
Building industry	4	7,000	1	80
Teachers	16	31,240	31	109,300
Clerical and service industry workers	18	21,560	27	39,286
Agriculture	7	10,230	7	9,070
Mining	1	30	0	0
General Strikes	0	0	1	10,000

TABLE 2

totals	*1974*	*1975*
Strikes	75	109
Strikers	82,820	197,550
Stoppage days	1,360	2,366
Man-days lost	940,000	1,700,000

The above data show that in 1975 the number of strikes and strikers as well as that of man-days lost, especially in the manufacturing industry, was greater than in 1974.

In **Venezuela,** the number of strikes showed some increase in 1975 despite a split in the working-class movement. The strike called by the Maracaibo workers, who demanded nationalisation of the oil industry without compensation and took a stand against the formation of mixed companies with imperialist participation, assumed a political character. Iron ore miners of Guayana and teachers fought hard for their vital interests throughout the year. Protracted labour conflicts also took place in various enterprises.

In 1975 the strike movement intensified in **Guyana,** primarily in

the sugar industry, with the workers pressing for their economic demands and for recognition of their trade-union organisation.

In **Ecuador**, most oil-bearing areas became public property as a result of mass actions by the workers and peasants. Of special importance was the 12-hour national strike involving 500,000 wage and salary earners and peasants. The strikers insisted on ending imperialist interference in the country's domestic affairs, on firmly resisting the anti-popular activity of the big bourgeoisie and landed proprietors, on nationalising the companies supplying food stables, and establishing a minimum wage. The strike was indicative of the people's desire for fundamental change. The Communist Party of Ecuador assessed it as a historic act of democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle.

Even in countries ruled by brutal dictatorships, the authorities were unable to check the working people's growing struggle in spite of barbarous repression and continuous persecution of fighters adhering to class positions.

The military fascist junta of **Chile** tried in vain to break the will of the working class and other working people fighting for their economic demands and the restoration of trade-union freedoms, against savage repression. The junta's attempts to impose a labour code failed because all trade-unions rejected it. In spite of the tremendous risk involved, the working people called several strikes last year. Mention should be made of the strike at the national health centre which foiled the authorities' plan to transfer it to private hands and forced them to reinstate the dismissed employees.

All the nine strikes of the El Salvador miners, who demanded the release of their arrested fellow-miners, ended successfully. The working people's actions take diverse forms, such as the refusal of workers at the Fanalosa plant to work overtime.

In spite of rampant reaction, strikes continue in **Uruguay**. Some of them paralyse whole industries. In some cases the workers occupy the premises. Militancy and resolve marked the strikes of 1,200 workers at the Cerro meatpacking plant, of building workers, bank employees, doctors and power station workers at Salto Grande and dairy workers, as well as sit-in strikes on the national railways. In a number of plants, work was broken off during the collection of signatures to a demand for higher wages.

In **Brazil**, which has been ruled by a fascist dictatorship for more than eleven years, the authorities regard strikes as a "crime against the state". Nevertheless, the working class has not stopped fighting for its immediate demands, against the high cost of living, low pay and the employers' arbitrary practices.

In **Bolivia**, there were powerful strikes involving over 30,000 miners of the Siglo XX, Catavi, San Jose and other mines, widely backed by the people.

In spite of enormous difficulties and dangers, the working people of **Guatemala** and **Paraguay** are taking a militant strike action.

The actions of the working people of Latin-American countries whose governments are opposed to imperialist domination and carry out radical social and economic reforms, are of a different nature. In **Peru**, the worknig class takes a resolute stand against the reactionaries' efforts to re-establish the old order. Not long ago imperialist agents tried, without success, to provoke a national strike. The General Confederation of Workers of Peru described this as another attempt to undermine the revolutionary process and do away with social and economic gains.

The working class of **Panama** firmly supports the patriotic government under General Omar Torrijos, which is carrying on a difficult struggle to extend national sovereignty to the Canal Zone, and against the US companies plundering the country. The working people have scored important economic and social gains. These include a labour code largely meeting the workers' interests and an extra month's wages.

In view of the upsurge in the strike movement on the continent and growing anti-imperialist sentiment among large sections of the population, special importance attaches to the organising activity of communist parties, the vanguard of the working class. By building up their influence, they strive to ensure that the working class plays the role of leader in class battles and in the fight against imperialism and its agents, for radical revolutionary change paving the way for socialism.

The deep economic and political crisis besetting most of the Latin-American countries heralds new class struggles in which strikes, the tested weapon of the working class, will continue to play a tremendous role.

—Alberto Kohen, Alvaro Mosquera

RUIN OF FARMERS IN WESTERN EUROPE

Crisis phenomena in today's capitalist economy have a painful impact on the condition of large groups of the West European population, including the farmers. Growing inflation and taxes and continuing monopoly expansion reveal the economic weakness of most farms. Unable to weather these adversities, hundreds of thousands of farmers liquidate their farms.

AGRICULTURAL ENTERPRISES (THOUSANDS)

Country	*1960*	*1974*	*% decrease*
Belgium	269.1[1]	150.9	43.9
Britain	461.2[1]	273.4	40.7
Denmark	196.1	129.9	33.8
France	1,918.0[4]	1,397.0[5]	27.2
FRG	1,617.7	1,067.2	34.0
Netherlands	308.1[1]	169.1[3]	45.1
Spain	3,007.2[2]	2,560.3[3]	14.9
Sweden[6]	264.7[7]	138.9[3]	47.5

[1] 1959
[2] 1962
[3] 1972
[4] 1963
[5] 1975
[6] Farms of less than two hectares
[7] 1961

The data given here and elsewhere are official.

It is primarily the smaller farms that are ruined. In England and Wales, the number of farms of up to 12 ha. decreased from 159,600 in 1964 to 72,900 in 1973, or by 54.3 per cent. And farms ranging from 12 to 40 ha. diminished by 24.9 per cent—from 88,400 to 66,400. In Denmark 51,600, or 56.4 per cent of the smaller farms (up to 10 ha.), went bankrupt in 1960-74, and the number of farms between 10 and 20 ha. fell by 16,600, or 30.5 per cent.

The ruin of farms is a result of capitalist concentration of agri-

cultural production. This process is so intense in Western Europe today that the very meaning of the terms "small", "medium" and "big" farms is changing continuously. Farms which only a few years ago were considered relatively big are at best medium-sized today and, moreover, find themselves on the verge of bankruptcy. In West Germany, the number of 15 to 20 ha. farms, held perfectly viable until recently, has been dwindling ever since 1969. In 1973 there began a decline in the number of farms next in size, or those taking up 20 to 30 ha. In England and Wales, 7,000 "medium-sized" farms (40 to 120 ha.), or 11.7 per cent of the total number, disappeared between 1964 and 1973. In Denmark, where this category comprises 20 to 30 ha. farms, their number decreased from 26,200 to 23,400, or by 12 per cent, in 1960-74. Some of them merged but most were liquidated.

Thus the process of "washing out" increasingly effects medium-sized farms, whose owners could count on a relatively stable existence until recently. Today they are victims of inflation and competition.

To be sure, the degree of profitability and the social boundaries separating groups of farms vary from country to country. In Britain, farms are much bigger than in any other capitalist country on the continent. But the general tendency is that most farms fall into the lower social groups.

The ruin of farmers results in an outflow of man-power from agriculture, with the proportion of wage workers diminishing faster than that of farm owners. The latter try to retain their farms, though they are no longer profitable, by dismissing their workers and making greater use of technical facilities and relying solely on the labour of their families.

The dismissal of farm labourers has only delayed, but not prevented, the ruining of the farmers.

It is very likely that more and more small and meduim-sized farms will be eliminated, for virtually all farm hands are already concentrated in the large capitalist agricultural enterprises.

The state increasingly encourages the liquidation of farms that have become unprofitable by granting a cash allowance to their owners. They are paid the allowance till pension age. This method of putting capitalist farming on a "sound" socio-economic basis, of removing "unviable" elements, forms an important aspect of the Common Market's uniform agrarian policy, which aims at a swift restructuring of agriculture. It is most widely applied in France, where 479,000 farmers were forced out of agriculture by this policy alone (from 1966 to late March 1975). Ever since 1966, this system

has been gaining ground in West Germany, where 31,000 farmers had liquidated their farms (totalling 280,000 ha.) by late 1974 in exchange for cash allowances. The more "traditional" devices for encouraging capitalist concentration of agriculture, particularly the market mechanism, the system of agricultural credits, taxation, and "selective" subsidies (for big farms), still play an important part. In the face of the steadily increasing rate of inflation in recent years, descrepancies in the prices of goods sold and bought by farmers are becoming an effective means of eliminating "unviable" farms.

DISCREPANCIES IN PRICES OF FARM PRODUCTS AND INDUSTRIAL GOODS USED IN BRITISH AND WEST GERMAN AGRICULTURE

	Prices in 1974—percentage of increment over 1969	
	Britain	*FRG*
Farm produce	163	112
Capital goods for farming:		
Feeds	209	134
Fertilisers	233	122
Fuels, lubricants, electricity	187	141
New farm machinery	158	131

The faster growth of agricultural capital-goods prices is rapidly pushing up the production outlays of farms, thereby lowering their profitability and extending the range of unprofitable farms doomed to ruin.

— G. FAKTOR

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION OF JOURNALISTS

The International Organisation of Journalists (IOJ) was founded in Copenhagen thirty years ago (June 1946) by newsmen of 21 countries. It is the first internationalist association of progressive and democratic journalists who put their talent and professional skill in the service of peace, international understanding and the cause of eliminating fascism, national and racial hatred and militarism. The IOJ comprises national organisations, groups and individual members representing 109 countries. Its membership now stands at 150,000.

An association of professional journalists, the IOJ sees its objectives and tasks in protecting the right of every people to fair, unbiassed information, in safeguarding freedom of the press, fighting against the arbitrary methods and oppression practised by monopolies and financial groups in the sphere of mass information and upholding the right of every journalists to write as his conscience and convictions prompt him. An important activity of the organisation is to resist the spate of deceit, slander and systematic misinformation produced by the bourgeois mass media.[1] The IOJ regards it as its sacred duty to help progressive and democratic journalists who are persecuted.

A basic principle of IOJ activity is full respect for the independence of national unions and groups and of individual members. It is by joint effort that the organisation searches for ways and means of achieving closer unity on creative lines and of strengthening the impact of democratic journalism. The IOJ helps to increase the role of free and truthful information in the struggle of progressive forces aaginst reaction and in the battle of ideas, and supports all steps prompted by the interests of the peoples to improve the

[1] At the moment the *IOJ* seeks the complete eliminations of the effects of the cold war, especially such ugly products of its as Radio "Freedom" and "Free Europe". It has launched a campaign for the closing down of these CIA mouthpieces and their expulsion from West Germany because it considers that the activity of the Munich centres of psychological warfare, slander and misinformation runs counter to the letter and spirit of the Helsinki documents and to elimentary standards of fair reporting.

exchange of information on the understanding that the sovereignty, laws and constitution of every state as well as its moral and ethnical standards, will be scrupulously respected.

Inasmuch as the mass media have tremendous possibilities of influencing public opinion and ultimately world politics, the IOJ strives to ensure that these possibilities are used for creatng an atmosphere of confidence and goodwill in international relations. Democratic journalism has notable achievements to its credit due primarily to the principled, meaningful and varied activities of the mass media of socialist countries. The influence of progressive journalism in capitalist countries, which has gained much experience in combating imperialist propaganda, is likewise growing. The national organisations of journalists of developing countries are becoming ever more active.

The highest authority of the IOJ is its congress, convened every four years, and in between congresses, the Executive Committee headed by the Presidium. Everyday work is carried on by the General Secretariat, which has had its headquarters in Prague ever since the Second Congress (1947). There are two standing committees set up by decision of the Sixth Congress (Berlin, 1966). The Social Committee (Sofia) sees to improving the social, economic, professional and legal conditions for journalistic work. The Professional Committee (Bucharest) concerns itself with improving the skill of those active in the mass media and helps to train journalists, especially in developing countries.

The oranisation's schools in Hungary and the GDR—six to eight-month refresher courses for journalists—have so far trained over 500 students from Africa, Asia and Latin America. In view of the popularity of this form of training, the IOJ plans to open similar schools in Bulgaria, Iraq and Cuba with the aid of the journalists' organisations of these countries.

The IOJ is preparing for its Eighth Congress, due to meet in Helsinki in September 1976. The congress should play an important part in deciding on the main lines of development of democratic and progressive journalism in the closing quarter of this century. Struggle for peace, social progress, democracy and the freedom of peoples has always been the organisation's motto.

— JIRI KUBKA
General Secretary, IOJ

POLITICAL POSTERS IN CONDITIONS OF ILLEGALITY

The People's Party of Iran (Tudeh) is operating in conditions of strict illegality. Advancing concrete slogans, it strives to unite the masses, isolate reactionary and pro-imperialist forces, with the working people for its position on political, economic and social problems of the nation and heighten their political awareness. With due regard to the degree of the people's literacy and political consciousness, it attaches special importance to visual propaganda, carried on chiefly by means of political posters. Most of the posters' authors are party members. In selecting themes, they give priority to problems agitating the mass of the people.

The regime's anti-democratic policy is admittedly dominated by SAVAK, the political police. It spreads suspicion and fear and resorts to torture, secret murder and other inhuman methods in an effort to silence the people.

The crimes of the political police led to the appearance on house walls of the poster "If you and I rise, so will everybody else. But who will act if we sit back?" Another poster expressing protest bears the caption "Iran as it is".

The regime uses savage terror against progressives, first of all against our party. Thousands of democrats are in prison, with communists in particularly harsh conditions. In June 1974 Parvis Hekmatdju, member of the CC PPI, was murdered in jail. A poster brought out in this connection quotes from his military court speech. "The ardent love I feel for my country, the people and my comrades, for all who are fighting for the working people's happiness, my love for the working class of my country and the world, my esteem for all champions of lasting peace among nations, and a strong desire to see people happy prompted me to take the path of struggle and self-sacrifice", he said.

Another two patriots—Golesorkhy, a noted poet, and Daneshian, a stage director—were executed in February of the same year. Their only "guilt", the court told them, was "being Marxists". Though neither belonged to the PPI, the logic of the struggle to free the people from imperialism and reaction and achieve freedom and progress led them to adopt the Marxist-

Leninist world outlook. A poster put out after their execution quotes Golesorkhy's fiery call for unity and solidarity:

"We must love each other, friends,
And when angered, we must roar like the Caspian.
Our voices are feeble when they sound singly,
So let us raise them in unison,
For unity leads to victory."

The experience of underground work shows that posters illustrating the selfless fight of communists and other patriots have a tremendous impact on the younger generation and help it to join in struggle.

The working class of Iran is growing fast in step with the development of capitalism in town and countryside and is more than three million strong already, according to official data. It must close its ranks if it is to play an effective role in the country's economy and politics. This task is stressed by the poster "The working class is the decisive force".

— Hamid Safari

DIARY

World Marxist Review was represented at the 25th Congress of the CPSU (February 24-March 5) by Editorial Board members Pavel Auersperg (*WMR* Executive Secretary. CP, Czechoslovakia), Sarada Mitra (CP, India) and John Pittman (CP, USA). At the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, the congress was also attended by the following members of the Editorial Board and Editorial Council: Adel Haba (Iraqi CP), Zahi Karkabi (CP, Israel), Alberto Kohen (CP, Argentina), Badamyn Lhamsuren (Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party), Karoly Lipkovics (Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party), Rodny Ohman (Left Party—Communists of Sweden), Milton Paredes (CP, Hondudas), the representative of the South African CP, Michele Rossi (Italian CP), Vladimir Shundeyev (*WMR* Executive Secretary, CPSU), Sergio Sierra (CP Uruguay), Betty Sinclair (CP, Ireland), Dimitr Stanishev (Bulgarian CP), Rudolf Wettengel (Socialist Unity Party of Germany), Tadeusz Wrebiak (Polish United Workers' Party) and Barbu Zaharescu (Rumanian CP).

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Alberto Kohen, Editorial Board member, representative of the Communist Party of Argentina on *WMR*, attended the 22nd Congress of the French Communist Party at the invitation of its Central Committee.

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Baker Ibrahim, Political Bureau member of the Iraqi Communist Party, who visited the offices of the journal, described the political situation in his country and his party's activity. Ways of promoting cooperation between the journal and the ICP were discussed during the visit.

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Al-Hamiri, Central Committee member of the United Political Organisation—National Front (UPONF) of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Assistant General Secretary of the Central Committee in charge of ideological matters, paid a visit to the editorial offices of *WMR*. At an enlarged meeting of the journal's Commission on Problems of the National

Liberation Movement in Asia and Africa, he described how his country was building the new life. Questions of extending cooperation between the journal and the UPONF were also discussed.

* * *

WMR Editorial Council members Amath Dansoko (African Independence Party of Senegal) and the representative of the South African CP, as well as Vsevolod Rybakov, head of department in the journal, took part in a symposium devoted to criticism of non-Marxist conceptions of socialism in African and Arab countries. The symposium was organised by the Institute of Oriental Studies, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 25TH CPSU CONGRESS

BORIS PONOMARYOV
Alternate Member of Political Bureau and Secretary of Central Committee, CPSU

The 25th Congress of the CPSU met at a point when mankind had reached an important frontier in its historical development. This is largely the result of the successes of the Soviet Union and other socialist states, the marked progress in assuring peace and preventing a thermonuclear world war. Socialism has considerably strengthened its positions. The anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist struggle of the labouring masses has gained in intensity. The authority and militancy of the working class has grown. Many communist parties and other democratic forces have made significant progress. The gains of the national-liberation movement have widened the scope of revolutionary-democratic transformations in dozens of countries.

Today the connection between world progress and the Soviet Union's steady advance to communism is more obvious than ever.

This found especial expression in the militant spirit of proletarian internationalism that pervaded the congress and in the enthusiasm with which the delegates of Lenin's party welcomed their comrades in the fight for our common lofty and noble aims. For the Soviet communists this was, in a way, an encounter with millions of friends from all parts of the world, from North America to New Zealand, from Scandinavia to South Africa. The fraternal delegations could feel the steady and strong pulse of the Soviet Union. And they took away from the congress a graphic picture of what our Leninist party and the Soviet people achieved in the past five years and of the great tasks ahead. They told the congress of their own work, problems and struggles, often waged in the most difficult conditions. This panorama of the international revolutionary movement revealed its immense richness, multiformity and irrepressible dynamism.

The whole world commented on the calm confidence and substantiated optimism of the Central Committee report delivered by the party's General

Secretary, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. This outstanding party document gave an interpretative generalisation of the manifold and complex problems the party is solving. The profound examination of problems in which not only the Soviet people, but the people everywhere, have a keen interest; the combination of practical solutions with their theoretical substantiation; examination of the pressing tasks of building communism in their broad international context, in their bearing on the work of consolidating the positions of world socialism, in the general context of the struggle for international peace and security, for social progress—all this combined to give the congress a truly international tone and significance.

The 25th CPSU Congress was a demonstration of the Soviet people's achievements *in all fields of communist construction.* As L. I. Brezhnev noted, the ninth five-year plan was unparalleled in terms of absolute growth of industrial output, investment and scope of social programme. The USSR now holds first place in the world in output not only of coal, iron ore and cement, but also in steel, oil, mineral fertilisers and certain other items.

The basic socio-economic targets have been reached. This applies, above all, to the main goal set by the 24th CPSU Congress, viz raising the people's living standards. Per capita real incomes are up by nearly one-fourth. Grants and other benefits out of public funds are up 40 per cent. Housing conditions have been improved for 56 million people.

"Under the leadership of the Communist Party", the Central Committee report emphasised, *"a new and long step was made in the ninth five-year plan period in building the material and technical basis of communism, in raising living standards and assuring the country's security."*

All this is eloquent evidence of the strength and social health of the Soviet system, of its limitless opportunities, its ability to solve the most complex economic and scientifico-technical problems in the interests of the working people.

What are the reasons for this uninterrupted growth of the Soviet economy from year to year, from decade to decade? Why is the Soviet economy free of recessions, crises, inflation, monetary upheavals, bankruptcies, unemployment, and all the other things that are part of the capitalist system?

The advantages of the Soviet economy are rooted in the very nature of socialist society. Economic development, its orientation, pace and proportions, are determined not by monopolies fighting cutthroat competition to maximise their profits, but by the socialist state, which expresses the interests of the people. And guided by these interests, the CPSU and the Soviet government see to it that the publicly-owned means of production are used in the most rational and effective way. The striving for constant perfection, to have things go better and better, keep the economic and socio-political

mechanism working at top efficiency in the interests of all the working people—this is an inherent feature of the Communist Party and the socialist system, which has but one aim, the people's well-being.

Both in the reports to the congress and in the speeches of delegates representing 15.5 million Soviet communists, there was the firm conviction that the targets of the new, tenth five-year plan will be attained. In discussing what had been accomplished and what still had to be done, the delegates spoke in business-like tones and with a strong sense of responsibility.

The assignments of the tenth five-year plan, formulated in the Central Committee report and in the report presented by Comrade A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on the main guidelines of USSR economic development in 1976-80, take into account the more long-range perspectives and continue the line worked out at the 24th Congress.

This implies, above all, further improvement of prosperity standards, better working and living conditions, substantial progress in public health, education and culture—in all things that help to form the new man, further improve the socialist way of life and multiply the country's economic potential. The tenth five-year plan centres on higher efficiency and quality. The party is giving priority to all-round acceleration of scientific and technical progress and higher productivity.

Such, in substance, is the Party's economic strategy in conditions of developed socialism, as determined by the 25th CPSU Congress.

The past five years have seen *impressive achievements and victories of world socialism* won by the joint efforts of the fraternal socialist countries. Addressing our congress, their leaders stressed that the decisive precondition for these achievements was and remains the inviolable militant alliance of the communist parties of the socialist states. This alliance is the earnest of the continued development of the socialist world, which has become an irreversible reality of our era.

The advantages of socialism stand out saliently against the background of the deepening general crisis of capitalism, now in the throes of the most serious economic upheavals since the war. It is no exaggeration to say that never before has the superiority of socialism over capitalism, a system based on profit, exploitation and oppression, been so glaringly clear. The superiority of our planned economy over the capitalist, and of the socialist forms of the organisation of society over the bourgeois, has become more obvious still. This largely explains the growing interest in recent years of the broad popular masses in socialism.

The attraction of socialism is now determined by the great role it plays in world development. The socialist community is doing everything to spare mankind the menace of world war, and is paving the way to a new pattern

of international relations based on respect of national sovereignty and equal cooperation. Peoples fighting for freedom and independence can rely on it. As Comrade Fidel Castro declared at the congress: "The objective facts are demonstrating with increasing eloquence that universal peace, human progress and socialism are all interconnected."

The 25th CPSU Congress is one more historic proof of the invincibility of Marxism-Leninism. Everything the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries have achieved would have been inconceivable without the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory. It provides the only correct understanding of the laws and perspectives of social development, making it possible confidently to steer our course in highly complex situations, choose the right road and optimal methods of political action.

There is no other theory, and this has been confirmed by many decades of practice, for refashioning the world in the interests of the working people and for the building of socialism, that new society free of exploitation and oppression. There have been, and still exist, dozens of reformist "models" of socialism and diverse "sociological" concepts, but there is not a single country where they have rid the people of the evils of capitalism and have built a socialist society. Diverse leftist adventuristic "theories" have likewise met an ignominious end. One example of that is the evolution of Maoism, which has led the Chinese people away from the highroad of building socialism and has plunged country into the chaos of voluntarist "leaps", "cultural revolutions", a fierce internecine struggle and, on the international scene, has placed China side by side with the most rabid reactionary forces.

All the voguish talk about Marxism-Leninism having become "obsolete" is refuted by the triumphant onmarch of the new world, of other revolutionary forces. They are scoring successes precisely because they are guided by the theory of scientific socialism.

Those who try to present Marxism-Leninism as a collection of dogmas are wasting their efforts. The dynamism of Soviet society and of the socialist community proves the very opposite. The strength of Marxism-Leninism, the 25th CPSU Congress emphasised, lies in its uninterrupted creative development. That is why it is a reliable basis for the advance of socialism, social revolution. The 25th Congress set an example of creative approach to pressing social problems and furnished new and convincing proof of the universal applicability of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report and other congress materials represent an important contribution to the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

The 25th Congress demonstrated the strength and grandeur of Lenin's party, which expresses the will of the working class and of the entire people and is their political leader. By consistently following the Leninist norms of

party life and implementing the 24th Congress decisions, our party has become stronger still; the action-ability of its organisation has heightened, and the activity and initiative of its membership have increased. One of the most remarkable features of the congress was the way it showed the work of literally all levels of the party, from the political Bureau and CC Secretariat to primary Party units. And that is only natural, for the party's leading role is materialised in the activities of party organisations at all levels and with the active participation of its cadres and all party members. This enables the party to take account of and represent the multi-faceted interests of all strata of society, all groups of working people, all nationalities of the Soviet Union. The party's strength and authority stems from its close unity with the people, from their boundless confidence in the party, its ability to provide constant and effective leadership in every sphere of public life.

The congress devoted special attention to the key factor of Party leadership, the *Leninist style of work*. This, L. I. Brezhnev said, implies "a creative, scientifically grounded approach to all social processes, an approach totally alien to subjectivism. It presupposes exacting demands to oneself and others, rules out complacency and combats all manifestations of bureaucracy and formalism."

Foreign communists attending the congress were greatly impressed, as was also world public opinion, by the fact that criticism and self-criticism had such an important part in the proceedings. There was frank, direct discussion of shortcomings, unsolved problems, everything that is hampering the Soviet people's still faster advance to communism. And all this was discussed against a background of tremendous achievement in communist construction. This sober, critical approach to every aspect of our work is a Bolshevik tradition, a law for the entire Party, an inalienable feature of the Leninist style of Party leadership. "All the revolutionary parties that have perished so far", Lenin said, "perished because they became conceited, because they failed to see the source of their strength and feared to discuss their weaknesses. We, however, shall not perish, because we are not afraid to discuss our weaknesses and will learn to overcome them" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 311).

And true to Lenin's behests, the CPSU is constantly working to centre criticism on the very substance of our work, so that it helps our advance. The purpose of criticism and self-criticism, as the 25th Congress emphasised, is objective appraisal of all aspects of the work of one or another organisation, one or another cadre, so that shortcomings are comprehensively analysed and removed, so that confidence in and respect for our cadres go hand in hand with exacting demands.

Socialist humanism, in its many aspects. was comprehensively discussed as the congress. Socialism is a collectivist system and its humanism is

humanism for millions of working people. This is expressive of the very essence of socialism, which liberates man from exploitation and all manifestations of oppression, of lack of confidence in the future, of alienation and separation, of the need to serve as cannon fodder in the aggressive gambles of imperialism and reaction. Socialist society is doing everything to help man to feel that he is never left to the mercy of fate, that he lives in an atmosphere of good will, surrounded by the solicitude of the state, society, the collective and his comrades.

Embodied in the 25th Congress documents is our party's unfailing fidelity to the Leninist principle that genuine democracy is impossible without socialism, just as socialism is impossible without the constant development of democracy. The anti-communists are now concentrating their attacks on our political system. They are seeking to prove that under socialism economic and social progress is not accompanied by the development of democracy, or even involves restriction of political freedoms.

The experience of the socialist countries clearly shows that all such assertions are totally unfounded. Without day-to-day and conscious creative effort by the masses, without their active participation in the affairs of state, our country would never have scored its present achievements in the economic, cultural or other fields. It was the socialist revolution that ushered in an era of genuine popular rule and made the mass of the population, the people headed by the working class, the master of the country, responsible for its present and future. It has given every honest worker the opportunity to acquire human dignity, become a full-fledged citizen of a stable in which "labour rules supreme".

Socialist democracy is, above all, an instrument of social development in the interests of socialism, the people. As L. I. Brezhnev stated at the congress: "For us democracy means everything that serves the interests of the people, the interests of building communism."

The congress documents, its preparation and its proceedings demonstrated anew that development of socialist democracy is always in the centre of the party's attention. The new USSR Constitution will be a big forward step in this respect.

Taking an overall view of the international significance of the CPSU's accumulated experience in building socialism and communism, we can say:

— the CPSU's experience, open and available to all, contains in a concentrated and generalised form the essence and living image of mature socialism;

— it includes the main principles, based on Marxism-Leninism and tested in practice of building a society free of exploitation and oppression;

— this experience confirms the constantly growing role, in the process of socialist construction, of the Communist Party, the supreme political organisation of the working class and all working people;

— it proves that the growing activity of the masses, their active, conscious transformative constructive effort is an indispensable condition for building socialism and communism;

— the CPSU experience convincingly shows that success can be scored only by consistently combining national and international tasks, only by ably and correctly applying the common laws of the struggle for socialism and socialist transformations to the concrete conditions of the given country.

The 25th CPSU Congress is a new and important contribution to the political and theoretical experience of the Leninist party. It demonstrated to the entire world the great vitality of the Marxist-Leninist theory of building socialism and communism.

The 25th CPSU Congress forcefully reaffirmed the Soviet Union's stable, consistent and clear Leninist policy of peace. It follows from the very nature of socialism, embodies the vital interests of the masses, the working people, who do not need war. That is why Soviet foreign policy is not dependent on any transitory circumstances and does not know conjunctural fluctuations, whether election campaigns or any other circumstances. It is a stable and powerful factor in preserving peace, preventing thermonuclear war and assuring international security. Progressive opinion the world over, as indicated by the wide response to the Congress, feels that the foreign policy so clearly defined by the 25th CPSU Congress is in the interest of the whole of mankind.

No one can now refute the fact that the Soviet Peace Programme has in the five years since the 24th Congress wrought new and fundamentally important changes in world affairs. The cold war has had to give way to detente, and explosive confrontations are being replaced, despite imperialist resistance, by cooperation between states with different social systems, on the principles of peaceful coexistence. The socialist countries now enjoy more favourable international conditions to continue their peaceful construction, and all the peoples enjoy more favourable conditions to strengthen their security and uphold their independence.

Thanks to the persevering and purposeful efforts of the Soviet Union and also of other fraternal countries and the democratic forces in the West, it was possible, in the course of preparing and carrying out the Conference on European Security and Cooperation, to overcome the resistance of the bourgeois circles and groups that tried to sidetrack the conference from its basic tasks. As a result, the conference became an important event not only for Europe, for it helped to diminish the menace of world war and strengthen the principle of peaceful coexistence.

The Soviet Union's foreign policy, its irrefutable and obvious achievements, have dealt a telling blow to anti-communism and have seriously

undermined the myth of Soviet "aggressiveness". World public opinion has come to realise that "socialism and peace are indivisible".

At the same time, in L. I. Brezhnev's report and speeches by delegates and guests, attention was drawn to the fact that, though the positions of the more reactionary and bellicose circles have weakened, and though their opportunities to conduct a "positions-of-strength" policy have diminished, universal peace is by no means guaranteed and the danger of world war has not been removed.

The facts bear that out. The imperialist arms drive continues, with the result that the nuclear arsenal of the imperialist countries is two million times greater than the atom bomb the Americans dropped on Hiroshima. Imperialism is working as never before to perfect its war machine. New nuclear bombs, new aircrafts, new tanks, new missiles—all this betokens the emergence of more modern and more powerful means of mass annihilation, capable of the most monstrous destruction. This buildup of destructive weapons continues to poison the international atmosphere and presents a constant danger to the successes achieved in detente.

The military budgets of the countries of the aggressive NATO bloc continue to increase. Tens of billions of dollars, marks, pounds, francs go into guns and bombs, millions of working people are deprived not only of their piece of butter, but also of their piece of bread, and the already inadequate appropriations for education and public health are used up too. The continuing militarisation of Western countries is one of the causes of inflation, monetary upheavals and growing consumer goods prices.

All sorts of extreme right-wing, anti-communist groups have lately been stepping up their pressure on the policy of Western countries. Fear of the gains of real socialism and other democratic and liberation forces is causing confusion in imperialist political centres. One hears the most contradictory things from there: promises to adhere to the policy of easing international tensions, and cold war threats; protestations of readiness to negotiate, and calls for a military build-up as a means of diktat and intimidation.

All this shows that the nature of imperialism is unchanged, as the 25th Congress stressed. Imperialism is responsible for the fact that preparations for a new world war have not yet been stopped. To end this waste of forces and means, which runs counter to common sense, is beyond the understanding of any normal person and is fraught with a disastrous thermonuclear conflict, means solving the most important and most pressing problem of all.

This was the keynote of the foreign policy programme which L. I. Brezhnev put forward in the CC report to the 25th Congress. In the present international situation, which cannot but cause concern, the "Programme of Further Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation, for the Freedom and Independence of Peoples" is like a sunbeam illuminating the road—the

only correct one today—leading away from the threat of nuclear war to a lasting, genuinely democratic peace. Written in the annals of our age are slogans that appeal to the hearts of all men on earth and call for active effort to:

— stop the arms race;

— end all nuclear weapon tests;

— ban and destroy chemical weapons;

— prevent the creation of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction;

— reduce military expenditures;

— conclude a world treaty banning the use of force in international relations.

The proposals of the 25th Congress were fully supported by the representatives of more than one hundred communist and national democratic parties. This is the authoritative voice of the world communist and liberation movement. Communists carry aloft the banner of peace and call for unity under this banner of all who do not want wars of extermination and realise that a trend of development fraught with endless military confrontations is entirely impermissible.

The thoroughly realistic proposals of the 25th Congress for an end to the arms race, for the banning of nuclear tests and for all states, including the Soviet Union, to reduce their military budgets are perceived with trust also because they come from a country whose defence power is indisputable and which has never sought unilateral advantages. The Soviet Union insists, as everyone knows, on concrete disarmament measures based on strict adherence to the principle of equal security.

The activity of opponents of detente and the stepped-up efforts of those who expect to use the present situation in capitalist countries for reactionary purposes make it imperative for the peoples themselves, for the broadest masses, to influence also foreign policy in still more organised fashion and more resolutely than ever. The international situation imperatively demands increased activity on the part of the workers, peasants, salary-earners, people active in science and culture, men and women of different views and convictions, all who are willing to say an emphatic "no" to a new war and a resolute "yes" to peace and international security. Dissemination of the ideas and proposals of the 25th Congress will doubtlessly energise their struggle.

Closer unity and cooperation among fraternal socialist countries is a key provision of the foreign policy programme of the 25th Congress. Our Party has always followed this line and will do so in future. A strong and closely knit socialist community is a most important factor in increasing the joint contribution of real socialism to a durable peace.

Our party declared at its 25th Congress that the focus is now on the whole range of problems of materialising detente and of reducing, and ultimately removing, the threat of world war. The provision of international conditions ruling out the possibility of a world war would be greatly facilitated by solution of such problem as eliminating the remaining seats of tension, first of all by setting the Middle-East crisis on a fair basis; completely removing all vestiges of the system of colonial oppression and destroying seats of colonialism and racism; abolishing discrimination, removing all artificial obstacles to international trade and doing away with every manifestation of inequality, diktat or exploitation in international economic relations.

There are those in the West who try to make bilateral and multilateral cooperation between East and West serve their selfish political aims and to use it for interfering in the internal affairs of socialist countries. The 25th Congress gave a fitting rebuff to such attempts. The CPSU has always maintained that international cooperation should become an instrument of peace and progress. This is why the Soviet Union favours maximum use of the whole complex of agreements and treaties concluded between socialist and capitalist countries in the previous period. This applies, first and foremost, to the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference. To refuse to go any further in Europe would mean not only failing to use the real opportunity of transforming it into a continent of peace and peaceful coexistence, but also encouraging those who would like to call into question what has already been accomplished.

The new proposals advanced by the 25th CPSU Congress indicate a realistic way out of the impasse into which mankind is being driven by the imperialist policy of war preparations, arms race and confrontation. Imperialism and its defenders and accomplices have nothing to oppose to the theses contained in the proposals of the 25th Congress. They simply continue to harp on what they call the "Soviet menace". Yet the General Secretary of the CC CPSU has said for all to hear that there is no such menace, that it is non-existent. And this is confirmed by the entire content of Soviet foreign and home policy. The CC report sets out the Soviet position on relations with countries of every part and every region of the globe. The CPSU proceeds from the underlying idea of Soviet foreign policy, which is to maintain and promote peace and foster equal and mutually beneficial cooperation in the interests of the peoples of all countries. The Soviet Union's commitment to peace is clearly expressed in its far-reaching, long-range plans of constructive effort in building a communist society in our country.

The timeliness, fullness and constructive nature of the foreign policy programme of the Congress and its peace aims are beyond question. The

proposals contained in it cut the ground from under the feet of those who persist in demanding a build-up of armaments.

The 25th Congress re-emphasised that the Soviet Union wants peace based on strict, bona fide and universal respect for the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between states. Such a peace is an important condition for the progress of mankind, for it safeguards the sovereign right of every people to shape its future freely, without outside interference.

The deeper the roots of detente, the more frequently the class enemy tries to interpret peaceful coexistence as a form of freezing social and economic processes, or, in other words, as a form of preserving the social status quo. A massive anti-Soviet campaign has been going on in the West in recent months, especially since the eve of the 25th Congress. Its purpose is to "prove" that the Soviet Union is using detente as a means of "communist expansion". This blackmail, organised on a large scale, is intended to force the Soviet Union and other socialist countries into renouncing the class principles of their ideology and policy in the name of detente and recognising the "right" of imperialism to interfere in the affairs of other countries, its "right" to "export counter-revolution". The CPSU emphatically rejects this interpretation of peaceful coexistence. It has always held that revolutionary changes can be neither stopped nor imposed. There is no abolishing the objective laws of history, the development laws of human society.

The realistic character and force of the foreign policy line of the 25th Congress are based on the solid foundation of what has been won in carrying out the Peace Programme. "And while world peace has by no means been guaranteed as yet", L. I. Brezhnev stressed at the congress, "we have every reason to say with confidence that the healthier international climate we now have is convincing evidence that achieving durable peace is not a pious wish but a perfectly realistic task. To accomplish it, we can and must work on, sparing no effort." These words, hailed both by congress delegates and guests, expressed the will, resolve and readiness of our party to persevere in its Leninist peace policy.

The 25th Congress fully revealed in breadth and depth the problem of the main trend of world development in the light of the results attained by the two worlds, the two opposed social systems—socialism and capitalism—at the threshold of the last quarter of this century. The CC report and the speeches of delegates and guests showed very clearly that the analysis of the development prospects of modern society made by the 24th CPSU Congress and the 1969 International Meeting has been fully confirmed.

The past five years have been a period of steady progress of the socialist countries, of their confident advance to communism via developed socialist society. In these years the world revolutionary process has grown in scope and strength. It has now become more obvious than ever that only social-

ism can and does solve the social and universal problems of the twentieth century.

Furthermore, developments over the past five years have shown once again that the capitalist system is historically doomed. Who today can seriously entertain illusions about the possibility of delivering capitalism from crisis upheavals, from its crying evils and contradictions? Even bourgeois leaders, "the powers that be", admit the extraordinary depth and comprehensive nature of the current crisis. They admit it but do not know, and hence cannot propose, any real way out of the social impasse into which bourgeois society has been driven by the ruling class and the political parties expressing its interests.

It is the communists who make a scientific analysis of the causes of the crisis and explicitly answer the question of how it can be dealt with. They can make this analysis and give this answer because they proceed from the general laws of social development and transformation, which determine the fundamental unity of their struggle for the working people's interests, despite the immense variety of its concrete forms. "These laws", says the CC Report to the 25th Congress, "which are reflected in Marxist-Leninist theory and have been confirmed by practice, were collectively formulated in detail by international meetings of brother parties. A deep understanding of these general laws and reliance on them, in combination with a creative approach and consideration of the actual conditions in the country concerned, have been and remain a characteristic of Marxists-Leninists."

The struggle against right- and "left"-wing revisionism, against attempts to distort or undermine the Marxist-Leninist foundations of the communist movement, is a common cause of the brother parties. Many delegates and foreign guests spoke of this at the congress. L. I. Brezhnev's statement that Maoist ideology and policy are not only incompatible with Marxist-Leninist teachings, but are directly hostile to them, found a widespread positive response among the foreign guests.

The CC report and speeches by foreign delegates produced a comprehensive evaluation of the successes of the international working-class, communist and national-liberation movements. They pointed out that the joint anti-imperailist action programme of the 1969 Meeting has been largely carried out. In the past five years, many brother parties have appreciably reinforced their ranks and have expanded and strengthened their mass basis. In a number of countries, including Italy, France, India, Finland and Portugal, the communists' positions are so strong that no important problem of political or social development can be solved without regard to their opinion or contrary to the interests of the masses following them.

At the 25th Congress, many comrades from brother parties stressed that the complexity of the situation in which the parties are now operating makes it necessary to take particularly careful account of such important principles as Marxist-Leninist substantiation of their policy, consistency in mass ideological and organising work, the international significance and implications of their actions, a deep understanding of the essence of national problems and of their connection with overall international development. A correct approach to these questions will help to ensure that the devotion and enthusiasm of Communist parties and the strength and readiness for struggle of the masses following them produce maximum results in the interests of the working class and of social progress.

A major subject of the 25th CPSU Congress, one that permeated the discussion of international and all other questions, was proletarian internationalism, effective communist solidarity. The speeches of fraternal delegates stressed that unity of Marxist-Leninist parties is an inexhaustible source of their political and moral power, of their influence and prestige.

It is no accident that bourgeois propaganda is trying to hold up as a bogey the great slogan of internationalism under which the communist movement came into being and has been developing. When some parties advance and uphold this slogan, bourgeois propaganda raises a hue and cry about their alleged claim to hegemony and their so-called attempts to subordinate the interests of some parties to those of others. And when the same slogan is upheld by other parties, bourgeois propaganda accuses them of renouncing their autonomy and independence and of forgetting the national interest.

Internationalism is not a tribute paid by some revolutionary contingents to others, but part and parcel of the Marxists-Leninists' world outlook and activity. It is a factor in their reciprocal, ideological and political enrichment. It implies mutual aid in a common struggle and readiness for joint action against imperialism, for common goals.

Internationalism implies the desire and ability to draw useful lessons from each other's experience. It implies efforts for closer unity of the communist movement and choosing such a form and tone of discussion among brother parties that preclude a sharpening of differences and, indeed, help to eliminate them.

The entire work of the congress, its decisions and conclusions, are convincing evidence of the CPSU's invariable loyalty, as a contingent of the world communist movement, to the principle of proletarian internationalism. The Soviet communists' keen awareness of their historic responsibility to their people and the international working class, to the whole of working mankind, found direct expression at the congress—our party discussed at its highest forum all its affairs in the presence and with the active parti-

cipation of representatives of the revolutionary forces of the world. The congress responded actively and with interest to the problems of the world revolutionary movement raised in the speeches of delegates and foreign guests, and unanimously supported the CPSU line on these problems formulated in the CC report.

One of the important conclusions to be drawn from the international exchange of views that took place at the 25th Congress is that regular meetings and consultations between brother parties on problems of common interest, including complicated or controversial problems, are a fruitful method of assuring the cohesion of the communist movement.

The Havana Conference of Communists of Latin America and the Caribbean, which was also attended by the communist parties of the United States and Canada, played a substantial role in promoting the communist movement. Preparations are continuing for a conference of communist parties of Europe. The CPSU supports in principle the idea of convening a new world meeting of communist and workers' parties.

Communists throughout the world sincerely extend their hand to all who are ready to fight for peace, democracy, national freedom and social progress. They neither isolate themselves from, or counterpose themselves to, other democratic, left-wing forces, but offer them all cooperation on a fair basis, on the principles of equality and mutual respect.

The participation of delegations from 19 revolutionary-democratic parties in the 25th CPSU Congress was evidence of the growing scope of internationalism and the increasing desire of all anti-imperialist forces for cooperation. Many revolutionary-democratic parties see in Marxism-Leninism and in a socialist orientation the key to solving vital problems of their countries, as the speeches of their representatives at the 25th Congress showed. This undoubtedly strengthens the forces of world progress.

The 25th Congress reaffirmed our party's readiness to extend contacts with Socialist and social-democratic parties. Communists are well aware, of course, of the deep-rooted anti-communism and anti-Sovietism of the right-wing social-democrats' ideology and policy. They will continue their principled struggle against views and actions that injure the working-class cause and make it easier for imperialism to interfere in the affairs of peoples fighting for freedom and independent development. But communists also see that positive changes are taking place in the social-democratic movement over a wide range of international issues. An indication of this is that the attitude towards communists is now a central topic of discussion among social-democrats.

The CC report to the congress authoritatively reaffirmed the invariable Leninist attitude of fraternal solidarity maintained by the CPSU and the Soviet people towards all fighters for the emancipation of labour, against

reaction and imperialist oppression. The congress statement "Freedom for the Prisoners of Imperialism and Reaction!" was wholeheartedly approved by both the delegates and our foreign guests, who welcomed it as a forceful and practical expression of genuine internationalism.

Those who are languishing in fascist prisons, those who risk their lives in fighting for the vital interests of their peoples, for the interests of all the disinherited on earth, are our brothers, the salt of the earth, sterling people, exponents of the purest and loftiest ideals. Solidarity with them is the class duty of all communists, an imperative of conscience, evidence of their unfailing loyalty to the ideals of peace, democracy and socialism.

The 25th CPSU Congress will hold a special place in the glorious history of the Leninist party. L. I. Brezhnev described it as "a congress of great accomplishments which proceeded in a realistic and business-like spirit, a spirit of calm confidence in our strength, in new victories of our great cause, the cause of building communism, of our struggle for a durable and just peace on earth".

For our whole party and all Soviet people the 25th Congress is a tremendous ideological and political stimulus. Meetings of party activists and of working people throughout the country warmly and unanimously supported the congress decisions. These decisions were greeted with enthusiasm and a keen sense of responsibility, with genuinely Bolshevik readiness to respond to the party's call by real deeds, by everyone undertaking to accomplish more in his field. The nationwide emulation movement to carry out the programme of the 25th Congress shows that the party's cause is the cherished cause of all Soviet people, communists and non-communists alike.

The congress had widespread international repercussions. It fully revealed the historic significance of real socialism. The world saw the greatness and dynamism of the new society, which has ended oppression and discrimination, in which the working people's living and cultural standards are steadily rising and democracy for the people is expanding, and which has made genuine equality for all and freedom for the individual a reality by abolishing all exploitation. "The very existence of the Soviet Union, all your activities in building the first communist society on earth, and your dedicated fight for peace and security mean as much as sunlight means to our planet", said Alvaro Cunhal, in his speech at the congress.

The world communist movement has highly appraised the results of the 25th CPSU Congress. Decisions of the higher bodies of many brother parties, speeches and statements by their leaders, and their press express solidarity with the CPSU line. Communists throughout the world note that the vast experience of struggle and work embodied in the deliberations of the CPSU Congress will be useful and instructive to all who treasure peace and socialism.

THE WORKING CLASS IN THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST ALLIANCE

RODNEY ARISMENDI
First Secretary, Communist Party of Uruguay

As reported earlier, Comrade Arismendi addressed a meeting of our Editorial Council.

His report on the political situation in Uruguay and in Latin America generally has an important bearing on the discussion on the pages of this journal of working-class allies at the present stage of the revolutionary struggle, a problem central to Marxist theory, strategy and tactics.[1]

The following is an abridged report of his address.

For over two and a half years now our party has been leading the working class and people in the difficult fight against the fascist regime. The Bordaberry dictatorship and the reactionary generals have destroyed all democratic institutions and freedoms, have interfered in the affairs of the university, which they have placed under fascist police agents. The opposition press has been banned. There are about 5,000 political prisoners, and this in a country with a population of 2,700,000! A new wave of terror, the most ferocious since the 27 June 1973 coup, was launched in October. There have been kidnappings, raids and torture. More than 1,000 have been arrested, among them party leaders Jose Luis Massera, Alberto Altesor and Wladimir Turiansky, former members of parliament, intellectuals, political and public personalities. Their lives, as those of Jaime Perez, General Victor Licandro, Hector Rodriguez and other political prisoners held by the

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[1] See "The Working Class and Its Allies, *WMR*, July 1975 E. Pastorino, "In the Vanguard of the Anti-Imperialist Struggle", September 1975; L. Muller, E. Macaluso, G. Panicidis, R. Kenny, "The Peasantry in the Struggle for Democracy and Socialism", October 1975; I. Sinha, "The Condition and Revolutionary possibilities of the peasantry", November 1975; A. Escala, "The Socio-Political Positions of the Intelligentsia", November 1975; H. Safari, "Need for Scientifically Clear Concepts", November 1975; P. Vasquez, "Role of the Intelligentsia in the Class Struggle", December 1975; S. Sudiman, "The Power Structure and the Alliance Problem", January 1976; E. Wimmer, "The Social Image of the Intelligentsia", February 1976; N. Kanuri, "Alignment of Class Forces at the Democratic Stage"; February 1976.

dictatorship, are in danger.[2] With its unrelenting use of torture, the Uruguayan tyranny, like the regimes in Chile, Brazil and some other countries, represents one of the most outrageous examples of violation of human rights.

Our party is working for unite of all democrats and patriots and has always been in the front ranks of the struggle. It tried to prevent the coup and after it initiated mass actions against the putschists and worked out the necessary tactics of such actions. That is why on the very first day of the coup, it was possible to retaliate with a general strike of the working class, seizure of factories, demonstrations and other means of struggle. After the memorable 15 days of continuous battles, there was an organised retreat in order to apply new forms of struggle. We were able to preserve our trade union organisations and the entire network of worker and popular associations. We used a wide variety of methods in fighting the regime and strengthening the alliance of the working class with the middle strata and other forces.

In September 1975, our Central Committee summed up the results of the struggle. Having made certain correctives, it approved the party's line of action. It emphasised, first, the party's role as the leading force of the organised working class, particularly in conditions in which we have to use diverse forms of struggle, from the highest type (seizure of factories, for instance) to traditional types (strikes, demonstrations, protest meetings, etc.). Workers' delegations presented the government a demand for a 50 per cent rise in wages, and the demand contained nearly 70.000 signatures collected in the factories. With hundreds of delegations coming from many different factories, the dictatorship did not venture immediately to take repressive measures, but somewhat later there was a new wave of arrests. The signature campaign, despite all the risks it involved for its participants,

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[2] Later the terror was intensified, with more kidnappings, torture, destruction of cultural values, persecution of democrats. The president of the Broad Front, General Liber Seregni, who had been released after a long prison term, was arrested along with a number of communist leaders.

Every day brings fresh reports of crimes by the dictatorship, which is continuing its campaign of terror against the workers' and democratic movement, and primarily the Communist Party. The number of political prisoners in March 1976 stood at more than 8.000. More and more people are being done to death by torture. There is every reason to fear for the life of the well-known mathematician Jose L. Massera and workers' leader W. Turiansky, both of whom have been seriously injured by torture and are now in a military hospital. Among the recently arrested are Jerardo Cuesta, a prominent leader of the trade unions and the CPU, and Jorge Mazarovich, former secretary of the Young Communist League. More than 150 women are being held behind prison bars, suffering from terrible congestion, hunger and humiliating treatment. Also behind prison bars are prominent cultural personalities who too have been subjected to torture. The mounting international solidarity campaign and exposure of the crimes of the Bordaberry dictatorship have forced the regime to resort to provocation and vile slander. But nothing can conceal their crimes--*Ed.*

was indicative of the viability of the class trade union federation, of the militant spirit of our glorious National Workers' Convent (NWC) and also of the party's close ties with the main proletarian centres.

Second, we analysed our work in activising the mass movement among other sectors of the population, primarily the middle strata. It was noted that notwithstanding the conditions created by the fascist regime, and the dismissal of 700 of the 2,000 university instructors and the expulsion of thousands of students, notwithstanding also repressions in the secondary schools and the long prison sentences passed on a number of well-known professors and teachers—resistance among educational workers has been growing and assuming a wider range of forms. In particular mention should be made of the students' solidarity campaign with the people of Chile.

There is a visible trend to organise work in rural areas, activise the agrarian movements and utilise the contradictions between the ranch owners (including the big ones) and the government. Organisations of small and middle peasants are also more active. At a time when the regime is anxious to deprive all movements, no matter how innocent they may seem, of leadership, much importance attaches to work among these various organisations (residents' associations, sports clubs, etc.).

Third, we discussed the problem of political unity. Though all political activity is forbidden, the Broad Front—the people's hope—continued to operate, bringing together communists, socialists, demochristians, intellectuals, leftminded servicemen and people of no party affiliation. It should be emphasised that, in conditions of fascist dictatorship, our policy of alliances cannot be confined to uniting only the more advanced anti-imperialist forces. We are working towards a broad anti-dictatorial and anti-fascist alliance based on our minimum programme, i.e., overthrow of the dictatorship, a provisional military-civilian government that would pursue an independent foreign policy, find a way out of the crisis and assure the people freedom. In other words, this is a programme designed for victory over the main enemy. A programme moreover capable of uniting broad political forces which, though discontented with the present government are not yet prepared to fight it. These forces include the big bourgeois democratic parties, definite church circles, nationalist progressive elements in the army and other strata.

But, of course, identity of views is one thing, sharing in the struggle against the dictatorship is quite another. We must therefore be persevering and patient, working for unity at grassroots level and at the top—there can be no unity policy based only on one of these. The US ambassador, Siracusa, a CIA agent, mindful of the dictatorship's narrow social base, is trying to unite the right wing of the traditional parties and establish a curtailed pseudo-democracy to give the regime a somewhat better image. This is evidence of the dictatorship's instability, and also of the need to bring into a common

anti-dictatorial front thousands of democrats still under the influence of the above-mentioned parties.

Fourth, though the fascist generals control the army, direct the repression and take part in the torture of prisoners, we have not changed our principled political attitude towards the military who represent a factor of no small importance in the country's public life. Though the military are the main force in the military-bureaucratic structure of the state, most of them come from the middle strata. And they are not alien to the problems that have plunged our society into such a deep crisis. They cannot but be aware of the people's hatred of everyone in army uniform. Besides, the contradictions within the armed forces have by no means been resolved. They find expression in some servicemen siding with the Broad Front, participating in democratic nationalist actions that are in the interests of the people. Consequently our party is against both vulgar anti-militarism and military paternalism. Politically, we should not tie our activity to crisis phenomena within the army, its sentiments and vacillations. Of course, these must be taken into account. But for these crisis phenomena to lead to a break between the army and the dictatorship there has to be (and this is the main factor) a higher standard of militancy of the working class and the entire people and a broader anti-dictatorial front. We must regard phenomena in their dialectical interconnection and not indulge in piecemeal solutions of parallel tasks.

Fifth, our work within the party itself. Despite the atrocious repressions, the party has preserved its main forces within the country. Work continues in the Central Committee and at all other levels. In these extremely difficult conditions the party continues to lead the working class. This should not be taken to mean that its role is confined to issuing directives. Our work is made easier by the fact that workers make up 75 per cent of the party membership and that our forces are concentrated in the main industrial centres. We have built up an underground press.[3] Here is a sample of our organisational work. Last September we planned to hold 500 party and 200 YCL rallies to mark the 55th anniversary of the Communist Party, actually there were 900 rallies. Our 1974 financial campaign brought in 600 million old pesos, and this year we are well on the way to our goal of one billion.

Retaining the mass character of the party is one of our most important tasks. We had to extend our contacts, making that the goal of all party

[3] For two and a half years now we have been regularly publishing our newspaper, *Carta semanal*. We also have a monthly, *Analisis of orientacion*, the theoretical journal *Ensayos*, a YCL paper, etc. We are helping to put out the weekly bulletin of the National Workers' Convent, the organ of the federation of university and secondary school students. In addition there are 120 factory papers (put out mostly by communists). In agitation work we have started and are carrying on "the battle for the house walls", on which we paste big-letter posters of the party and the YCL.

organisations, urging them to involve all party members, not only tested cadres in achieving it. At the same time it was necessary to organise wider actions.

The main thing is patient, careful work at all levels. Party cadres run a tremendous risk. We have recently suffered heavy blows. Hence, to isolate and defeat fascism we must combine the struggle within Uruguay and other Latin-American countries with a broad international solidarity campaign.

Unity of the democratic and anti-imperialist forces is, beyond all doubt, the principal strategic aim of the Latin-American revolutionary movement. What we have in mind is a front headed by the working class and based on a worker-peasant alliance, a front embracing the middle strata, intellectuals and, under certain conditions, also other forces. This would add up to the political and social forces of revolution on our continent. Such is the objective reality. It poses a very wide variety of anti-imperialist and democratic problems which have to be solved against the background of sharp class struggle. The presence in Latin America of US and other imperialists means that the basic, priority task of our revolutionary process is national liberation. Some are inclined to the view that capitalist development in our countries, even if subordinate and lopsided, tends to diminish our dependence. If this implies the growth and strengthening of the forces opposed to imperialism, than we can agree. But it would be a serious mistake to believe that such a process will automatically bring us independence. The development of dependent capitalism aggravates existing contradictions but does not per se lead tc the gradual acquisition of independence.

National liberation remains the principal task. In the opinion of our party there are two erroneous views on this question. First, there is repetition of the theoretically fallacious contention of Mao Tse-tung (which we refuted in our 1960 book, "Problems of the Latin American Revolution") that there are two basic contradictions in dependent countries: between imperialism and the entire nation, and between the productive forces and production relations. Actually, with a few exceptions, imperialism is not only an external problem for our countries, but also a problem of the production relations under dependent capitalism. And so we say that this is both an external and internal problem. The anti-imperialist struggle in our countries is, therefore, inseparable from the struggle against the latifundist oligarchy and the big comprador bourgeoisie. Ranged against the financial monopolies, and primarily the US monopolies, are the genuine revolutionary forces, and potentially, definite circles of the national bourgeoisie. Even among part of the big bourgeoisie there are forces which, while not, of course revolutionary, are objectively in conflict with imperialism. This is something we can all see. That is why it is so important to build up a social basis of revolution, including the development of far-reaching actions, such

as the struggle for anti-fascist and anti-dictatorial unity and defence of our natural resources. The scope of such actions will enable us to give them a deeper meaning and this, in turn, will extend their scope.

The second mistake—the tendency to underestimate the national factor. This is characteristic of leftist theorising. For instance, G. Frank, an ultra-left sociologist, maintains that in Latin America we should not strive to merge the anti-imperialist and ant-oligarchic struggle, but promote the class struggle against the capitalists. But we would be making a mistake too, if we were to absolutise the correct proposition that there is no underestimating such a factor as capitalist development in Latin America. It has created the objective conditions for the progressive character of the Latin-American revolution, which in the course of a single historical process goes through two stages. Ignoring the national factor does not allow for a correct characteristic of the continent's social systems, a distinguishing feature of most of which is development of dependent capitalism. In other words, there are countries in which capitalist production relations predominate but in which there still exist pre-capitalist relations, especially in agriculture (the latifundia) and in which capitalist exploitation is being intensified. What we have are two synchronised processes: the development of capitalism and intensification of imperialist rapacity, which aggravate all national and social contradictions. We cannot, therefore, lump together the Latin-American bourgeoisie and Yankee imperialism, and we certainly cannot say that our countries should pass over directly to tasks of a socialist character. This would mean ignoring the theory and practice of the revolutionary movement in Latin America, where the urge for independence has spread to every country.

It need hardly be said that life is more complex than theoretical constructions. Latin America does not know of a single revolution that followed the classical pattern, with the proletariat in power accomplishing democratic revolutionary anti-imperialist tasks and directing the country towards socialism. The Cuban revolution passed through the democratic and anti-imperialist stage and entered the socialist stage. It was led by revolutionaries from the middle strata, primarily the students, most of them inspired by revolutionary-democratic ideals, though even in those early days they adhered to socialist ideals. Their movement led to Marxism-Leninism, to the formation of a single communist party which absorbed the first Marxist-Leninist party in Cuba. The role of the porletariat as the hegemon manifested itself in the political and national aspects of the revolution.

The revolutionary process in Chile followed the classical pattern to a greater degree, though here the vanguard forces came to power through elections. A revolutionary front was formed headed by the working class and with the communists playing a leading role in alliance with the Socialists. Anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist transformations were undertaken

(within the framework of the democratic process). But when the country embarked on socialist transformations, or was preparing the ground for them, there came the coup de'etat.

The anti-imperialist democratic revolution in Peru, where the army finds itself in the forefront and no united front has yet been set up, is developing along different lines. There is mutual understanding between the government and the communists and other democratic forces backing it. A sharp class struggle is going on, in particular among the military. Recently General Morales Bermudez called for the establishment of a common front by uniting the people and the armed forces in it.

At present our party, like the Chilean communists in their own country, is tackling the problem of broad-based unity of the anti-dictatorial and anti-fascist forces. We could also cite other examples. The main strategic task of the working class and its party is to set up a democratic national-liberation front. But this can also be achieved through a different tactic of unity, such as that of anti-fascist unity, depending on the lines of approach to the first stage of the revolution.

Accordingly, the declaration of the Conference of Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean (June 1975) states: first, we are fighting for socialism and the fight for socialism is preceded by struggle against imperialism. Secondly, the task is for the revolutionary forces to unite with all democratic forces opposed to imperialism. In doing this, a distinction must be drawn between revolutionary unity and broad democratic unity without metaphysically counterposing one to the other but combining them dialectically. Thirdly, there now exist movements of the nationalist bourgeoisie in Latin America. They are not yet anti-imperialist but they clash with imperialism. They are likely to adopt an anti-imperialist position in step with the growing scale and depth of popular action and the intensification of antagonisms between this bourgeoisie and US state-monopoly capitalism. This is both a strategic and a political issue.

Resistance to imperialism is on the rise in Latin America. It is becoming possible to form on a continental scale a broad front of peoples and governments against imperialism and fascism. A vast programme prompted by reality itself is materialising: relations are established with Cuba, the movement for the protection of natural resources and in defence of democracy is gaining in scope, relations are established and promoted with socialist and developing countries, the struggle against Latin American seats of fascism is intensifying. These new trends are evidence of the crisis of the US imperialists' policy of domination on the continent—a result of the crisis of the socio-economic structures of Latin American countries, changes taking place in the world and the deepening general crisis of the capitalist system, a crisis characterised, in particular, by the crisis-like state of relations between imperialism and Asian, African and Latin-American countries.

Questions relating to the establishment of an anti-imperialist front are approached in each country with due regard to the conditions prevailing there. To answer them, our parties must show political vision, become a real political force, put the main ideas of the front into effect with due regard to the level, pace and peculiarities of the process going on in the country concerned, search for ways of bringing revolutionary changes nearer and fulfil the main task—achieving unity and asserting the leading role of the working class, which must win allies at every stage of the political process. This is why setbacks and successes should be viewed in the light of the dialectical interconnection of revolutionary and counter-revolutionary processes on the continent. Lenin said that it is necessary always to see the connection "between revolution and counter-revolution" and realise that this is "an integral social movement developing in accordance with its own inner logic (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 13, p. 115).

Ever since the fifties, a bitter struggle has been going on between the forces of revolution and those of counter-revolution (the latter are led by US imperialism), a struggle that goes on intensifying. If we confine ourselves to one aspect of this struggle we come to the conclusion that the trend towards fascism is predominant in Latin America. If, on the other hand, we take an idyllic view of things we only see gains and fail to notice that the struggle is hard and generally involves bloodshed. It would therefore not be out of place to stress that, with the exception of Indonesia, the greatest number of communist leaders have fallen in Latin America and that tens of thousands of political prisoners are still behind bars. This is a result of CIA and Pentagon policy, for US policy is really aimed at putting the whole of Latin America under fascist regimes.

However, there are also great achievements, some of which are of historic significance. They include the consolidation of socialist Cuba, the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, the five-year plan of that country and Cuba's role as a member of the socialist community and a catalyst of the forces resisting imperialism on the continent. Another achievement is the disintegration of the OAS, the crisis of the legal, political and military system of Pan-Americanism while more and more countries establish relations with Cuba, whose international prestige is steadily growing. There are also the processes going on in Peru and Panama, the intensification of contradictions between imperialism and Venezuela as well as other countries, the positive foreign policy of Mexico, the upsurge in distinctive nationalist movements in Ecuador and Honduras. On the continental level there is the formation of Latin-American organisations without and against the United States, and the failure of the 11th conference of American armies called on the initiative of the CIA and Pentagon in collusion with the Brazilian, Chilean and Uruguayan fascists. A further achievement is the development of relations between many of our coun-

tries and socialist countries. What we have here is not *tercerism,* which attacks both imperialism and the Soviet Union and has nothing to do with the policy of governments that do not consider themselves socialist but take a favourable, increasingly friendly stand on the Soviet Union. These are only some of the positive aspects but they are indicative enough.

The situation on the continent is conducive to the accomplishment of the great tasks facing us. We must therefore strengthen the motive forces of the revolution, strive for new gains, build up the party and its influence, heighten the role of the working class, pursue a more active policy of alliances and strengthen the network of popular organisations. There are ample opportunities to fulfil the important tasks relating to trade-union unity, peasant organisations and the movement of peoples and governments interested in protecting natural resources, democratic freedoms and the principle of national self-determination.

Along with the numerous gains made in various countries, it is important to stress that in spite of all the atrocities committed by fascism in Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, Guatemala and other countries, it proved unable to destroy the heroic communist parties of these countries. Resistance is mounting. The middle strata, the military and other forces are joining in political struggle and favourable changes are occurring in the church. All this is evidence of gains of tremendous political significance.

As for difficulties, it is worth listing them. The first difficulty has to do with the "scene of action". Latin America is one of the most sensitive nerve-centres of US imperialism, which will never grant our peoples independence of its own free will. Another difficulty lies in the historical backwardness of the movement itself, in particular the relative lag in our work in the countryside (although the rural population of the continent is diminishing, the peasants remain the chief ally of the working class in the revolutionary process). A third difficulty is the split in labour unions. The consequences of this division are all the more negative because the trade-union centres of Uruguay and Chile, once the most articulate class organisations uniting almost the entire working class and other wage workers, are banned. A fourth difficulty consists in the fact that as capitalism develops a sharp class struggle interlocks with struggle for a democratic front. This makes for the radicalisation of the masses, on the one hand, and frightens the bourgeoisie, on the other. Fifth difficulty: in spite of the maturity and heroism of the communist parties, we believe it is necessary to do much for their consolidation if they are to be equal to the great historic tasks facing the continent. At the same time, it is necessary to raise unity and fraternal coordination of action between communist and workers' parties to a higher plane and work for the consolidation of all patriotic and democratic forces of the continent.

We Marxists-Leninists regard the working class as the vanguard of the

revolutionary process in Latin America at any period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

The historic role of the working class analysed by Marx, Engels and Lenin has been confirmed by the experience of revolutions in countries having reached a definite level of capitalist development. This does not militate against the fact that in some African countries, for instance, the governments adhere to a socialist orientation and it is urged that the road of non-capitalist development be taken even though the working class is only just in the making. It is a question of distinctive problems within the framework of general rules. But there is no advancing to socialism without a developing working class. At the Second Congress of the Comintern, Lenin said that the working class in power can contribute to the development of other countries on non-capitalist lines, leaning to a certain extent on the international alliance of the working class, the peasantry, intellectuals and revolutionary democratic forces (see Vol. 31, p. 244). But socialism can be built only if the productive forces and hence the working class have achieved a definite level of development.

The working class of Latin America is an impressive force numerically. It is estimated that 50 million people in our countries are wage workers, almost 40 million of them being workers proper. About 30 million of them are employed in industry. This is an immense social force concentrated in large industrial centres. Some Latin American countries have attained an average level of capitalist development and all the countries of the region are developing mainly on capitalist lines although there still exist such things as latifundia, pre-capitalist survivals, dependence on imperialism or technological backwardness. There are even typically working-class cities.

Secondly, the working class of Latin America has valuable fighting traditions. In Argentina, Uruguay and other countries of the continent, trade-union organisations came into being as early as the end of the last century. The past decade in Latin America has seen a relatively high rate of strikes in comparison with other regions of the capitalist world and the highest proportion of worker participation in political strikes. In Uruguay 25 general political strikes lasting between 24 and 48 hours took place in 100 days in 1968 over the state of emergency and repressive measures. In our country there were 24-hour general strikes of solidarity with Cuba and strikes prompted by other political motives. This enabled us to react to the coup by calling a 15-day general strike during which strikers occupied the enterprises and carried out demonstrations and other militant actions.

But, of course, the role of the working class is not limited to participation in the trade-union movement and social struggles. There are communist parties in all Latin-American countries. In some of them they are not only militant organisations engaged in ideological work and propaganda

but a real force having a great deal of political leverage. In Uruguay, for example, the whole—and in some countries almost the whole—trade-union movement is led by the communists, and it is the communists that have for years fought selflessly for the working people's interests. This is a factor making for the vanguard role of the working class in the revolutionary process.

I was asked a question about some "theorists'" allegations to the effect that the Latin-American working class is not yet mature enough to play the role of leader or, on the contrary, is past the stage at which it could have played it.

What is meant is perhaps two aspects. The first may be connected with Marcuse's assertions taken up by petty-bourgeois groups. According to those assertions, the working class has been "integrated" into the system and shares in the profits of the ruling class. Some believe, for example, that the peasants and rural wage workers constitute the poorest part of the population. That is true but poverty is not an indication of being revolutionary. Integration? If we bear in mind the struggle going on, that is not so. Recent years in Latin America have seen an upturn in guerrilla action, democratic movements of the military, peasant struggles, a radicalisation of students and intellectuals. These processes involve the people at large, some of whom are under the influence of bourgeois democratic forces. All this bears the imprint of the militant presence of the working class in key countries. But if it is implied that the working class has not subjectively matured for revolution and that the communist parties are unable to lead it into action, I disagree.

The affirmation that the working class of Latin America is ripe for the revoluton is relative. Not the whole of the working class is organised as yet and, besides, the revolutionary process presupposes the existence of many components. There can be no revolution without a crisis at least heralding a revolutionary explosion. Action by the vanguard can become a component of the revolutionary process and speed it but it must lean on an objective process and, moreover, take into account subjective factors in the country's development. It may happen, and has actually happened, that non-proletarian strata find themselves leading the struggle. Life is no hard and fast pattern. Conditions for the maturing of the material basis of revolution in Latin America are such that they speed processes which the forces destined by history itself to play their inherent vanguard role cannot always lead (it is immaterial whether the reason for this is that the working-class parties are too small, that there is no unity among the main revolutionary forces or that they have been outpaced by other political forces). The task of the working class and its parties is to join in these processes, speed them, cooperate and unite with the more consistent revolutionaries, build up strength and advance, for the transition to socialism

necessarily demands that the working class be in the van of the revolution. And it does become the vanguard. It is not enough to be the vanguard in the historical, theoretical and political meaning of the term, for it is necessary to play a vanguard role in daily political battles. The working class and its parties win this role through everyday struggle.

The allies of the working class are above all the peasants and the middle strata, specifically the students and intellectuals, who play a tremendous part in Latin America. They have joined actively in the revolutionary process and are, indeed, the main reserve drawn on in reinforcing guerrilla units. Given definite conditions, these forces can lead part of the national bourgeoisie or neutralise it. But this pattern alone is not enough, of course, for the choice of new allies depends on the given situation. We have already said that alliances against dictatorship are one thing and alliances of the democratic forces of national liberation as the motive power of the revolution—another. There may be very broad alliances or agreements on unity of action. In September 1975, the CC CPU examined the condition of ranch owners, including big ones, whom the disastrous effects of a severe economic crisis prompt to oppose the dictatorship and who are therefore followed by large sections of the rural population. We must not ignore these contradictions in fighting against fascism. This is why we speak of alliances and agreements, of a political alliance, meaning also an anti-fascist one, and of a common view on the struggle against the chief enemy. It is within the framework of this problem that we also consider the problem of the military, which we have already spoken about.

The anti-imperialist democratic platform is directed primarily against imperialist monopolies and calls for their nationalisation and the recovery of the country's natural resources and other riches. This platform demands a radical agrarian reform; the nationalisation of large agrarian centres that cannot be partitioned without injuring the economy as a whole; nationalisation of the property of the bourgeoisie opposing the revolution; respect for the property of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie as a whole with the exception of the monopolies, enemies of the revolution and imperialists; division of the land with or without compensation depending on local conditions; steps to protect and stimulate the development of the country's agriculture and industry and to expand the home market; an independent and diversified foreign trade; reform of the education system, a democratic policy towards culture and education, and so on. This is certainly an ambitious programme. It is in the interest of the working class and peasantry as well as of the middle strata, the intellectuals and all else who want cultural progress, national independence and a higher standard of living for the working people. To bring this about, it is necessary to form an anti-imperialist democratic government, with the working class playing the leading role.

Naturally, the platform of a revolution being carried out according to the optimal classical model must be implemented stage by stage as a revolutionary situation approaches. This is why to overthrow the dictatorship in Uruguay, we propose seeking solutions to only the fundamental problems. Later on it will be possible to decide on the order in which other revolutionary tasks should be carried out with due regard to our ultimate goal. By accomplishing these tasks, we will be able to preserve our allies and ascertain how long they will stay with us or, in other words, establish what we call the range and mobility of alliances. It may therefore be possible to evolve, not a common programme for all countries, but a programme declaration for the given stage of the revolution and a specific political programme not clashing with it and taking strict account of the given situation.

SPRING WILL COME INTO ITS OWN

Betty Sinclair
Member of National Executive Committee, Communist Party of Ireland, and of WMR *Editorial Council*

To many in Western Europe, the icy breath of economic crisis has made this year's late and cold spring seem colder still. While press writers try to determine, each in his own way, whether or not rock-bottom has been reached, and while monopoly pundits look for real or imaginary signs of an economic pick-up, reality remains harsh for those who have to earn their living or exist on state benefits and allowances.

In March, the UN Economic Commission for Europe surveyed some of the results of 1975. The most charitable thing that can be said about them is that they do no credit to capitalism as a social and economic system. In 13 West-European countries industrial output declined 10 per cent (9 per cent in the US); unemployment stands at twice the 1973 figure. Inflation continues to rise; consumer prices are up, on average, 11 per cent.

The early months of 1976 have brought little comfort. On the contrary, we are witnessing a new and sharp aggravation of capitalism's monetary crisis. The EEC countries are again locked in a currency war, waged on the principle "each for himself and god take the hindmost".

For the working class the most alarming direct consequence of the crisis in capitalist Europe is growing unemployment. This spring, there were 5.7 million jobless in the Common Market countries alone (and over 18 milion in the 24 industrially developed countries). In Britain, the FRG, Italy and France the number of unemployed runs into millions. Even in our own small Ireland unemployment in both parts of the divided island is more than 170,000, according to official figures. What other evidence is needed of the bankruptcy of capitalist society, which again and again has demonstrated its inability to provide a livelihood for so many of its citizens?

Some contend that unemployment is not the terrible evil it was in the past. The unemployed, we are told, live fairly well on the dole and, indeed,

are enjoying a well-paid holiday. No worker is going to fall for that. For, first, unemployment benefits are not overly generous, especially with galloping inflation and soaring prices, and, what is more, are paid only over a fixed period. Second, unemployment is becoming chronic. For many blue-collar and white-collar workers it means the end of their working life, the end of all hope of ever improving their lot. Many thousands of school leavers have been unable to find any kind of employment.[1] Significantly, even the experts who predict an early rise in economic activity do not predict the end of mass unemployment. Quite the contrary, all available data indicate that this reserve army of labour, a built-in feature of capitalism, will continue to swell.

That is the outlook, and it makes nonsense of all the talk about the virtues and benefits of bourgeois democracy, civil rights and freedoms. These rights are not worth much if they do not include the most important one of all, the right to work. That was well understood even by the utopian socialists: 150 years ago, Charles Fourier declared that "the right to work was uppermost... without it all other rights are useless". That is just as valid and topical today. For mass unemployment remains the scourge of the working class, a nightmare for all working people, a moral and material catastrophe for hundreds and thousands of families, though you do not find unemployed workers selling matches on the London streets, nor the long soup lines in New York, those typical scenes of the "Great Depression" of the 1930.[2]

And not because the capitalists have become more kind-hearted or more responsive to hardship and suffering. The simple fact is that they cannot afford a repetition of this without jeopardising their domination. The bourgeoisie is well aware of how the class consciousness of the workers, their sense of dignity, their militancy and organisation, have grown. And it has good reason to fear the conclusion the workers will draw from a comparison with the socialist part of the world, where unemployment has long been forgotten. No wonder bourgeois sociologists warn that the present growth of unemployment can become a "social trigger". And no wonder Mr. Edward Heath, that toriest of Tories, warns the House of Commons: "We shall see those on the shop floor turn on free enterprise and say 'as a system, you are not capable of providing employment'."[3]

Consciously or by class instinct, that conclusion has already been drawn

[1] In Britain, there have been many voices from the Right demanding reduction of the "generous" unemployment benefits. Already student benefits, paid during vacation periods, are seriously threatened. The "battle against unemployment" is very often waged by manipulating the statistics to reduce the number of people looking for work.

[2] But one does find the crime rate, especially petty crime, in the capitalist countries increasing in ratio with the increase in unemployment.

[3] *Morning Star*, 30 July 1975.

by large sections of the working people. All the more so, that bourgeois governments are providing constant proof of their reluctance to encroach on monopoly profits and their inability to cope with consequences of the crisis, especially unemployment and inflation, from which the masses suffer first and most.

The conviction is gaining ground that, far from solving the problems of present-day society, capitalism is only exacerbating them, and this conviction inevitably tends to intensify the class struggle. Class conflicts have become more frequent, but not, of course, due to outside instigation, as reactionary propaganda, with its police-like reasoning, wants people to believe. No, this is a natural result of the sharper internal contradictions of bourgeois society, with its crying social inequality. The strike movement has always been the most visible criterion of the class struggle. Its dimensions, of course, differ from country to country, but the statistics show that in the 70s the strike level in Western Europe is *much higher than in the preceding decade*.

There is also this important characteristic: in the past economic crisis and mass unemployment meant less strikes. And the bourgeoisie exploited that—the fear of losing their job "disciplined" the workers, forcing them to accept lower wages and worse conditions. There was even a "scientific" formula to show the reverse ratio between the level of unemployment and that of the strike movement. One bourgeois British economist (probably using this formula) maintained that a one per cent increase in unemployment resulted in a 8 per cent decrease in the number of strikes. Now, working-class militancy has substantially refuted that piece of "expert" wisdom. For even in the present profound crisis, the strike movement remains on a high level and in Italy, to take one example, is actually growing.

Growing, too, is the fight against mass layoffs, for guaranteed employment, against attempts to set those with jobs against those without them. Towards the end of March, the British trade unions held a National Assembly against unemployment and for guaranteed jobs. Drawing on the experience of the 30s, an Unemployed Workers' Association has been set up in Dublin. The thousands of leaflets it has circulated at the labour exchanges demand effective measures to increase employment. Mass demonstrations for job security have been held in France, Italy, Denmark, Belgium and other countries. The Japanese workers' traditional "spring offensive" has been especially vigorous this year. Reports of mass demonstrations against unemployment and high prices have come from the United States and Canada.

Dissatisfaction with the policies of bourgeois governments is not confined to blue-collar and white-collar workers. There is unrest among the students, incensed by the cuts in expenditure for higher education. There is

serious ferment among peasants in several countries, especially those in the Common Market. Ireland's membership of the Market has proved little short of a national calamity. It is having a ruinous effect on our country folk and is bringing food prices up. Potatoes, a staple for most Irish families, have for many become a luxury following the 1974 price increases. In the bigger EEC countries farmers are passing from grumbling to energetic protest against an agrarian policy fashioned to suit only the big capitalists. There have been mass protests in Denmark, Belgium and the recent violent events in the wine-producing south of France.

This widening protest movement against monopoly-dictated policy is aggravating the political instability in European capitalist countries. This is clearly expressed in the precipitous decline of the authority and influence of Parliaments and bourgeois parties which had held power for decades. Another blow to West-European reaction was dealt by the overthrow of the fascist regimes in Greece and Portugal, the agony of fascism in Spain where attempts to keep alive "Francoism without Franco" are encountering more vigorous resistance from all the democratic forces. The popularity of esteemed political parties, always proud of their "independence" and "democracy", has not been helped by the exposure that, virtually from their very inception, they have been kept by the CIA.

In contrast, the influence of the communist parties and the left generally is increasing. In such countries as Italy and France the voters now see in the communists and in the alliance of the left forces a realistic alternative to the present combination of ruling parties. The communist vote increases with every election: in Italy one voter in three casts his ballot for communist candidates. In the recent French cantonal elections the left won an absolute majority for the first time since the war. What attracts the voter is the communists' devotion to the interests of the working people, their political integrity and administrative ability, freedom from the corruption that is eroding the bourgeois parties, their clear, reasoned programme that can unloose the stranglehold of state-monopoly capital, restructure society and put it on the road to socialism.

The communists are not alone in maintaining that capitalism has played out its role, has become a brake on progress and must give way to a more advanced, socialist form of society. Many political movements in the capitalist countries are coming to see the need for wide-ranging social and economic change. That, in fact, is the basis for the wide democratic alliances, long advocated by the communists as the backbone of a common anti-monopoly front.

To this I might add that the urge for left unity is apparent not only in the citadels of West-European capitalism, with their mass, influential communist parties, which have many attractions as political allies. In our own Ire-

land there has been a development which only a few years ago would have seemed inconceivable. I refer to the big meeting in Dublin of representatives of the Communist Party, the left Labour Liaison Committee and the oldest Republican Party, Sinn Fein, to formulate a left alternative to the ruinous course of the present coalition government, for a genuine, and not merely verbal, struggle against the consequences of the crisis, for a brighter future for the Irish people. The manifesto it adopted has met with lively response throughout the country.

In tormented Northern Ireland, where the latest British attempt to resolve the protracted crisis has proved a fiasco, the only way of hope today is the mass campaign started by the trade unions under the slogan "For a Better Life for All". The division of the working class along religious lines, which reaction has always sought to foment and exploit, is now countered by a unity programme for democratic rights for all, an end to unemployment and poverty, terror and the fratricidal civil war.

There can be no two opinions about the source of the growing popularity of Marxist ideas and communist policy. That source is the momentous achievements of world socialism, which, against the background of the present aggravation of capitalism's general crisis, are very concretely understood and appreciated in all parts of the world. Every communist party, big or small, feels itself ten times stronger because socialism has become a reality in a large part of the world and exerts a steady and growing influence on the march of history and on everyday life. That was the strongest impression I took away from the 25th CPSU Congress, which I attended as a guest.

It is no accident that bourgeois ideologues and monopoly propaganda are at such pains to instil the entirely false idea that the present crisis involves the whole world, that it is beyond human ability to cope with it, that all social systems are powerless against it, and, consequently, that the working-class struggle stands no chance of success. A propaganda ploy meant to kill two birds with one stone: justify the convulsions of capitalism and cast aspersions on the economy of socialism, it has failed on both points.

For the world has before it a clear picture of the vast achievements of socialism revealed at the 25th CPSU Congress in Moscow and at the communist party congresses of other socialist countries. The facts and figures leave no doubt that socialism is a reliable dam against the raging waves of the crisis that has engulfed the capitalist part of the world. While we in the capitalist West see many factories closing down, with thousands left without jobs, with unemployment running into millions, prices increasing at cosmic speed, social services deteriorating, people losing all faith in the future—the world of socialism is witnessing developments of a very different kind. The future of capitalism is clouded by uncertainty and pessimism, the future of the socialist community is clear and optimistic, for it is based on a scientific theory.

This, of course, should not be taken to mean that there are no clouds on the communist horizon, no difficulties and obstacles. No, there are plenty of difficulties, some of them caused by objective and subjective factors, and not infrequently by direct enemy political subversion. The sharp ideological struggle is not confined to a Marxist-Leninist offensive against capitalism's ideological positions. There is also the intensified pressure of enemy ideology on the communist parties and the working class. In this respect, the past few years have seen more active bourgeois intervention in the ideological affairs of the communist movement, even attempts to re-direct its ideology.

To do that, there have been ceaseless attempts to induce an "internal dialogue" within the parties, subtly suggest problems for discussion, raise questions that have long been solved and rekindle long-resolved differences. And we cannot say that these attempts always meet with a proper rebuff from our side. Nor can we deny that they sometimes succeed in producing what Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CPUSA, described as "new varieties of the opportunist virus". The maladies cauesd by this virus are extremely dangerous, and it is our duty, our common task, to work out an antidote.

Experience has shown that there is nothing more erroneous than opportunist concessions to pressure by the class enemy. L. I. Brezhnev justly remarked in his report to the 25th CPSU Congress that "even if a concession to opportunism can produce some temporary advantage, in the final analysis it is bound to damage the party".

I think that all veteran communists—and I am proud to be among them—can recall many examples to back up that idea. The ideological struggle follows its own laws. And one of them is that no amount of concession will appease the anti-communist—they will only whet their appetite, prompt them to demand more far-reaching concessions. There is the old proverb about giving the devil a finger and he'll bite off the whole hand.

In a way, that applies to the speech made at the March congress of the Italian Christian-Democratic Party by its former leader, Amintore Fanfani. Referring to the possibility of communist parties entering the government Fanfani, an old hand at political manipulation, demanded that they renounce "also communist international unity and the economic-political-social system that it tries to extend to all the world".[4] In other words, renounce scientific communism. He could not have put it more brazenly, but many other professional anti-communists share this tendency to blackmail the communist parties.

The insiduous plans of the monopoly bourgeoisie find expression also in the continuing attempts to provoke quarrels within the communist movement, divide the parties according to their "loyalty to West-European tradi-

[4] *International Herald Tribune*, 20-21 March 1976.

tions", etc. There has been a concerted effort to drive a wedge between the West-European communist parties and those of the socialist community. The former are told that they must dissociate themselves from East-European socialism and thereby acquire the necessary "respectability". The latter are told that they can no longer rely on the solidarity of certain communist parties. One has to be totally ignorant of the relations between communists, and have not even the remotest idea of proletarian internationalism, to believe that these attempts stand any chance of success.

It is precisely because such hopes of splitting the movement exist that communists are so concerned to safeguard proletarian internationalism, which is an inalienable part of Marxism-Leninism. The recent communist party congresses in the socialist countries, and especially the historic 25th CPSU Congress, attended by a record number of delegations from communist parties and other progressive political trends, demonstrated the power of internationalism.

No matter how winter clings on this year, spring will come into its own, and the working people will celebrate May Day in the sunshine that has prevailed over the clouds and the cold. Socialism is often described as the spring of mankind, as distinct from capitalism, now living through its sombre autumn. And we have every right to say that the spring of mankind, too, will come into its own.

There will very likely be setbacks and disappointments, even temporary defeats, on the road to victory. For imperialism is an experienced, ruthless and still strong adversary and will not give up a single position without a fight; if forced to retreat, it will use every opportunity to counterattack. The struggle that has now developed over the future of detente and activisation of the extreme right in a number of capitalist countries indicate that reaction is regrouping its forces. This imposes a special responsibility to the people on all communists, and we will do everything to live up to it.

THE FIGHT FOR LAND, PART OF THE REVOLUTION

ANTONIO GERVASIO
Member of Political Commission, Portuguese Communist Party

Since the early days of the revolution Antonio Gervasio has been working in the south of Portugal. At present he heads the party's regional leadership in Alentejo province, conducting work among agricultural labourers and small holders there. It is their selfless struggle against the big landowners that initiated the agrarian reform—one of the historic gains of the Portuguese people.

The following is an interview he granted to a *WMR* correspondent in early March.

In building the new, democratic and socialist Portugal, the party attaches great importance to the enforcement of the agrarian reform and to the pursuance of an agrarian policy that accords with the interests of the working people in the countryside.

The agrarian reform was a principal objective of the Communist Party's struggle long before the events of 25 April 1974, throughout the period of the fascist dictatorship, for the party has always sided with the rural proletarians and the small and middle peasants who were fighting against the big landowners.

In the opinion of the Communist Party, Portugal needs at least two agrarian reforms, not one. The country was divided into two regions: that of latifundia (or big landed estates), which predominated in the south and constituted a major socioeconomic support for fascism and reaction; and that of mostly small and medium-size holdings in the north.

While in the south the aim of the reform was to expropriate (without compensation) the latifundia and big capitalist farms, in the north the task was to allot land to the landless and land-hungry peasants. The agrarian réform upheld by our party, despite what reactionary propaganda says, did not aim at depriving the small and middle peasants of their land. The party has always favoured their possession of the land.

The party's agrarian reform programme envisages state assistance to the

farms set up on expropriated land as well as to the small and middle peasants, credits to them on favourable terms, and supplying them with agricultural machinery, seeds, cattle, fertilisers and insecticides.

The programme also stipulates an increase in the number of tractors and other agricultural machines, the construction of granaries, stores and dams, electrification of the countryside, the building of roads, schools and training centres for specialists in agriculture, and the organisation of marketing co-operatives which would ensure, on just terms, the sale of agricultural produce and the supply of agriculture with industrial goods.

Throughout its centuries-long history, the Portuguese countryside never knew agrarian reform: even the republican revolution of 1910 failed to carry it through. It was not until the April 25 events that deep-going changes began to take place. The agrarian reform has become an historic achievement of the revolution. Its implementation is indispensable for abolishing the power of the landowners and for the democratic transformation of society.

By now nearly 1,200,000 hectares of land belonging to the latifundists and big capitalist farmers have been expropriated. More than 400 collective enterprises have been set up in that area and they unite some 100,000 farm workers who till the land together with their families. By organising agricultural cooperatives and other collective enterprises on the land taken away from the big owners, the rural working people and the small holders made the first heroic steps towards reorganising agriculture on a new, non-exploitive basis.

The Communist Party can take legitimate pride in all these accomplishments. It guided the working people's struggle and succeeded in securing enforcement of the agrarian reform; it has been the motive force of the reform.

Farm workers in the south, in alliance with the small peasants, were in the forefront of the struggle for the implementation of the agrarian reform. Progress in this was much more profound than in the north, due to a number of factors.

Historically, the biggest latifundia in Europe were concentrated in the south of Portugal. There were (no longer now) such landholdings as the Palma estate with 17,000 hectares, the Rio Frio estate—16,400 hectares, and the Pinheiro farm—5,200 hectares. And the Camparhia das Lepinar had 24,000 hectares of land. In only six of the country's southern districts (Bejha, Evora, Faro, Porta-Alergro, Santarem and Setubal) there were 950 estates of 500 or more hectares each and 523 holdings of over 1,000 hectares each. More than half of all the land in the regions where the reform has been carried out used to belong to big owners. The degree of land concentration can be judged by the fact that the 500 biggest estates had more land than 500,000 small peasants.

It should be noted that in the region of the big landed estates, vast areas were not cultivated for the last 10 to 20 years. In Alentejo province, for instance, the area of neglected lands totalled 700,000 hectares. These lands were fenced with barbed wire: somtimes they were used for grazing cattle, but more often as hunting grounds for the big national and the foreign bourgeoisie.

At the same time thousands of country dwellers were out of work and had to emigrate. The farm labourers, who made up 90 per cent of the gainfully employed population in southern Portugal, had no market gardens or cattle of their own: they had nothing except a pair of hands with which to earn their living. Latifundism was one of the causes of the unemployment. the problem of work was linked with the land question: to eradicate latifundism meant getting rid of unemployment, poverty and starvation.

The farm workers in the south have long been known for their high political consciousness and activity. During the fascist dictatorship they often fought under the Communist Party's leadership for better conditions, against unemployment and repressions. Our party has long enjoyed great prestige in the south and it has a strong organisation there. Its slogan—"land to the tiller"—has become the banner of the rural proletarians' struggle.

After the overthrow of the dictatorship, the first thing that the rural proletarians embarked upon was the establishment of a trade union.[1] This class-based organisation played an important role in the struggle that unfolded in the countryside after April 25.

The latifundists reacted to the overthrow of the dictatorship by economic sabotage—destroying their crops and refusing to give the rural proletarians jobs and provide them with fodder. When the landowners were finally compelled, under the pressure of the working people's struggle, to give them jobs, they evaded paying them under different pretexts.

The development of events confronted the working people with alternative: either hunger and loss of democratic freedom, or, without waiting for the adoption of the agrarian reform law, put an end to the sabotage of the latifundists by revolutionary means, occupy and begin cultivating their lands in order to feed the people as they build the new life. The working people chose the second alternative.

The first cases of workers occupying neglected or badly used lands of big owners took place in 1974. The workers met with tremendous difficulties: more often than not, they lacked seeds, fertilisers and tractors. Having launched on this undertaking at their own risk, they received practically no

[1] Farm workers' trade unions were outlawed soon after the fascists came to power in 1933.

help from the government at first. It required incredible efforts to clear high thorny thickets, lands which had not seen the plough for decades. Those who had tractors helped those who had none: people shared their seeds, and lent cattle and fertilisers to one another. Some assistance was secured from the government. Maize, rice, beans, sunflower, tomatoes and other crops were planted on what was once waste lands.

The movement to occupy the big landed estates gained particularly wide scope in the spring of 1975, following the abortive rightist coup of 11 March. And the decree on the agrarian reform (April 1975) appeared when the reform had virtually begun, when broad masses of working people had joined the movement. By mid-1975 more than 500,000 hectares of land had already been occupied. The reform enjoyed the sympathy of the Armed Forces Movement and most of its leaders. Were it not for the working people's struggle, led by the Communist Party and the trade union, there would probably have been no agrarian reform up till now. We have every justification for saying that the reform was carried out from below by the workers themselves, who were united in their trade union and led by the Communist Party.

The enforcement of the agrarian reform involved a fierce class battle between the workers and the landowners. At first the latter and their accomplices tried to use force to prevent its implementation (they have not given up their attempts even now). They and the fascists organised mass meetings to frighten people with the imaginary dangers of agrarian reform. They vainly appealed to the army for help, and tried to steal cattle and implements from the farms set up on expropriated lands. Reaction's aim was to get the small and middle peasants in the north to reject the reform: from day to day it told them that farm hands from the south would come and take away their land. It organised in the north the so-called movement of Portuguese agricultural producers. From there reaction several times tried to launch a march to the south, but its participants met with firm resistance and never dared to cross the boundary of Alentejo province. The struggle reached its peak in the middle of last year when the landowners realised that the workers would not retreat, that they were determined to defend their gains

The right-wing popular-democratic and christian-democratic parties frequently attacked the agrarian reform. Even today they do not want to hear anything about it. The popular-democrats, both inside and outside the government are waging an open battle against the reform and mobilising for this purpose the reactionary forces, and also the small and middle peasants. At first the Socialist Party, too, opposed the reform and it hampered the adoption of the law on its enforcement. Speaking on radio and television, at meetings and rallies, its leaders claimed that the farm workers in the south were land grabbers. This stand of the Socialist Party deeply

offended the working people, including its own rank and file. As a result, the party's influence in southern Portugal declined sharply.

Today the Socialist Party takes a different stand towards agrarian reform. The minister of agriculture in the present government, Socialist Lopes Cardoso, is a defender of the reform, although his opinion on some of its important aspects differs strongly from that of the Communist Party. But on some other aspects our views coincide.[2]

Whatever reactionary propaganda inside the country and elsewhere may say to the contrary, the agrarian reform has not affected the property of the small and middle agricultural producers. The right-wingers' assertion that the property of these producers was confiscated or stolen is a lie from beginning to end. The broad mass movement that the agrarian reform entailed caused no more than some two dozen accidental cases in which plots with good olive groves or orchards belonging to middle peasants but abandoned by their owners were occupied. But these mistakes have been rectified.

Tho kind of agrarian reform[3] accomplished in Portugal is not described in any textbooks; it is unique. It was the working class who carried it out and it did so quickly—within a few months. But the working class of Portugal is not in power. In executing the reform it faced frenzied resistance on the part of the exploiter classes, whose power, though restricted in the course of the revolution, had not been overthrown. The agrarian reform in our country was not designed to bring about a class of small holders. As a result of its accomplishments, the working people have taken possession of

[2] This issue was already being prepared for print when fresh reports were received form Portugal saying that on Lopes Cardoso's proposal, Vitor Louro, representing the Communist Party in the government and responsible for the implementation of the agrarian reform, has been relieved of his post of secretary of state for land management. In a statement the Communist Party expressed concern about this decision, whose adoption was prompted merely by the attacks of the reactionary press on Vitor Louro. He was accused of "inciting workers to riots" in Alentejo. The Communist Party regards this slanderous accusation as part of the right-wing forces' offensive on the agrarian reform—*Ed.*

[3] The decree on the agrarian reform provides for the expropriation of landed estates that brought an income of 50,000 contos (1 conto = 1,000 escudos). This meant that estates with unfertile and dry lands totalling more than 500 hectares, and those with over 50 hectares of fertile and irrigated lands, were subjected to expropriation. Estates of more than 50 hectares with soil of medium fertility were not subject to expropriation, unless they had orchards. These norms were twice revised afterwards. The question of the area of estates subject to expropriation is still outstanding today. For according to the prevailing system, owners are entitled to retain estates of 200 to 400 hectares because they do not yield an income of 50,000 contos. These estates are not irrigated, no capital is invested in them, and they have not undergone amelioration. Nvertheless, one who possesses such an estate remains a big landowner.

the land are jointly managing it within the framework of an as yet bourgeois social system.

The very names of the collective farms set up on the lands taken away from the latifundists are symbolic. The spirit and history of the revolution are reflected in such names as "The Red Carnation", "In Unity We Shall Win", "The Left Will Be Victorious" and "Bento Goncalves".[4] Such names show that the working people link the establishment of these farms with the development of the revolutionary process.

It is only by tradition that we call these farms cooperatives. Their emergence was not the result of collectivisation of small and medium-size landholdings or other property. The annual profit goes into the further development of collective production. Every cooperative member gets a fixed wage, established in the contract concluded by the farm workers' trade union and the ministry of labour. The wages of tractor drivers, machine operators and workers in other trades differ. Wages are a form of remuneration the workers appreciate. As a rule, they do not seek to acquire even a tiny household plot of land. It is only a few people of the elder generation in some areas who express such a desire. Most of the collective farm members, especially the young ones, went only regular wages and normal working conditions.

The organisation and management of the cooperatives are founded on a democratic basis. The management board is elected by all members of the cooperative. And then within the board specialised commissions are elected, likewise on a democratic basis, to direct the different sectors of production. The commissions regularly hold meetings, which can be attended by any member of the cooperative.

The Communist Party plays an important role in organising the work of the collective farms, each of which is a big and closely-knit family. In view of the change in the economic and political structures in the south, party organisations there are now founded not according to the territorial principle, but on the basis of the farms. There are now hundreds of big party organisations on the farms. Party members are usually elected to the top posts, but the management boards also include quite a few non-party people who support the party's policy.

Our party constitutes a sizeable force in the south. There are cooperatives where more than half of the employees are party members. More and more people are joining the party, and the circulation of *Avante* is increasing.

The country now has dozens of collective farms with an efficient structure and a sufficiently high level of organisation of production and management.

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[4] The first General Secretary of the Communist Party died in the fascist concentration camp of Tarrafal—*Ed.*

One of these advanced forms is called May Day, situated in the municipal district of Avis, Portalegro Region. It has 14,000 hectares of land and 400 employees. This cooperative has a great influence on farmers in all the neighbouring areas. The members of its management board are respected people well known throughout the region; most of them are communists, a few are socialists.

To promote the growth of production, the May Day cooperative is building by itself, without government assistance, a dam for irrigation purposes and small workshops for the repair of machines, motor vehicles, etc. It has two nursery schools and a rest home for elderly members of the employees' families.[5] It also has its own shop, where the prices of foodstuffs and other goods are lower than market prices. In this, what we call consumer cooperative, the employees are shopkeepers who could hardly make a living out of their former businesses. Now they have guaranteed wages. And their knowledge of commercial affairs is useful to the farm.

The May Day farm has established cooperation with the small and middle producers of the district. They sell their products through the cooperative, which has trade ties with the state and can do without middlemen. The cooperative buys seeds and fertilisers from the state and sells them to the small and middle peasants at cost price. It also helps them to harvest their crops.

Reaction's slanderous predictions that illiterate workers would fail to manage the lands they had occupied and that the country would face a famine have not come true. Owing to the devoted efforts of the working people, Alentejo Province, for instance, has increased agricultural output. The tendency towards increased production was noticeable already in the first year of the revolution. In that year the sown area was up seven per cent. In the 1974-75 agricultural year weather conditions were good, and wheat output rose by 24 per cent.[6]

In 1975 the crop area was further enlarged, and though there are no overall data, the selective figures are highly indicative. For example, in the municipal district of Avis 450,000 kgs. of winter wheat were sown in 1974, and 1,200,000 kgs. in 1975: the amount of winter barley sown was 5,000 kgs. and 30,000 kgs. respectively. In the municipal district of Campo Maior the sown area in 1975 was 50 per cent greater than in 1974. Last autumn the amount of wheat sown in the municipal district of Montemor Novo exceeded

[5] This is a typical characteristic of advanced collective farms: they set up nurseries, schools, song-and-dance groups for their employees' children. They organise literacy and qualification improvement courses. The personnel problem is so acute that sometimes the cooperatives give allowances to their employees attending these courses.

[6] Grain (wheat, oats, barley) is the traditional crop in the south, above all in the Province of Alentejo. In Ribatejo province wine and cork are also produced, but there, too, grain is the main crop.

the previous year's figure by 500,000 kgs. And the municipal district of Mora doubled its sown area.

It is safe to say that this year's sown area has increased by 30 to 40 per cent over last year's. If weather conditions are good this year, Portugal will not have to import wheat and other grains.

The cattle population in the southern regions has increased over last year. Measures have been taken to preserve breeding cattle. Young livestock is bought in other regions of the country and sent to Alentejo.

It is significant that the workers, as experience has shown, have no intention whatsoever of adhering to the traditional, obsolete forms of production. They are already thinking in terms of quality seeds and irrigation, mechanical milking, and higher effectiveness of animal husbandry.

While opening up wide prospects for the flourishing of agriculture in Portugal, the agrarian reform is also an important instrument for defending the revolution. It is strengthening the alliance of the urban and rural proletariat. Industrial workers, too, have proved to be closely associated with the farmers. One of the forms of this association is their participation in agricultural work. Thousands and thousands of workers and members of the revolutionary youth go to the countryside on Sundays and other holidays. There they work voluntarily in the cooperatives and organise unity festivals. So it is not only a matter of material, but also of moral and political support from the urban working class.

The reform is also consolidating the alliance of the farm workers with the small and middle producers in the countryside. The party pays unremitting attention to this alliance. By promoting all-round cooperation between the collective farmers and the small holders, it has foiled the attempts of the fascist reactionaries and the landowners to break this alliance.

This cooperation is developing along two lines. First, there is sales cooperation, which means that the small producers sell their goods through the cooperatives, and have no need for middlemen: through the same channels used by the cooperatives and on the same terms they can obtain fertilisers, machines and other industrial wares. Second, cooperation in production. Many peasants lack equipment and manpower. The collective farms help out by sending a column of 10 or 12 machines, which can harvest all peasant holdings in one district within a day. This has proved to be very advantageous to the peasants. Their interests are expressed by the League of Small Producers, which maintains close ties with the farm workers' trade union, and, through it, with the cooperatives.

Many of the small producers have no land of their own, and in some districts they are granted land by the cooperatives. Another interesting fact has been observed: small producers having been convinced of the advantages of collective farming, voluntarily join the cooperatives, which buy their cattle and implements, and accept them as equal members.

The peasants in the northern provinces, too, are b... advantages of joint work. The agrarian reform enables ... and barter products with collective farms in the south. ... are helping to solve an extremely urgent problem facing t... north—export of their produce, notably to socialist countr...

There has been some misunderstanding between the colle... the small holders in the north, whom the reactionaries wer... about the agrarian reform. However, this is gradually disapp...

The Communist Party's efforts are directed at strengthen... tions in the north and helping the working peasants to ach... economic emancipation. The difficulties confronting the par... the fact that before 25 April it did not have as strong an orga... as it had in the south. Besides, the church has always had ... influence in the north. Party work there is also hampered by ... unleashed by reaction. Supported to some extent by the milita... and backed by all anti-revolutionary forces, reaction is pursuing a polic... repression and intimidation in the north. Any supporter of the Commun... Party risks finding his car burned or his house demolished.

The party, however, never tires of repeating that the population in the north is not reactionary. It is just that the conditions there differ from those in the south, where there is a revolutionary and well organised rural proletariat. We are convinced that the Party will find forms of organisation th... accord with the specific conditions of the north, that it will broaden the scope of its work to win over more and more peasants there. We believe that we will achieve a firm alliance between the working masses in Portugal's two agricultural regions and extensive cooperation will develop between them. This alliance and this cooperation are indispensable to the defence of the revolution.

We communists are well aware that it is extremely difficult to embark upon further revolutionary reorganisations when a bourgeois government is in office. The main difficulty is to find the ways and means, in this complex and contradictory political situation, of consolidating the progressive economic and social structures established during development of the revolutionary process, of furthering this process despite the hindrances of the right-wing forces and the present government.

The agrarian reform, too, has to be extended in spite of the many technical, financial and organisational obstacles created by the government.

The cooperatives obviously have to grow a wider variety of products for sale to the state. There are other marketing difficulties which they overcome by setting up their own commercial network, with retail shops, sales cooperatives, promoting commercial ties with major enterprises where workers exercise control, using the network of department stores to market their

roduce, and supplying foodstuffs to such wholesale buyers as hospitals and the procurement agencies of the armed forces.

The cooperatives badly need equipment, irrigation systems and reservoirs (the south of Portugal is very dry). An agricultural infrastructure must be built: cattle yards, silage pits, forage storehouses, and fodder-producing facilities. Pedigree livestock has to be bought. Funds and credits are required for all this, but the government has refused to grant any.

The shortage of agronomists and machine operators is a serious problem. One-third of the population in Alentejo province for instance, is illiterate, and a great many specialists identify their interests with those of the bourgeoisie.

One must also bear in mind the difficulties involved in adapting thousands of farm workers to the new conditions. They must now learn to work for themselves, not for landowners. The process of adapting to collective, democratic forms of farming is not simple and has involved many organisational difficulties.

We communists are well aware of the nature and magnitude of the problems, and we are confident in our ability to solve them. In our daily work in among the masses, we feel their vigorous strength, the fervent enthusiasm with which they are carrying forward the revolution. To the working people, defence of the agrarian reform means defence of the revolution, and vice versa. They realise that if reaction win, it will suppress all democratic freedoms and their revolutionary gains, including the agrarian reform. A fascist dictatorship would rule the country once again. But the enemies of the revolution must know that its defeat would spell death and bloodshed. The working people do not intend to wait until the reactionaries abolish their gains. The same is true of the agrarian reform: it can now be reversed only with tanks and guns, for the rural working people are determined to defend this great gain of the revolution to the end.

The prospects for progressive changes in the countryside are inseparably linked with the prospects of the revolution itself. The revolution has not been completed, it continues despite all the difficulties. The Portuguese communists are enriched by the experience of the revolution's sharp turns. This enables them to plan the next step towards the revolutionary reorganisation of society more accurately.

SOCIALIST SOCIETY'S SPIRITUAL POTENTIAL
SUPG Cultural Policy

HANS-JOACHIM HOFFMANN
Minister of Culture, German Democratic Republic

The 8th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG) held in 1971 set the party and state the aim of further raising material and cultural standards through a high rate of socialist economic development, higher effectiveness, technological progress and higher labour productivity. The five years since then have shown, as Comrade Erich Honecker has pointed out, that this involves "a principled and longrange orientation stemming from the basic economic law of socialism" and corresponds with the new requirements in building developed socialist society. And this society, as our draft Party Programme emphasises, will be the beginning of a gradual transition to communism.

Dual Task

Culture plays anything but a secondary role in building mature socialism. As our draft Programme emphasises, the building of developed socialist society is a historical process involving deep-going political, economic and social transformations, and also transformations in the cultural field. This process calls for systematic development at a higher level of all the advantages and motive forces, all aspects and spheres of public life, the productive forces and production, social and political relations, science and education, socialist ideology and culture, the entire complex of living and working conditions, as well as the country's defences.

It will thus be seen that the SUPG considers continued improvement of material conditions and the development of culture components of a whole. Improving socialist education, developing culture and the arts and their penetration of all spheres of life is just

as important a task as assuring social confidence and higher prosperity standards. "When we speak of cultural progress in developed socialist society...", Kurt Hager has remarked, we have in mind the entire complex of conditions of life, material and spiritual values, ideas and knowledge, all of which help people to mature and become educated convinced builders of socialism, real socialist personalities."

The integral character of our conception of culture is expressed in the fact that culture is both an ideological and philosophical orientation and guide to practical action From this follows the need constantly to study culture and direct its development. This is a multi-dimensional dynamic process based on the laws governing the building of socialist society, and closely interacting with the process of bringing together and classes and strata of socialist society, gradually obliterating the distinctions between town and country, mental and manual labour, and unfolding of the scientific and technological revolution and its organic combination with the advantages of socialism. Lastly, this process is closely associated with the changing way of life of our people.

Culture permeates every sphere of life of socialist society. But its main function remains the formation of a harmonious and comprehensively developed personality, the shaping of the conscious, educated and socially actively member of society This function is being discharged by the socialist education system, by all workers in culture and the arts, by institutions and organisations concerned with culture, by the ideological and educational activities of the party, the state, the trade unions, all other public organisations, and by economic management bodies The fullest development of the people's creative abilities, and first of all of the working class, the leading social force, is both an aim and an essential condition in the building of developed socialist and communist society.

That is precisely how the matter is treated in policy statements of the SUPG and other fraternal parties in the socialist countries. The efforts towards that goal contribute to progress in achieving the ultimate aim of the Communist parties, to assure, in the words of Lenin, "Full wellbeing and free all-round development for all members of society" (Coll. Works, Vol. 6, p. 54).

Main Direction of Cultural Policy

Guided by this Lenin thought, our party regards the socialist cultural revolution as an inalienable part of the revolutionary refashioning of society. It is being carried out over a long period, from the establishment of workingclass power right up to the building of

communism. The working class is central to this all-embracing process of cultural development. Hence the effectiveness and quality of all our work in this field is determined primarily by the way it stimulates and satisfies the cultural interests of the working class. In other words, by the degree to which culture and the arts help to develop the worker's personality.

Guided by party policy, the trade unions, youth league and other public and government organisations are actively working in this direction, and we can say that the impact of socialist culture is now substantially greater.

The spread of the socialist emulation movement and its companion piece, the movement to "work, learn and live in the socialist way", play an important part in raising the educational and cultural level of the working class and stimulating and satisfying its interests in the values of socialist culture. The latter movement began in 1959 and now accounts for nearly 90 per cent of all work collectives involved in the socialist emulation drive. The creative activity of the working class in the cultural sphere is clearly discernable in fulfilment by work teams and trade-union collectives of the plans of cultural and educational development. These plans are a component part of the obligations undertaken in the socialist emulation campaign. And thcy include such provisions as assimilating and deepening the study of Marxism-Leninism, raising work skills, a closer interest in art and literature, development of socialist forms of recreation in amateur art groups, sport, public affairs, etc.

In all these plans a very prominent place belongs to our efforts to satisfy the workers' requirements in fostering a socialist work culture, the desire by workers to "saturate" the very process of work with culture and for culture to permeate the general atmosphere in the factories. In this way socialist emulation helps to shape unity of a cultural way of life and a cultural way of work. The socialist work schools at factories play a prominent part in this. At present there are 80,000 such schools, and the 1,600,000 working people who attend them the Marxist world outlook, raise their professional skills and learn more about the economy.

The results of this cultural growth are taken into account in summing up the achievements of the emulation movement. This is done at meetings of work collectives to review the development of culture. Each collective reports on its work, on how it is raising its cultural level. This form is designed to activise cultural work among all working people of a given factory, office or other institution.

Another important method of stimulating culture among the workers, the cooperative farmers and all sections of the working people

is the art festivals held at industrial enterprises; cooperative farms and residential areas. The factory festivals were started in 1970 when about 350 were held, with about one million people participating. Last year there were 3,000 festivals involving about eight million people.

Workers' festivals with the participation of leading amateur art groups from factories, agricultural cooperatives, the National People's Army, schools, etc., are held every two years in various parts of the country. These festivals have become part and parcel of our cultural life since 1959. They are also attracting increasing international interest. Their scope is measurable in the fact that the 1974 festival involved about 18,000 amateur and professional artists and was attended by 1,650,000 people.

Still another clear indication of the cultural growth of our people is widespread amateur art activity. There are now 25,000 groups and circles with 1,400,000 active participants, 100 worker and farmer theatres, 50 "worker-writer" circles, etc. About 43 million people visit our houses of culture and clubs every year.

Developing Culture in the Rural Areas

With the dominance of socialist production relations, the growth and strengthening of cooperative farms and the wider use of industrial methods in agriculture, we were able to pass to a new stage in developing culture in the rural areas The possibilities and prerequisites are being created for gradually evening out cultural levels in urban and rural communities.

We can already speak of substantial progress in overcoming the sharp gap between town and country inherited from capitalism. There is a steady process of bringing town and country closer together in terms of culture. In 1960, only 4.2 per cent of cooperative farmers had received occupational training; the present figure is 80 per cent. We have introduced ten-year universal polytechnical schooling. Medical care, too, is on much the same high level in the towns and villages. Nor are there any material differences in possession of radio sets, TV sets and other durable consumer goods.

The results has been a much wider interest in culture among cooperative farmers. The 240 houses of culture and the over 6,000 village clubs staffed by volunteers are the initiators and centres of a very active cultural life.

Environmental protection, more rational and effective use of the land, water sources, flora and fauna is still another aspect of how culture is being assimilated by the people, particularly in rural areas.

Aesthetic criteria and appreciation of the beautiful play an increasing role in planning and building up communities, recreation centres and in preserving nature, historical monuments, etc. As Comrade Honecker said in his speech at the 11th Farmer's Congress "...We are far from understanding the fact that well-tilled fields and well-cared-for forests and attractive villages add to the beauty of our country and are a matter of rejoicement for every citizen."

Notwithstanding urbanisation, we are doing everything to preserve the characteristic features of our villages but not, of course, to the detriment of providing modern conditions for the rural population

Art Helps Society, Society Helps Art

The socialist revolution has wrought a qualitative change in the role of art and the artist in the life of society. The rapid growth of cultural interests and the equally rapid growth of opportunities to satisfy them naturally make new demands on cultural workers artists and writers, stimulating perfection of their craftsmanship and bringing them into closer association with the people, also heightening their responsibility to society. In full accord with the main task formulated by the 8th SUPG Congress, our party is orienting development of the arts on satisfying these new requirements.

Proceeding from the understanding that "man must cultivate his feelings, develop his ethical and aesthetic interests and his ability to appreciate art", the 6th CC SUPG Plenum (1972) noted that art is a vital necessity for socialism and the artist, "the first to depict the new reality", becomes a conscious participant in the process of building socialism. "Socialist art," the plenum emphasised, "matures only in the class struggle, in the course of accomplishing its great social mission..."

Our progress in literature and the arts, especially tangible following the 8th SUPG Congress, was largely due to our Marxist-Leninist policy on culture and to the closer alliance of the working class and other sections of the working people. This policy has been persistently pursued by the party. The high appraisal the congress gave to the work of our artists, the major tasks it set them, necessitated by the building of developed socialist society, the close links between the artistic intelligentsia and the working class and its party—all this created an ideological and spiritual atmosphere conducive to creative work. In all branches of art and literature works have been produced which now hold a firm place in the country's cultural life. They reflect the interests of our workers and scientists, our farmers and artists, of the men and women who are solving the complex economic, social and cultural problems involved in building develop-

ed socialism. There is a closer link between artists and writers an the life of the people and new vistas have opened for their creativ endeavour.

The voice of the young generation of artists is being heard mor authoritatively and convincingly. These are men and women bor in a socialist society and for them socialism is something taken fo granted. They pose new, interesting problems of the past, presen and future. Their understanding of capitalist reality in many way differs from that of the generation that is today 45 years old or more They are anxious to accumulate their own political, general an working experience against the background of multiform clas battles and social movements. Consequently, operating our policy o alliance with creative intellectuals is a constant, multifaceted and b no means one-dimensional task. We regard partisanship and unit with the people as the key features of socialist art.

There are many facts illustrative of the important place socialis literature and art holds in the life of our society. For instance, th rapid growth of subscribers to our more than 13,000 public libra ries and to our 5,000 trade-union and 34 scientific libraries. Or ano ther example: we produce 120 new books a year, four times mor than in the year the GDR was founded. Also this: 82 per cent of a families have television sets. There has been a very marked increas in visits to museums, picture galleries and various exhibitions: th figure has risen from 17,500,000 in 1968 to 35,000,000 at the presen time. There is also a big demand for musical works of all genres Compared with 1970, output of gramaphone records in 1974 wa twice as big, amounting to 15 million.

All the achievements of socialist art and literature would hav been inconceivable without our care and solicitude for the cultura treasures of the past and without our constantly drawing on th humanist, democratic and socialist traditions of our and worl culture.

Today we can be justifiably proud of the fact that the develop ment of culture in the GDR has won international recognition. Ou experience in operating our cultural policy suggests that now, a well as in the future, the question of what place the cultural herit age should hold and what our attitude to it should be is of vast po litical and ideological importance. Taking as our starting point th Lenin proposition that only he can be a communist who assimilate the wealth of knowledge accumulated by mankind, our party ha over the past three decades done much to preserve and bring withi the reach of the public the treasures of culture inherited from th past.

And we can safely say that the cultural wealth accumulated by mankind has now become accessible to the masses. The steady increase in the books and gramaphone records we put out, the truly popular interests, compared with the past, in Beethoven, Goethe, Schiller, Heine, Feuchtwanger, Thomas Mann, Mickiewicz, Tchaikovsky, Verdi, Shakespeare, Pushkin, Balzac, Cervantes and many other writers; mass participation in the festivities marking the 450th anniversary of the Peasant War, the 1,000th anniversary of Weimar, etc.; the staging of works by the world's great dramatists and the performance of works of the great composers of the past—all this is convincing evidence that socialism is becoming the real home of all that is valuable and progressive in the culture of mankind. We are protecting the spiritual and cultural heritage of the past against imperialism, which abuses this heritage, distorts and emasculates it.

The cultural heritage has become the subject of a sharp ideological confrontation. Our ideological adversaries in the imperialist countries, notably the FRG, have stepped up their activity. The GDR's creative attitude to the values of history and tradition effectively refutes the Western propaganda figment of a "united German cultural nation based on the common culture and destiny of all Germans", which, it is alleged, exists today too. The deeper we penetrate and assimilate the cultural past, the clearer becomes the correctness of Lenin's theory of two incompatible cultures. This is fully confirmed by the mutually opposed socialist culture of the GDR and the imperialist culture of the FRG ruling classes. A creative approach to the legacy of the past has always been, and will continue to be, an inalienable part of our cultural policy.

Internationalism of Socialist Culture

By word and deed our people are upholding the internationalist traditions of the revolutionary working-class movement also in the realm of culture. And one of the main indicators of cultural progress in the course of building developed socialism is the fact that the internationalist content of our culture is being raised to a new, higher plane. For one thing, there is closer unity of socialist patriotism and socialist internationalism, of the national and the international.

Our country is a staunch member of the socialist community. The common economic basis, social and political structure of the fraternal socialist countries, their coordinated international activity, their common Marxist-Leninist world outlook and the development of socialist economic integration—these and other factors—and one of

them is personal contacts between the peoples of our countries—have powerfully influenced cooperation in culture, strengthening its internationalist basis. Concretely this implies active assimilation by the GDR of artistic and cultural values of the peoples of the USSR and other fraternal countries, especially the great, world renowned, humanistic, democratic and revolutionary cultural heritage of the Russian people.

Our chief aim in this respect is to facilitate the consolidation of world socialism and the world revolutionary movement. That is the purpose of organising "culture days" of fraternal countries in the GDR and reciprocal measures in these countries, such as festivals etc. This has become a regular practice. Every major event in the cultural life of any fraternal country is marked by the participation of artists from other countries of the socialist community.

Celebration of the 30th anniversary of victory over fascism was a very special event in the cultural life and cooperation of the socialist countries. For the peoples of our socialist community it was an occasion that vividly brought out their feelings of gratitude and respect for the Soviet people. Among the main events were an international art exhibition. "Thirty Victorious Years", and a joint amateur art festival sponsored by Czechoslovakia, Poland and the GDR at a point where the three countries meet. Publishing houses of the socialist countries will by 1980 put out a 35-volume Victory Library, of which the first several volumes were available on the 30th anniversary of victory.

However, expanding cultural links of members of the socialist community are not confined to these undertakings. They include direct creative projects, and these have been facilitated by the long-term cultural cooperation agreements. Direct contacts between creative and cultural organisations are constantly being expanded. They make for live, direct exchange of experience and their development enjoys all-round support. Such cooperation agreements have already been concluded between many theatres, universities and schools, and museums. For instance the Dresden Gallery has such an agreement and maintains close contact with museums in Moscow and Leningrad and the national galleries in Prague, Warsaw and Budapest. In recent years this has been complemented by plan coordination and joint undertakings, primarily in publishing, the cinema and gramophone records.

The art of the USSR and of other members of the socialist community have become part of our own cultural life. Most theatres, orchestras, amateur art ensembles and concert groups visiting the

GDR come from the socialist countries which also account for 65 per cent of all our translated literature, 75 per cent of visiting exhibitions and 60 per cent of feature films.

And so, the achievements of the people of each fraternal country are increasingly becoming accessible to audiences in all other fraternal countries. This process, directed by the communist parties, is constantly expanding. Cultural development in the socialist countries is now determined by two intertwining dialectical processes: on the one hand, socialist national culture flourishes in each fraternal country, and on the other, there is gradual coming together and mutual enrichment of national cultures. This is something entirely new in history and we make a point of supporting and promoting it.

We tie in our closer cultural contacts with other countries of the socialist community with ideological cooperation of the fraternal parties, which has assumed wider scope in recent years. In his report to the 25th CPSU Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, CC CPSU, emphasised that such cooperation "helps to raise the level of ideological and educational work in each of our parties and more successfully to act in the ideological confrontation of the two social systems. In present-day conditions this is very important, for the problems of ideological struggle are more and more being brought to the fore, and the truth about socialism is a powerful weapon in this struggle."

Battle of Ideas

In reflecting on the significance of culture in building socialism and communism, we must not lose sight of the fact that socialist culture and art rise and develop against a background of sharp class confrontation with imperialism. Obviously, their attractive power and influence in the world are steadily increasing. Our culture is an effective alternative to the anti-human, by its very nature, imperialist "mass culture" of contemporary bourgeois society, with its de-humanised way of life. Obviously, too, the decadence of art, its glorification of violence and crime, its contempt for the human being, his dignity, happiness and confidence in the future—in short, all the things that make up bourgeois "mass culture"—are the result of culture being subordinated to the class interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

The apologists for capitalism are frantically looking for a way out of the crisis of bourgeois culture. But that crisis is part of the general crisis of capitalism, which extends to all aspects of capitalist

society, to its very way of life and its morality. History has clearly demonstrated that modern bourgeois society has no future and is incapable of solving the problems of cultural development in the interests of man and progress.

And this crisis is being aggravated at a time when socialism is successfully forging ahead in the cultural and all other fields. This means that our socialist culture is exerting a growing influence on cultural processes in the imperialist countries, increasingly exposing the distorted, deformed and contradictory nature of their cultural life. We refer to the basic contradiction between the dominant, reactionary, imperialist culture and the elements of a developing humanist, democratic and socialist culture, and also to the intrinsic contradictions of the dominant bourgeois culture.

These contradictions and the growth of the democratic forces present new opportunities for the socialist community countries. The Helsinki Conference recommendations provide a good basis for gradually overcoming the inadequate information or distorted notions about cultural development in the socialist countries. While taking that into account, we are fully aware that constant confrontation with the bourgeois, "left" and right opportunist conceptions of culture, disseminated above all by definite circle in the FRG, is a component part of our own cultural policy. These concepts are meant to conceal, or even negative, the existence of antagonisms in modern bourgeois culture.

A distinguishing feature of the culture of developed socialist society, one that contributes to durable peace and closer friendship between the peoples, is our rejection of the decadent imperialist culture, of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism in whatever form or shape. Our culture is advancing in struggle against imperialism and is continuously asserting its historic superiority over bourgeois culture. In the ideological battles of our time. the socialist culture and art of the GDR can rely on the genuine humanism of socialist society, its spiritual and moral values. its absorption of the great achievements of the German people's culture, which continue to live in our own socialist national culture. Guided by proletarian internationalism, we shall continue, together with the USSR and other countries of the socialist community, to use every channel of international cultural exchange and cooperation to assert the ideals of humanism, democracy and socialism as part of the battle against imperialism.

The culture and art of the German Democratic Republic are the embodiment of the spiritual potential of a country that has drawn

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Battle of Ideas

In reflecting on the significance of culture in building socialism and communism, we must not lose sight of the fact that socialist culture and art rise and develop against a background of sharp class confrontation with imperialism. Obviously, their attractive power and influence in the world are steadily increasing. Our culture is an effective alternative to the anti-human, by its very nature, imperialist "mass culture" of contemporary bourgeois society, with its de-humanised way of life. Obviously, too, the decadence of art, its glorification of violence and crime, its contempt for the human being, his dignity, happiness and confidence in the future—in short, all the things that make up bourgeois "mass culture"—are the result of culture being subordinated to the class interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

The apologists for capitalism are frantically looking for a way out of the crisis of bourgeois culture. But that crisis is part of the general crisis of capitalism, which extends to all aspects of capitalist

society, to its very way of life and its morality. History has clearly demonstrated that modern bourgeois society has no future and is incapable of solving the problems of cultural development in the interests of man and progress.

And this crisis is being aggravated at a time when socialism is successfully forging ahead in the cultural and all other fields. This means that our socialist culture is exerting a growing influence on cultural processes in the imperialist countries, increasingly exposing the distorted, deformed and contradictory nature of their cultural life. We refer to the basic contradiction between the dominant, reactionary, imperialist culture and the elements of a developing humanist, democratic and socialist culture, and also to the intrinsic contradictions of the dominant bourgeois culture.

These contradictions and the growth of the democratic forces present new opportunities for the socialist community countries. The Helsinki Conference recommendations provide a good basis for gradually overcoming the inadequate information or distorted notions about cultural development in the socialist countries. While taking that into account, we are fully aware that constant confrontation with the bourgeois, "left" and right opportunist conceptions of culture, disseminated above all by definite circle in the FRG, is a component part of our own cultural policy. These concepts are meant to conceal, or even negative, the existence of antagonisms in modern bourgeois culture.

A distinguishing feature of the culture of developed socialist society, one that contributes to durable peace and closer friendship between the peoples, is our rejection of the decadent imperialist culture, of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism in whatever form or shape. Our culture is advancing in struggle against imperialism and is continuously asserting its historic superiority over bourgeois culture. In the ideological battles of our time, the socialist culture and art of the GDR can rely on the genuine humanism of socialist society, its spiritual and moral values, its absorption of the great achievements of the German people's culture, which continue to live in our own socialist national culture Guided by proletarian internationalism, we shall continue, together with the USSR and other countries of the socialist community, to use every channel of international cultural exchange and cooperation to assert the ideals of humanism, democracy and socialism as part of the battle against imperialism

The culture and art of the German Democratic Republic are the embodiment of the spiritual potential of a country that has drawn

GDR come from the socialist countries which also account for 65 per cent of all our translated literature, 75 per cent of visiting exhibitions and 60 per cent of feature films.

And so, the achievements of the people of each fraternal country are increasingly becoming accessible to audiences in all other fraternal countries. This process, directed by the communist parties, is constantly expanding. Cultural development in the socialist countries is now determined by two intertwining dialectical processes: on the one hand, socialist national culture flourishes in each fraternal country, and on the other, there is gradual coming together and mutual enrichment of national cultures. This is something entirely new in history and we make a point of supporting and promoting it.

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The culture and art of the German Democratic Republic are the embodiment of the spiritual potential of a country that has drawn

the necessary and correct lessons from history, especially from th
nazi years and the Second World War. The ideas of Marxism-Lenin
ism, humanism and peace, socialist patriotism and proletarian in
ternationalism are firmly rooted in our people. They have once an
for all done away with chauvinism, nationalism and recialism, whic
had such a ruinous effect on bourgeois German culture and are stil
making themselves felt among definite circles in the FRG. Cultur
and art have become the property of all the people, as Lenin fore
saw. The deep-going changes in cultural life, in the consciousnes
and psychology of our people over the past three decades, the flour
ishing state of our socialist national culture—they are all an im
mense achievement of socialism, the result of the purposeful ideo
logical and political work of the SUPG and of its Marxist-Leninis
cultural policy, the logical outcome of the cultural and educationa
work of the state and of all the parties and mass organisation
united in the National Front.

TERROR CANNOT STOP THE MARCH OF HISTORY

PAGES FROM THE BOOK OF COURAGE

The contribution which communists—members of the great international brotherhood of fighters for the happiness of all working people—make to the positive changes taking place on our planet, to the world revolutionary process, is tremendous and indisputable. The sources of the current achievements of world socialism and the gains of the international working-class and national-liberation movement trace back to the activity of the Communist League founded by Marx and Engels, to the barricades of the Paris Commune and the streets of Chicago stained with workers' blood, to the revolutionary enthusiasm of the Russian proletariat and the heroic deeds of Lenin's party, to the *Aurora* shot which heralded the advent of a new era in man's history. These achievements and gains are a materialisation of the collective wisdom, experience and energy of many generations of revolutionary heroes of all continents.

The 25th CPSU Congress supported and approved the proposal put forward in the report of L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, that a monument symbolising the Soviet communists' unfailing loyalty to the great cause of proletarian internationalism be erected in Moscow in memory of the heroes of the international communist, working-class and national-libration movement who fought selflessly for the people's happiness and fell at the hands of the class enemy.

Expressing the will of all Soviet communists and Soviet people, the congress solemnly declared its fraternal and unbreakable solidarity with communists and all other fighters against imperialism and reaction, with the victims of fascist repression, with those who languish in prisons and concentration camps and who are brutally tortured.

"The inhuman ordeal that has fallen to their lot" says the statement "Freedom for the Prisoners of Imperialism and Reaction" adopted by the congress, "is the class revenge for their heroic participation in the noble struggle for the interests of the working people, for the triumph of the ideals of peace and democracy, national independence and socialism.

"Despite the angry protests of broad sections of world opinion, the fascist junta in Chile continues to trample on all norms of law and to keep in confinement that outstanding son of the Chilean people, that prominent personality of the world communist movement, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, Luis Corvalan.

"The congress demands in all firmness: Release Luis Corvalan! Release our comrades—members of the Communist Party of Chile leadership Jose Cademar-

tori and Jorge Montes, leaders of the Socialist Party Exequiel Ponce and Carlos Lorca, other Popular Unity leaders, and the thousands of other prisoners of the fascist regime—communists, socialists, all patriots and democrats!

"In Uruguay, the authorities have started another wave of repressions against the progressive forces. We demand: release secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay Jaime Perez and Jose Luis Massera, release all Uruguayan communists, the President of the Broad Front of Uruguay Liber Seregni and other democrats!

"Antonio Maidana, Chairman of the Paraguayan Communist Party, has been languishing in prison for 18 years. A tyrannical military dictatorship holds sway over the whole country. Release Antonio Maidana! Release Miguel Angel Soler, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Paraguayan Communist Party, and hundreds of other Paraguayan patriots!

"In recent years, general secretaries of the Guatemalan Party of Labour Bernardo Alvarado-Monzon and Huberto Alvarado Arellano were brutally killed in quick succession in Guatemala. In Brazil, leading members of the Communist Party and the democratic opposition are disappearing without a trace in prisons. In Argentina, the reactionaries are subjecting the Communist Party and other progressive organisations to systematic terror. Terror does not cease in Haiti.

"The congress declares its resolute protest against all these persecution and demands an end to them.

"Outstanding personalities of the national-liberation movement of Africa—Amilcar Cabral, General Secretary of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, and Eduardo Mondlane, President of the National Liberation Front of Mozambique—have lost their lives at the hands of imperialist agents.

"The racist regimes' rule over the peoples of the South-African Republic, Namibia and Zimbabwe is a challenge to the conscience of all mankind. Inhuman treatment from jailers caused the death of Bram Fisher, a distinguished humanist and an unbending fighter against racism and social injustice. Many leaders of the Communist Party of South Africa, the oldest communist party on the African continent, are kept in prison in appalling condiions. Disgrace upon the rascists and their henchmen! Release all participants in the national-liberation movement in the south of Africa!

"Thousands of communists have been killed in Indonesia. To this day there are tens of thousands of political prisoners in jails and concentration camps. Release the communists, all the patriots of Indonesia!

"On Palestinian territory occupied by Israel, fighters against aggression, for the sacred right of their people to have their own independent state, are arrested and kept in prison.

"In Spain the authorities still refuse to restore lawful freedom to many hundreds of political prisoners—communists, socialists and other democrats. The congress supports all those who champion the just cause of the Spanish people.

"The congress emphatically condemns the persecution and discrimination of communists, the consistent champions of peace and the security of peoples, the most dedicated fighters for the interests of working people and for a better future for mankind.

"The congress declares its full support for the martyrs and heroes of the revolutionary and liberation movement and sends them its fraternal greetings."

We have repeatedly written about many of these heroes, well-known leaders of the international communist movement, such as Luis Corvalan, and rank

and file members of the fraternal parties of various countries. Some of them have recalled in *WMR* memorable events of their life and struggle. The editors see their internationalist duty in continuing to carry material about heroes of the underground movement, prisoners of dictatorships, anti-fascists, courageous participants in class battles, past and present, about the inspiration and daily events of revolutionary struggle.

In this issue we would like to tell about the communists of Paraguay, working in the harsh conditions of illegality and unceasing repression.

Reynaldo Marin, First Secretary of the Paraguayan Communist Party, speaks in an interview with *WMR* about today's struggle of the Communists of that Latin-American country, including Miguel Angel Soler, Secretary of the PCP. During the 25th CPSU Congress, *WMR* correspondents asked leaders of some of the fraternal parties of the continent who know Miguel Soler, to tell our readers about him.

For obvious reasons, much of what follows is incomplete. But even this necessarily scant evidence of the selfless heroism of fighters for the Paraguayan people's freedom can, we believe, make up one of the innumerable pages of the Book of Communist Courage.[1]

THE PARTY HAS COME BACK

Reynaldo Marin
First Secretary, Paraguayan Communist Party

The class struggle has lately been intensifying in Paraguay and so has anti-dictatorial activity. The Stroessner dictatorship and its policy of renouncing national sovereignty are a source of widespread discontent. The working class has stepped up the fight for its rights. In Pilar and other towns, workers took action against government policies. Not so long ago, the church severed relations with the Stroessner clique. Even small manufacturers and members of the traditional bourgeois parties have begun to resist the government.

The regime's reaction to growing anti-dictatorial trends is more repression. Troops and police carried out a punitive operation against Jejui, a Catholic community, where they jailed peasants and priests. In 1975 official violence turned against the peasants in the Misiones, Yho and Acaray districts. Last November and December, a new wave of violence struck the working-class and democratic movement. The homes of workers, students, intellctuals, shopkeepers and public figures were raided.

Communists are the hardest hit as usual. At the end of last year, the authorities arrested Miguel Angel Soler, Secretary of our Central

[1] See *WMR*, August 1975, p. 48. The proposal to create this book, put forward in the journal, is also supported by our readers.

Committee. They refuse all information on his fate, as well as on that of other comrades. This makes political and democratic circles fear for the prisoners' lives. Many of them are tortured. A special section of the CIA operating in the Paraguayan police force has a hand in this.[2]

There is no doubt, however, that like his comrades, Soler, that indefatigable fighter of the party, has borne up courageously under the trials in store for every revolutionary, for anyone carrying on underground work.

Stroessner would like to destroy communist organisations. But his regime's repressive measures fail to produce the results he seeks. The dictatorship can no longer do as it pleases. It can no longer intimidate the people by hounding those who want to fight it in alliance with the communists. Moreover, the Party has considerably improved its structure and functioning since its latest congress, the Third (April 1971). It has come back and its activity is on the rise.

The Stroessner dictatorship's terror against communists was coupled with a blow which Oscar Creydt, a Maoist agent-provocateur, struck the party and its unity from within, seriously weakening the communists' positions in the fight against the dictatorship. Many comrades were killed or jailed. Many more had to emigrate. Incidentally, it was Soler who at the head of a small group of comrades exposed in a most difficult situation Creydt's hostile activity and cleared the way for his expulsion from the party. Not until it had got rid of Creydt and his followers was the party in a position to go back to organising work inside the country.

Soler was one of the initiators and organisers of committees for the defence and reorganisation of the party and of the convocation of a national conference in April 1967 and then of the Third Party Congress. He made an invaluable contribution to the drafting of theses, Programme and Rules adopted by the congress.

One of Soler's main concerns was to reorganise the party inside

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[2] Word came late in March that the Paraguayan authorities were compelled to transfer PCP Chairman Antonio Maidana, Julio Rojas and Alfredo Alcorta, CC PCP members, and Ananias, Maidana Palacios, a veteran, to the prison hospital after a four months' hunger strike called by them in protest against the dictatorship's repressive measures against a number of noted politicians. It also became known that CC PCP Secretary Miguel Angel Soler, Derliz Villagra, CC PCP member and leader of the Communist Youth Federation, and other imprisoned activists had "disappeared". The hunger strikers—Maidana, Rojas, Alcorta and Maidana Palacios—also protested against barbarous conditions of detention. They were backed by other political prisoners, who went on a hunger strike in solidarity.—*Ed.*

the country. In 1968 and 1970, he tried twice to make his way into the country—clandestinely, of course. He failed and only thanks to his experience of underground work managed to evade the police. The third time he succeeded in bypassing all police cordons. He was the first Central Committee member to return to the country after the Third Congress.

Soler worked in the Paraguayan underground for nearly four years. Stroessner's underlining caught him just as he was working on material for the coming Fourth Party Congress.

Miguel Angel Soler's arrest is a major loss to the Paraguayan Communist Party and the world communist movement.

The party knows Soler as a staunch and uncompromising fighter against "left" and right-wing deviations, an ardent champion of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. A hard-working man, he carefully studies the classical works of Marxism-Leninism and documents of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Soler is a staunch defender of the standards of party life; he is also attentive to the opinions of cadre members of branch organisations.

Soler is also remarkably unassuming man with an ability to adapt to difficult circumstances. I recall a Central Committee meeting that was held in a severe winter, in the absence of elementary facilities, and lasted all day long. It was deep night when Miguel and I arranged to get together before daybreak to discuss certain matters. At the appointed hour, I found him by the glow of his cigarette. He was in the kitchen, lying on two boards near a cold oven. I asked him if he had slept. "Very little", he replied, "there are so many ants crawling all over the place."

Soler rightly enjoys the affection of his fellow-communists as a man who has done so much to strengthen the party.

Party leaders are now operating clandestinely in Paraguay. The party publishes and distributes illegally the periodical **Adelante**, the theoretical journal **Bases** and a communist youth newspaper. Communists put out leaflets on current events and write slogans on walls. The party has organised the circulation of Marxist-Leninist literature.

We have restored party branches and formed new ones, especially in factories. The party is growing. All our cadre members, old and young alike, have passed the severe test of underground work. This is important since in the conditions of brutal terror the repalcement rate of cadre members is much greater than in normal conditions.

We have organised party education for the members, which is

very important to a party that has for decades been operating amid the most savage terror. Theoretical and political studies inspire communists with confidence in the ultimate victory and impart to them moral qualities enabling them to stand the test of torture, death threats and slander and, moreover, to strengthen the party and win friends and supporters for it.

In spite of repression, the party gaining strength, sparing no effort to be a strong, organised vanguard of the working class, a vanguard which as part of a united anti-dictatorship front could sweep away the Stroessner tyranny and fight for a democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution.

Our party has fine traditions that we are all proud of. It would be hard to list all the communist heroes who fell fighting against the dictatorship, for the future of their country. The people cherish the memory of the fallen, both the known and the unknown. Nor is it easy to name all whom the fascist regime has put behind bars.

The Communist Party calls on all democratic and anti-dictatorship forces of the country, all contingents of the international working-class, communist and national-liberation movement and all progressive national and international alignments and organisations to demand an end to tortures and the release of party chairman, Maidana, and Central Committee members Julio Rojas and Alfredo Alcorta, arrested almost 18 years ago, Miguel Angel Soler, Darliz Villagra and other political prisoners.

Supported by international solidarity, the Paraguayan people's struggle can put an end to tortures, preserve the lives of all political prisoners and secure their release.

TRUE SON OF HIS PEOPLE

Rodney Arismendi
First Secretary, Communist Party of Uruguay

The news of the arrest of Miguel Angel Soler who, true to his duty as a communist and undaunted by the dangers in store for him, had returned to Paraguay, deeply disturbed me.

Today many leading Latin American communists resolutely challenge fascism, exposing themselves to deadly risk. Some have lost their lives at the hands of torturers. By returning to his country as a leader of its communists, at a time when the situation in Para-

guay is so oppressive, Soler set an example of the personal courage distinguishing communists.

Miguel Angel Soler came to the communist movement from the revolutionary wing of students, from the front of anti-imperialist struggle against dictatorships of tyrants, as a result of a quest for a solution that would enable the country to end its appalling backwardness and almost century-long stagnation. He chose the communist path. It was on this path that we met. I recall his alert mind, his lack of pose, his concern about the destiny of his party when it found itself in a crisis and, later, his determination to create a revolutionary centre in the country, which is ultimately of decisive importance to the destiny of every revolutionary party and to the struggle of every people.

I wonder if Soler will live through the horrors of the most refined tortures practised by a brutal regime subservient to US imperialism. On behalf of a party fighting under a fascist regime, on behalf of the thousands of those imprisoned, killed or tortured to death by the Stroessner tyranny, we raise our voice in defence of Miguel Angel Soler. We call on the world public to save the life of a man, one of the Latin American leaders who are raising the banner of struggle against imperialism on a continent of revolution. Their fight is a fight for the future of our peoples and of world peace, for social progress and the development of revolutionary movements of our epoch, because today the fascist dictatorships of Latin America, including the bestial Paraguayan dictatorship, are a centre of provocations directed by US imperialism against world peace and the progress of peoples.

Jorge Colle

First Secretary, Communist Party of Bolivia

The extremely difficult revolutionary struggle in Paraguay, a country ruled by the tyrannical Stroessner regime, is marked by many sacrifices, made daily by the sons and daughters of that country in their fight for freedom and human rights. The greatest losses have been suffered by communists. Communists jailed by Stroessner have beaten all "records" for length of detention.

Antonio Maidana has become a symbol of communist resistance to reactionary repression on our continent. Recently a new name

was added to the list of the Paraguayan Gestapo's victims, the name of Miguel Angel Soler, zealous and staunch leader of the communists of Paraguay.

A serious young man who never parts with his pipe—that is how I have remembered him ever since we met. I have a vivid memory of his lean face marked by the hardships he went through after escaping once again from the Chaco concentration camp and trudging hundreds of kilometres across desert country with his comrades.

Having joined the Communist Party as a mature person, after a persevering quest for ways of liberating his people, Soler gave all his energy to organising the brain of the revolution in our country, the Communist Party, to the cause of national and social liberation, which history has assigned to the peoples of our continent as the paramount task. My most vivid recollections of Soler, like those of my comrades, are associated with his role in building up the party, or in reorganising it, to be exact, in perfecting that most important instrument of social revolution.

We Bolivian communists join the revolutionaries and democrats of the world, the patriots of Paraguay demanding the release of that remarkable man, that indomitable fighter for democracy and socialism.

VOLODIA TEITELBOIM

Political Commission member, Communist Party of Chile

The statement of the 25th Congress of the CPSU demanding the release of all prisoners of fascism and reaction is a stirring document of proletarian solidarity. Significantly, most of the victims of repression mentioned in the statement are in the clutches of Latin American tyrants.

There is no forgetting for a single moment the 18 years spent by Antonio Maidana, Julio Rojas and Alfredo Alcorta in Stroessner's prisons. We are now concerned about the fate of a new captive of the dictatorship, Miguel Angel Soler, Secretary of the party Central Committee.

This outstanding fighter, a lawyer by profession, has always lived a full life as a public figure, politician and intellectual. He was first arrested almost 30 years ago. A student leader, he was not yet 25. He escaped from jail and joined in the fighting that was going on

near the capital. The first arrest was followed by others. He escaped again and again to go back into action. No amount of torture could break his will.

The whole world must raise its voice in defence of Miguel Angel Soler's life, to secure his release. In a country which has been in a state of civil war for more than 20 years and where many patriots have grown old after spending almost two decades in detention, any crime is possible. That is why it is so important for all progressive forces to rally to save the life of Soler and secure the release of all fighters imprisoned by the dictatorship.

EDUARDO GALLEGOS MANCERA

Political Bureau member and Secretary, Communist Party of Venezuela

I have the warmest recollections of my fraternal contacts with Miguel Angel Soler—of his generous smile, his warm handshake, his open heart. It is easy to talk to him and his speech is full of humour and optimism. We soon talks on the most diverse subjects even more agreeable. We discussed problems facing the countries of the continent, international solidarity, the Paraguayan people's struggle, Soler's resolve to return to his country as soon as possible so as to join personally in the formation of a broad front against the Stroessner dictatorship and build up party unity.

He considered that work to strengthen party unity is most effective when carried on inside the country. He knew that it would be no easy task. He was well aware of the dangers involved but he also knew that the risk would be justified by the main goal, which was to unite the Paraguayan people around their undisputed vanguard, the Communist Party.

A consistent internationalist, he has always worked for the closest possible contacts between fraternal parties, for rallying all embattled peoples around the country of Lenin, the main bulwark in the fight against imperialism. A genuine representative of the finest traditions of his country, he devoted himself completely to his party and his people.

A warmhearted man with a ready smile, he is a genuine Marxist, a staunch communist, a fearless fighter who will not hesitate to give his life for his revolutionary ideals. To him, life means struggle, and he says a communist must carry it on without undue haste but unrelentingly.

We still hope that our comrade is alive and that it will be possible in the end to bring him out of the dictatorship's prison.

* * *

MIGUEL ANGEL SOLER'S WHEREABOUTS IS STILL UNKNOWN. THE AUTHORITIES RFUSE ALL INFORMATION CONCERNING HIS FATE OR THE FATE OF OTHER DETAINEES.

THE LIVES OF MIGUEL ANGEL SOLER AND HIS COMRADES ARE IN DANGER!

IN BRIEF

MEETING OF THE DRAFTING GROUP

Representatives of 27 parties met on March 16-18 in Berlin to continue work on a document for the European communist conference. It was agreed that a report on the results of the discussion would be sent to all fraternal parties sharing in preparations for this forum. These results will be considered at the next meeting of the drafting committee.

The meeting of the drafting group proceeded in an atmosphere of constructive and comradely cooperation.

HE BEGINNING OF THE CHILEAN DICTATORSHIP'S DECLINE

his is the title of a document distributed by the leadership of the ommunist Party of Chile. It analyses the current domestic situaion and points out that it has undergone a qualitative change, with e positions of the fascist junta having deteriorated to the extreme nd its isolation growing. This facilitates the people's struggle to ttain their chief objective—replacement of the junta by an nti fascist, democratic government. According to the Chilean ommunists, anti-fascist unity is already shaping up as the basic ndition for switching over to more open and resolute struggle. herever this unity has crystallised the people are able to enforce eir will, as they do in trade unions, in youth and community organisations—wherever they manifest solidarity with the victims of e dictatorship.

There is no justification whatsoever, the document says, to postne even for one day the establishment of an anti-fascist front. To l the country out of the socio-economic and political morass into ich it was driven by the fascists is, and will be, a task not for small iated groups, but for the majority of Chileans who want the resation of democracy and freedom. The communist party reaffirms

that the anti-fascist front should comprise not only the Popular Unity parties, but also other political forces, including the Christian Democratic Party.

It will be recalled that the national leadership of the Christian Democratic Party has rejected the concept of unity proposed by the communists. But its attempts to find a way out of the situation behind the backs of the people are doomed.

Anti-fascist unity must be forged everywhere: at work and in residential areas, among civilians and in patriotic circles in the armed forces. To counter the junta's narrow class policy, the Communist Party calls for the establishment of a government that will speak for the overwhelming majority of the population, above all the working people. But to bring this about, the fascist tyranny has to be overthrown and the collaborationists expelled from the organs of power.

H. F

FRIENDS AND FOES OF THE PERUVIAN REVOLUTION

JORGE DEL PRADO
General Secretary, Peruvian Communist Party

Due to the growing strength of the Soviet Union and other socialist coun-tries in every sphere, progress in implementing the peace programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the consistent internationalism of the CPSU, progressive mankind has scored gains in detente and in the peoples' social and national emancipation that are the greatest achievements since the establishment of the socialist world system and the victory of the Cuban revolution.

Disturbed by this, reaction is stepping up its activity, which manifests itself in the increasing militancy of anti-communists and anti-Sovietists opposed to both the communist and any other progressive movement. Anti-ommunist and anti-Soviet campaigns are clearly aimed at checking social ogress and saving capitalism, a doomed system. This makes it our primary to step up our political and ideological struggle against the enemies of peoples' social progress. The documents of the 25th CPSU Congress us a powerful impetus in accomplishing this task.

pponents of the revolutionary process going on in Peru join forces and inate their activities both at home and abroad. This is also evident in ideological sphere. Rightists try to destabilise the government and to it retreat by surrendering to imperialism, entering into conflict with people and severing relations with the socialist community.

forces capitalise on the difficulties created by a deep economic in the country and a complicated political situation, in particular, the war over a border dispute with Bolivia fomented by the fascist nments of Chile and Brazil. But the most widely used "argument" of and foreign reaction is anti-communism. The government's measures imperialism and oligarchy and its international policy[1] are invariably

1 details see Jorge del Prado, "Decisive Stage of the Revolution", *WMR*. ust 1975.

ہوتا تھا کہ تین صدیاں گزر گئیں۔ میں نے آئینہ میں اپنے آپ کو دیکھا تو مجھے محسوس ہوا کہ جیسے میرے بالوں کی سفیدی میں کچھ اضافہ ہوگیا ہے۔ جن لوگوں کے سامنے کوئی برتر مقصد نہ ہو ان کے لئے اس طرح کے ایام تفریح کے ایام ہوتے ہیں۔ مگر ایک بامقصد انسان کے لئے تین دن یقیناً تین صدیوں سے کم نہیں۔

وہ چیز جس کو فائو اسٹار ہوٹل کہتے ہیں حقیقۃً ایئر کنڈیشنڈ جیل خانہ کا دوسرا نام ہے۔ ایسے ہوٹلوں میں آدمی کو ایک ایسے ماحول میں بند کر دیا جاتا ہے جہاں ہر چیز مصنوعی ہوتی ہے۔ دھوپ کی جگہ بجلی، ہوا کی جگہ ایئر کنڈیشنر، گھاس کے فرش کی جگہ قالین، سبزہ کی جگہ پلاسٹک کے پھول اور پودے۔ چڑیوں کے نغمے کی جگہ انسانی موسیقی، نیلے آسمان کی جگہ منقش چھت، غرض ہر چیز مصنوعی طور پر فراہم کی جاتی ہے۔ آدمی بڑے بڑے شیشوں کے پیچھے سے قدرت کے مناظر دیکھتا ہے مگر وہ ان سے براہ راست مربوط نہیں ہو سکتا۔ وہ مجبور ہوتا ہے کہ قدرت کے مشینی بدل کے اندر محبوس ہو کر اپنے صبح و شام گزارتا رہے۔

ہوٹل سفیر میں میں نے ایک صاحب سے پوچھا کہ اس کے اندر کوئی کھلی ہوئی جگہ ہے جہاں قدرتی ہوا اور دھوپ مل سکے۔ انھوں نے مسکرا کر کہا کہ میرا خیال ہے کہ نہیں۔ انھوں نے ہر قدرتی چیز کو بند کر رکھا ہے (هم قفلوا كل شئ)۔ تلاش و جستجو کے بعد بالآخر میں نے ایک جگہ ڈھونڈ نکالی اور وہاں جا کر دھوپ اور کھلی ہوا میں بیٹھنے لگا۔ میرے ساتھ ایک اور صاحب تھے انھوں نے کہا آپ کو اس قسم کا ماحول بہت پسند ہے۔ میں نے کہا، اس میں مجھے ایک قسم کا ربانی لمس محسوس ہوتا ہے۔

اس کانفرنس میں مختلف ملکوں اور براعظموں کے لوگ شرکت کے لئے آئے تھے۔ میں نے افریقہ کے ایک صاحب سے افریقہ کے مسلمانوں میں جدید تعلیم کے بارہ میں دریافت کیا۔ انھوں نے کہا کہ تعلیم ان میں آئی ہے مگر ابھی اس معاملہ میں وہ اپنے پڑوسی عیسائیوں سے بہت پیچھے ہیں۔ میں نے وجہ پوچھی تو انھوں نے کہا کہ ماضی میں ہمارے لوگوں کا خیال یہ ہو گیا تھا کہ تعلیم ایک ایسی چیز ہے جو آدمی کو ایمان سے دور کر دیتی ہے (التعليم شئ يبعد الرجل من الايمان)۔ یہی حال ہندستان میں بھی مسلمانوں کا ہوا ہے۔

جن بزرگوں نے مسلمانوں کو جدید تعلیم سے روکا وہ اگرچہ نیک نیت تھے۔ مگر ان کی غلطی یہ تھی کہ وہ جدید تعلیم کی نوعیت کو سمجھ نہ سکے۔ مثال کے طور پر اگر وہ کمیونزم کی تعلیم سے روکتے تو یہ صحیح ہوتا کیونکہ کمیونزم ذہن کے فساد کا دوسرا نام ہے۔ مگر انھوں نے سائنس کی تعلیم سے بھی مسلمانوں کو دور رکھنے کی کوشش کی۔ حالانکہ سائنس موجودہ زمانہ میں قوت کے ہم معنی تھی۔ سائنس کی تعلیم میں پیچھے ہونے کی وجہ سے مسلمان دور جدید میں کم از کم سو سال پیچھے ہو گئے۔ مسلمانوں کے پاس اگرچہ قدرتی ذخائر کی کثرت ہے۔ مگر دوسری قومیں ان کا

استعمال کر رہی ہیں اور اپنی تعلیمی پسماندگی کی وجہ سے وہ ان کے خلاف کچھ نہیں کر سکتے۔

کیسا بلانکا میں شراب اور نائٹ کلب تک کی آزادی ہے۔ "پورک" کی دکان بھی نظر آئی۔ اس لیے یہاں مغربی سیاح کثرت سے آتے ہیں۔ یہ سیاحوں کا شہر بن گیا ہے۔ ایک عرب اپنی بیوی اور دو چھوٹے بچوں کے ساتھ آئے اور ہوٹل سفیر میں مقیم ہوئے۔ وہ غالباً سیاحت کی غرض سے یہاں آئے تھے۔ میں نے دیکھا تو ان کے دونوں بچے فیشن کے سامان اور جدید طرز کے کھلونوں سے لدے ہوئے تھے۔ ایک موقع پر ان عرب صاحب سے ملاقات ہوئی تو جدید مادی تہذیب کے خلاف بڑے کمال سے بولنے لگے۔ میں نے سوچا کہ وہ لوگ بھی کیسے عجیب ہیں۔ خود تو عملاً اپنے پورے خاندان کے ساتھ مادی تہذیب میں غرق ہیں اور زبان سے اس کے خلاف تقریر کرنے میں مشغول ہیں۔

یہی موجودہ زمانہ میں اکثر پڑھے لکھے مسلمانوں کا حال ہو گیا ہے۔ وہ جدید مادی تہذیب کے خلاف خوب لکھتے اور بولتے ہیں مگر ان کے گھر کو اور ان کے بیوی بچوں کو دیکھئے تو سراپا مادی تہذیب میں ڈوبے ہوئے نظر آئیں گے۔ حتیٰ کہ ایک مسلمان جو میرے ساتھ ہوائی جہاز میں میرے بغل کی سیٹ پر تھے، انھوں نے ہوائی جہاز کی ضیافت کو قبول کرتے ہوئے شراب پی۔ اتفاق سے وہ بھی اسی ہوٹل سفیر میں آکر ٹھہرے۔ ایک ملاقات کے دوران ان سے گفتگو ہوئی تو وہ کہنے لگے کہ "آجکل مسلمانوں کے معاملات بالکل غیر اسلامی ہو گئے ہیں"
ایسا معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ موجودہ مسلمانوں کے لئے اسلام بھی مختلف فیشنوں میں سے ایک فیشن بن گیا ہے۔

ہر مسلمان یہ سمجھتا ہے کہ وہ خود جو چاہے کرے۔ اس کو اپنے آپ پر اسلام کو نافذ کرنے کی ضرورت نہیں۔ ان کی اسلامیت کے ثبوت کے لئے یہ کافی ہے کہ وہ دوسروں کی غیر اسلامی روش پر لکھنے اور بولنے کی لامتناہی صلاحیت رکھتا ہے۔ موجودہ زمانہ میں اسلام پر لکھنے اور بولنے والے بے شمار تعداد میں پیدا ہو گئے ہیں مگر لوگوں کا یہی وہ تضاد ہے جس نے ان کی تمام کوششوں کو بالکل بے نتیجہ بنا کر رکھ دیا ہے۔

کیسا بلانکا میں چڑیاں کافی نظر آئیں۔ مگر یہ سب سمندری چڑیاں تھیں۔ جانور ہمیشہ اپنے ماحول کی مناسبت سے جمع ہوتے ہیں۔ سمندری ماحول میں سمندری چڑیاں، صحرائی ماحول میں صحرائی چڑیاں اور سرسبز پہاڑوں کے ماحول میں پہاڑی چڑیاں۔ یہی حال انسانوں کا بھی ہے۔ وہ بھی اپنے اپنے ذوق کے مطابق جمع ہوتے ہیں۔ اگر آپ اپنی تحریک کے ساتھ سیاست کی چاشنی لگا دیں تو سیاسی ذوق کے لوگ جوق در جوق آپ کے پاس اکٹھا ہو جائیں گے۔ اگر آپ کی تحریک کے ساتھ تصوف کی غذا موجود ہو تو برکت تلاش کرنے والوں کی بھیڑ آپ کے گرد نظر آنے لگے گی۔

ایک صاحب سے ملاقات ہوئی جو کینیا سے اس اجتماع میں شرکت کے لئے آئے تھے۔ ان کی

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ہونے کر خوش ہوتے ہوں ان کو تاریخ کے تھیٹر میں شاید جگہ مل سکتی ہو، مگر حقیقی دنیا میں بہر حال وہ جگہ پانے کے مستحق نہیں ہیں۔

یہ کانفرنس " اسلام کی عالمی دعوت " کے موضوع پر تھی۔ اس موقع پر مختلف لوگوں نے تقریریں کیں۔ مگر مجھے ایسا محسوس ہوا جیسے لوگوں پر یہ بات واضح نہیں ہے کہ اسلامی دعوت خود کیا چیز ہے۔ تفصیلات سے قطع نظر، سب کی باتوں کا خلاصہ یہ تھا کہ انھوں نے "مشاکل العالم اور مشاکل المسلمین" کے میدان میں کام کرنے کو اسلامی دعوت کا کام سمجھا اور اسی کے بارہ میں تقریریں کیں۔

میں نے اپنے مختصر اظہار خیال میں کہا کہ وہ چیز جس کو " الدعوۃ الاسلامیۃ " کہا جاتا ہے، اس کا تعلق دنیا کے مسائل سے نہیں بلکہ آخرت کے مسائل سے ہے۔ خدا نے جس منصوبہ کے تحت انسان کو پیدا کیا ہے اور اس منصوبہ کے مطابق بالآخر انسان کو جس فیصلہ الٰہی کا سامنا کرنا ہے اس سے لوگوں کو باخبر کرنا وہ چیز ہے جس کو اسلامی دعوت کہا گیا ہے۔ مسلمان موجودہ دنیا میں جن مشکلوں سے دوچار ہیں یا قومیں جن مسائل میں مبتلا ہیں ان کے سلسلے میں بھی کام کرنے کی ضرورت ہے۔ مگر اس کام کا عنوان دعوت الی اللہ نہیں۔

کانفرنس جس ہال کے اندر ہوئی وہاں جلی حرفوں میں قرآن کی یہ آیت لکھی ہوئی تھی : یاایہا الرسول بلغ ما انزل الیک من ربک وان لم تفعل فما بلغت رسالتہ واللہ یعصمک من الناس۔ میں نے اس آیت کا حوالہ دیتے ہوئے کہا کہ آیت کے مطابق عصمت من الناس کو حاصل کرنے کا ذریعہ دعوت الی اللہ ہے۔ موجودہ زمانہ میں ہمارے لئے جو یہ مسئلہ پیدا ہوا ہے کہ ہم دوسری قوموں کے ظلم و تعدی سے محفوظ نہیں ہیں، وہ اس آیت کے مطابق دعوت الی اللہ کے کام کو چھوڑنے کا نتیجہ ہیں۔ بذات خود اس کی کوئی مستقل حیثیت نہیں۔ اس لئے مسلمانوں کی مشکلات کو حل کرنے کا طریقہ بھی یہی ہے کہ دعوت الی اللہ کے اصل کام کو جاری کیا جائے۔

ایک صاحب سوئزرلینڈ سے آئے تھے۔ ان کے یہاں انگریزی الرسالہ پابندی سے بھیجا جا رہا ہے۔ وہ خود بھی سوئزرلینڈ سے ایک انگریزی ماہنامہ شائع کرتے ہیں۔ انھوں نے الرسالہ انگریزی کے بارے میں اظہار رائے کرتے ہوئے کہا کہ میں اور میرے ساتھی آپ کا میگزین شوق سے پڑھتے ہیں۔ اس میں مغز (Substance) ہوتا ہے۔ جب کہ مسلمانوں کے انگریزی اور عربی جرائد میں یہی چیز سب سے کم ملتی ہے۔ انھوں نے کہا کہ مسلم دنیا کا کوئی بھی پرچہ مجھے نہیں معلوم جس میں اتنا مغز (Substance) ہوتا ہو جتنا آپ کے انگریزی الرسالہ میں ہوتا ہے۔

ایک صاحب گامبیا سے آئے تھے۔ ان کو ہمارے یہاں کا چھپا ہوا تعارفی سٹ (انگریزی) بھیجا گیا

انھوں نے بتایا کہ ہمارے یہاں کئی لوگوں نے اس کو پڑھا اور اتنا زیادہ پسند کیا کہ ان کو بے حد اشتیاق ہے کہ مصنف کو دیکھیں۔ وہ لوگ مزید انگریزی کتابوں کا شدت کے ساتھ تقاضا کر رہے ہیں۔ ان کے نام رسالہ انگریزی جاری کر دیا گیا ہے۔

ایک صاحب یوگوسلاویہ سے آئے تھے۔ انھوں نے موجودہ زمانہ میں مسلمانوں کی حالت پر تبصرہ کرتے ہوئے کہا کہ ہم بڑی بڑی باتیں کرتے ہیں اور حالت یہ ہے کہ دنیا بھر میں پناہ گزینوں (لاجیئن) کی جو تعداد ہے، اس میں ۸۰ فی صد سے زیادہ مسلمان ہیں۔ یہ تو ایسا معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ مسلمانوں پر وہ چیز طاری کر دی گئی ہے جس کو قرآن میں "ذلت و مسکنت" کہا گیا ہے۔ ہم کو گہرائی کے ساتھ سوچنا چاہئے کہ مسلمانوں کا یہ حال کیوں ہے۔ مسلمان موجودہ زمانہ میں دوسری قوموں سے پیچھے کیوں ہو گئے۔

ایک صاحب جو کویت سے آئے تھے۔ انھوں نے موجودہ زمانہ کی مسلم تنظیموں پر تبصرہ کرتے ہوئے کہا کہ یہ تنظیمیں قرآن و سنت کی بنیاد پر اٹھی ہیں اس لئے ان کے پاس اچھے افکار کی کمی نہیں۔ مگر اس دنیا میں صرف فکر کافی نہیں بلکہ نظم اور منصوبہ بندی بھی لازمی طور پر ضروری ہے۔ اس اعتبار سے ان تنظیموں کی حالت افسوس ناک ہے۔ انھوں نے کہا کہ مغربی ممالک اسی لئے ہم سے آگے بڑھ گئے ہیں کہ وہ منظم انداز سے کام کرتے ہیں۔ اور ہم اس لئے پیچھے ہو گئے ہیں کہ ہمارا کام نظم و ترتیب سے خالی ہوتا ہے (وما تفوق الغرب منا الا بالنظام وما تاخرنا منه الا بالفوضى وعدم النظام)

ایک صاحب جو کناڈا سے آئے تھے، انھوں نے بتایا کہ کناڈا کی کل ۲۵ ملین آبادی میں ڈیڑھ لاکھ مسلمان ہیں۔ انھوں نے بتایا کہ کناڈا میں مکمل آزادی ہے۔ کسی قسم کا کوئی تعصب نہیں ہے۔ وہاں اسلامی دعوت کا کام کرنے کے زبردست مواقع ہیں۔ مگر ہندستان اور پاکستان کے لوگوں نے وہاں آکر آپس کے مذہبی جھگڑے کھڑے کر دئے ہیں۔ وہاں دوسروں کی طرف سے ہمارے لئے کوئی مشکل نہیں۔ مگر اپنوں کی طرف سے مشکلات پیش آ رہی ہیں۔ انھوں نے بتایا کہ وہاں ایک نئی مسجد بنائی گئی ہے جس کی مالیات کی فراہمی میں نے ۸۰ فی صد تک تعاون کیا تھا۔ مگر جب مسجد بن گئی تو اس کے اندر شدید مذہبی جھگڑے کھڑے ہو گئے یہاں تک کہ میں نے اور میری طرح بہت سے لوگوں نے اس مسجد میں جانا ہی چھوڑ دیا۔

انھوں نے بتایا کہ مغرب میں مسلمانوں کی تصویر بہت خراب ہے۔ ان کو امکانی دہشت پسند (Potential terrorists) کہا جاتا ہے۔ اس میں اگرچہ یہودی پروپگنڈے کا دخل ہے۔ مگر خود مسلمانوں نے اپنے عمل سے بھی اس کا ثبوت فراہم کیا ہے۔ اور یہ دوسرا پہلو یقیناً زیادہ افسوس ناک ہے۔

رابطہ العالم الاسلامیہ (ص۔ب ۲۴۲، الریاض) ایک عربی ماہنامہ نکلتا ہے۔ اس کے شمارہ ۱۵ میں "کتاب العدد" کے عنوان کے تحت حیات الصحابہ (مولانا محمد یوسف صاحب رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) پر تبصرہ تھا۔ کتاب کے ابواب کی تفصیل دیتے ہوئے تبصرہ نگار نے لکھا تھا کہ علماء کا قول ہے کہ قرآن کے بعد پیغمبر اسلام کا سب سے بڑا معجزہ آپ کے اصحاب کرام ہیں (ان اعظم معجزۃ للرسول بعد القرآن ھم صحابتہ الکرام)

چنانچہ اصحاب رسول کے حالات پر کثرت سے کتابیں لکھی گئی ہیں۔ مگر حیات الصحابہ اس اعتبار سے ممتاز ہے کہ مصنف نے زندگی کے تمام مختلف پہلوؤں کے اعتبار سے صحابہ کی زندگی کو بطور نمونہ مرتب کرنے کی کوشش کی ہے۔ اس طرح یہ ایک ایسی کتاب بن گئی ہے جس کی مثال کسی بھی دوسری کتاب میں نہیں ملتی (ھکذا عالج سیرۃ الرسول وصحابتہ الکرام بطریقۃ لانجدھا فی ای کتاب غیرہ)

تبصرہ نگار نے مزید لکھا ہے کہ ایک عرب شیخ اپنے طالب علموں کو مستقل طور پر اس کتاب کے مطالعہ پر ابھارتے رہتے تھے۔ ان کا کہنا تھا کہ: ان ھذا الکتاب لم یؤلف علی منوالہ فی بابہ یعنی اس موضوع پر اس اسلوب میں اس سے پہلے کوئی کتاب نہیں لکھی گئی۔

ایک صاحب بڑے پر جوش تھے۔ ان کا کہنا تھا کہ ہمارے تمام مسائل کا حل جہاد ہے۔ جہاد سے ان کی مراد قتال تھی۔ میں نے کہا کہ امت کے رہنما اسی قسم کے جہاد میں تو سو سال سے لگے ہوئے ہیں۔ پھر مسائل حل کیوں نہیں ہوئے۔ انھوں نے قرآن سے قتال کی آیتیں پڑھنا شروع کیں۔ میں نے کہا کہ جن لوگوں نے قرآن میں صرف قتال اور جہاد کی آیتوں کو پڑھا ہے انھوں نے قرآن کو پڑھا ہی نہیں۔ قرآن اعراض کی بھی تعلیم دیتا ہے جس کی مثال مکی دور کی زندگی ہے۔ قرآن ایڈجسٹمنٹ کی بھی تعلیم دیتا ہے جس کی ایک مثال صلح حدیبیہ ہے۔ قرآن قتال کی بھی تعلیم دیتا ہے جس کی مثال بدر اور احد کے واقعات ہیں۔ ایسی حالت میں جو لوگ پہلی دونوں قسم کی تعلیمات بھول جائیں اور صرف قتال اور جہاد کی تعلیمات کو زور و شور کے ساتھ پیش کریں، ان کا یہ پیش کرنا ویسا ہی ہے جیسے بہت سے غیر اسلامی ذہن کے لوگ قرآن کی ایک آیت کو لے لیتے ہیں اور اس سے اپنا مدعا ثابت کرتے ہیں۔ موجودہ زمانہ میں ہمارے جنگجو رہنماؤں کا قرآن کو پانا ایسا ہی ہے جیسے مذکورہ غیر اسلامی لوگوں کا قرآن کو پانا۔

ایک عالی شان ہوٹل تھا۔ ایک بہت بڑے سجے ہوئے کمرہ میں لوگ قیمتی صوفوں پر بیٹھے ہوئے تھے۔ لوگ ہنس رہے تھے۔ سگریٹ اور مشروبات پی رہے تھے۔ بے فکری کے ساتھ اِدھر اُدھر کی باتیں کر رہے تھے۔ میں نے کسی چیز میں حصہ نہیں لیا۔ بالکل خاموش میں ایک نشست پر بیٹھا ہوا تھا۔ ایک صاحب نے مجھے اس

[illegible] کر پوچھا کہ آپ کیوں اس طرح چپ چاپ بیٹھے ہوئے ہیں۔ میں پھر بھی چپ رہا۔ ان کے بار بالآخر میں نے کہا کہ موجودہ زمانہ کے لوگوں کا حال دیکھ کر اکثر میرا دل یہ کہنے لگتا ہے کہ: الناس یلبسون لکی لا یعرفوا بعد ذالک ابداً۔ الناس یضحکون لکی لا تیسر لہم الضحک بعد ذالک ابداً۔

ایک موقع پر افریقہ میں قحط اور بھوک کے موضوع پر گفتگو ہو رہی تھی۔ ایک صاحب جو آجکل کی زبان میں "چین اسموکر" تھے۔ وہ ایک کے بعد ایک قیمتی سگریٹ سلگا رہے تھے۔ انھوں نے دھواں اڑاتے ہوئے کہا کہ آج کا اصل مسئلہ بھوک نہیں۔ آج کا اصل مسئلہ اسراف ہے۔ عرب دنیا میں آج جس طرح مسرفانہ طور پر خدا کی دولت خرچ کی جا رہی ہے۔ اگر اس کو صحیح ڈھنگ پر خرچ کیا جائے تو ساری دنیا میں بھوک کا مسئلہ حل ہو جائے۔ میں خاموش بیٹھا ہوا لوگوں کو دیکھ رہا تھا جو مطمئن چہروں کے ساتھ بھوک کے مسئلہ پر بے تکان بول رہے تھے۔ میرے دل نے کہا۔

"ہر آدمی دوسرے کی کمیوں سے آخری حد تک باخبر ہے اور اپنی کمیوں سے آخری حد تک بےخبر"

ایسا معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ اسلام موجودہ زمانہ میں ایک فیشن بن گیا ہے۔ یہ بھی شاید ایک عالمی ظاہرہ کا ایک حصہ ہے۔ موجودہ زمانہ میں ٹیکنیکل ترقیوں سے پیدا شدہ سنگین مسائل نے بہت سے لوگوں میں یہ ردعمل پیدا کیا ہے کہ وہ "ماضی کی طرف واپسی" کی باتیں کرنے لگے ہیں۔ انھیں میں سے ایک طبقہ وہ ہے جو مذہب کی طرف واپسی کی باتیں کرتا ہے۔ اس قسم کے لوگ ہر مذہب میں کثرت سے پیدا ہو گئے ہیں اسی طرح مسلمانوں میں بھی ایک گروہ پیدا ہو گیا ہے جو اسلام کی طرف واپسی کی باتیں کرنے لگا ہے۔ مگر یہ سب کچھ [illegible] ہے۔ ان میں سے کوئی حقیقی معنوں میں سنجیدہ نہیں۔ اور اس کا ثبوت یہ ہے کہ یہ لوگ جو "واپسی" کی باتیں کرتے ہیں ان کا تعلق صرف دوسروں کی واپسی سے ہوتا ہے۔ خود اپنی واپسی سے کسی کو کوئی دلچسپی نہیں۔

فاس (Fes) یہاں کا سب سے مشہور تاریخی شہر ہے۔ اس کو ادریس بن عبداللہ نے ۱۷۲ء میں آباد کیا تھا۔ اس وقت یہاں اسلام عمومی طور پر نہیں پھیلا تھا۔ ادریس بن عبداللہ جو سیاسی دار و گیر سے بھاگ کر یہاں آئے تھے۔ انھوں نے اپنی دعوتی کوششوں سے تقریباً پورے ملک کو مسلمان بنا ڈالا۔

۳۰ نومبر ۱۹۸۴ کو فاس کا سفر ہوا۔ صبح کے وقت کانفرنس کے شرکا خصوصی طیارہ کے ذریعہ کیسا بلانکا سے فاس لے جائے گئے۔ اور اسی دن شام کو کیسا بلانکا واپس آ گئے۔ فاس کا شہر کیسا بلانکا سے بذریعہ ہوائی جہاز پون گھنٹہ کی مسافت پر ہے

فاس قدیم زمانہ میں علم کا بہت بڑا مرکز تھا۔ یہاں دور دور سے طلبہ آتے تھے۔ مشہور ہے

کہ ایک شخص کی عالمانہ باتوں کو سن کر کسی نے اس سے پوچھا، کیا تم نے فاس میں علم حاصل کیا ہے [illegible]
علم آدمی کے سر میں ہوتا ہے (کہ شہر فاس میں رہ کر) [illegible] تعلمت فی فاس۔ فقال لا [illegible]
فی الفاس)

جدید فاس موجودہ زمانہ کے شہروں کی طرح ہے۔ مگر قدیم فاس تاریخی آثار سے بھرا ہوا ہے۔ ہم گلیوں سے گزرتے ہوئے متعدد مسجدیں دکھائی دیں۔ یہاں کی مسجدوں کا طرز بالکل مختلف ہے۔ مینار صرف ایک ہوتا ہے جو ایک کونہ پر بنایا جاتا ہے۔

فاس مکمل طور پر ایک تاریخی شہر معلوم ہوتا ہے۔ یہاں قدیم طرز کی عمارتیں، شاہانہ نشست گاہیں، اور قلعے اس کی گزری ہوئی عظمت کی یاد دلاتے ہیں۔ یہاں کی مشہور جامعۃ القرویین بھی ہو گی۔ یہ بہت بڑے رقبہ میں یونیورسٹی کے انداز پر بنائی گئی تھی۔ یہاں عظیم الشان مدرسہ اور اس کے ساتھ عظیم الشان مسجد ہے۔ قدیم زمانہ میں مسلمانوں کی بنائی ہوئی گھڑیاں، اصطرلاب وغیرہ آج بھی سیاحوں کی دل چسپی کا مرکز بنے ہوئے ہیں۔ تعمیرات قدیم اسپینی محلات کے طرز کی نظر آئیں۔

ہمارے گائڈ نے جامعۃ القرویین کی تفصیل بتاتے ہوئے کہا کہ اس تعلیم گاہ کا معیار اتنا بلند تھا کہ یہاں صرف وہی شخص داخل ہو سکتا تھا جس کو مہارت حاصل ہو (ولا یدخل فی ھذا المرکز الا من کان لہ مھارۃ العلم) یورپ کے آئے ہوئے ایک صاحب سے میں نے ان کا تاثر پوچھا تو انھوں نے کہا:

The glory which was Islam, has now become a tourist attraction.

جو چیز ماضی میں اسلام کی عظمت تھی وہ آج صرف سیاحوں کی دل چسپی کا مرکز بن کر رہ گئی ہے۔

ہم نے جمعہ کی نماز یہاں کی قدیم جامع مسجد میں پڑھی۔ اس کا طرز تعمیر بالکل وہی تھا جو اسپین کے الحمراء میں پایا جاتا ہے۔ فاس میں یہودیوں کا بھی ایک محلہ موجود ہے۔ یہ لوگ پہلے قدیم فاس میں تھے اب وہ جدید فاس میں آباد ہو گئے ہیں۔

اس سفر کی ایک "دریافت" روم ایرپورٹ کے ایک اطالوی افسر تھے۔ ان کا نام و پتہ یہ ہے:

Mr. Marchetti,
Bartolomeo, Via Scarperia 9, 00146 Rome, Italy

انھوں نے جاتے ہوئے اور واپسی میں روم ایرپورٹ پر غیر معمولی تعاون کیا۔ ساری تفصیل بیان کرنا مشکل ہے، صرف دو باتوں کا تذکرہ مناسب ہوگا۔ دہلی سے روم کے سفر میں ایر انڈیا کی بوئنگ ۷۴۷ کی اکانومی کلاس اگرچہ بڑی حد تک بھری ہوئی تھی۔ مگر ۱۴ سیٹ کے فرسٹ کلاس کیبن میں میں اکیلا مسافر تھا۔ مگر واپسی

عجیب صورت پیش آئی۔ میرا رزرویشن روم سے کنفرم نہیں تھا۔ اور آج اتفاق سے گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا کے افسروں کی ایک جماعت اسی جہاز سے سفر کر رہی تھی، اس لئے بظاہر سیٹ حاصل کرنا مشکل تھا۔ مگر مسٹر مارشیٹی دوبارہ مل گئے۔ انھوں نے مجھ کو لاؤنج میں بٹھا دیا اور میرا ٹکٹ لے کر ایر انڈیا کے دفتر میں گئے اور رزرویشن کنفرم کرا کر لے آئے۔

میری واپسی کی تاریخ کی دہلی خبر نہیں ہو سکی تھی۔ ان سے میں نے ذکر کیا تو فوراً انھوں نے میرا ٹیلیفون نمبر لیا اور کہا کہ ابھی میں دہلی کو ٹیلکس بھیج دیتا ہوں کہ آپ کے گھر پر اطلاع دے دی جائے کہ آپ اتوار کی صبح کو ایر انڈیا کی فلائٹ ۱۳۱ سے دہلی پہنچ رہے ہیں۔

مسٹر شیٹی نے جس اخلاق اور ذمہ داری کا ثبوت دیا وہ اس قدر معیاری تھا کہ مجھے تعجب ہوا کہ خود غرضی اور سطحیت کی اس دنیا میں ایسے لوگ بھی موجود ہیں۔ موصوف کے نام الرسالہ (انگریزی) اعزازی طور پر جاری کر دیا گیا ہے۔

یکم دسمبر ۱۹۸۴ کو کیسابلانکا سے واپسی کے لئے روانہ ہوا۔ الیتالیا (۸۲۵) پر سفر کرتے ہوئے لندن کے اخبار ڈیلی ٹیلیگراف (۲۹ نومبر ۱۹۸۴) میں یہ خبر پڑھی کہ آکسفورڈ کے ۳۲ سالہ جان لیمبرٹ (John Lambert) نے اپنی تین لڑکیوں کو قتل کر دیا۔ اس نے اپنی بیوی کے نام آخری خط میں لکھا تھا کہ تم نے مجھ کو ایک محبت کرنے والے وفادار شوہر سے بدل کر قاتل بنا ڈالا۔ میں ہر چیز کا الزام صرف تم کو دیتا ہوں قاتل پکڑا گیا۔ اس کے بعد اس نے عدالت میں بیان دیتے ہوئے کہا:

It's all to do with my wife going with other men.

ادھیاتمک فاؤنڈیشن ایک ہندو مشن ہے جس کے صدر ڈاکٹر سوامی پوہن ... مرکز سوئزرلینڈ میں قائم ہے۔ نیز دنیا کے مختلف ملکوں میں اس کی شاخیں ہیں۔ ڈاکٹر سوامی ... کئی بار صدر اسلامی مرکز کے نام آیا کہ وہ موصوف سے ملنا چاہتے ہیں۔ ۲۲ دسمبر ۱۹۸۴ کی شام کو نئی دہلی کے ہوٹل سنتور (سوئٹ نمبر ۲۰۲۵) میں سوامی جی اور صدر اسلامی مرکز کے درمیان تفصیلی ملاقات ہوئی۔ تقریباً ڈیڑھ گھنٹہ کی گفتگو میں دونوں کے درمیان تبادلۂ خیال ہوا۔ گفتگو کا موضوع خاص طور پر یہ تھا کہ "سچائی" کیا ہے اور وہ کون سا معیار (کرائٹیرین) ہے جس سے جانچ کر کسی بات کا سچائی ہونا معلوم کیا جاسکے۔ انشاءاللہ تعالیٰ اس طرح کی ملاقاتوں کا پروگرام دہلی کی دوسری مذہبی اور روحانی شخصیتوں کے ساتھ بھی بنایا جائے گا۔

۲۔ انگریزی الرسالہ خدا کے فضل سے دن بدن مقبولیت حاصل کرتا جا رہا ہے۔ تقریباً ہر روز کسی نہ کسی حلقہ کی طرف سے اس کی مثال سامنے آتی ہے۔ ۳ جنوری ۱۹۸۵ کو اچانک مصری سفارت خانہ کے کلچرل اتاشی مسٹر الطیب حفنی اسلامی مرکز آئے۔ انھوں نے کہا کہ کل میں نے آپ کے انگریزی الرسالہ کا ایک اشو دیکھا۔ مجھ کو وہ اتنا پسند آیا کہ میں آپ سے ملنے اور مرکز دیکھنے کے لئے آگیا۔ انھوں نے الرسالہ کے پیغام سے غیر معمولی دلچسپی کا اظہار کیا۔ ان کو عربی اور انگریزی مطبوعات کا ایک سٹ بطور ہدیہ دیا گیا۔

۳۔ ایس آئی ایم کے اجلاس (اکتوبر ۱۹۸۴) کے موقع پر نئی دہلی (رام لیلا گراؤنڈ) میں اسلامی مرکز کی مطبوعات کا اسٹال لگایا گیا تھا۔ اس موقع پر ایک رجسٹر بھی رکھا گیا تھا۔ اس رجسٹر میں بہت سے لوگوں نے اپنے تاثرات قلم بند کئے۔ یہاں ان میں سے صرف ایک تبصرہ نقل کیا جاتا ہے:

'The Introduction to Islam Series' publications have been found useful but it was observed that these are printed in English and Urdu languages only. With the view-point of the propagation of Islamic teachings all the useful handbook or book-let should also be released in the rest of the modern Indian languages. On the whole, the rest of the publications displayed here are excellent and bearing the upto date information about Islam. Thanks for the endeavour in this regard.

Chander Mohan, D-917, Netaji Nagar, New Delhi 23

۴۔ ۳۰ دسمبر ۱۹۸۴ کو مہینہ کا آخری اتوار تھا۔ حسب معمول شام کو بعد نماز مغرب اسلامی مرکز کا ماہانہ اجتماع ہوا۔ صدر اسلامی مرکز نے حم سجدہ (آیت ۵۳) اور النمل (آیت ۹۳) کی روشنی میں

۴۵ منٹ کا درس دیا۔ ان آیات میں ارشاد ہوا ہے کہ خدا آئندہ ایسی نشانیاں ظاہر کرے گا جن سے لوگ قرآن اور قرآنی تعلیمات کی صداقت کو جان لیں گے۔ موصوف نے آیات کی تشریح کرتے ہوئے بتایا کہ اس کا مطلب یہ ہے کہ جو چیز نزول قرآن کے وقت ایک الہامی خبر معلوم ہوتی تھی وہ بعد کے دور میں خود انسانی علوم کے ذریعہ ثابت شدہ بن جائے گی۔ اس بات کو مختلف علمی اور تاریخی مثالوں کے ذریعہ واضح کیا گیا۔ اس درس کا ٹیپ لے لیا گیا ہے اور وہ اسلامی مرکز میں محفوظ ہے۔

۵۔ الرسالہ کی تحریک خدا کے فضل سے لوگوں کے دلوں میں تاثیر پیدا کر رہی ہے۔ جگہ جگہ اس کے حلقے قائم ہو رہے ہیں۔ اور لوگ خالص دینی جذبہ کے تحت اس تعمیری مہم میں حصہ لے رہے ہیں۔ سب سے اہم بات یہ ہے کہ لوگوں کی اپنی زندگیوں میں انقلاب آرہا ہے جس کا اندازہ خطوط اور ملاقاتوں کے ذریعہ مسلسل ہوتا رہتا ہے۔ ۲ جنوری ۱۹۸۵ کو ایک صاحب نے صدر اسلامی مرکز سے کہا ”میں ایک انانیت پسند آدمی تھا مگر الرسالہ نے میری انا کو مجھ سے چھین لیا۔ میں جہنم کے رخ پر کھڑا تھا، الرسالہ نے مجھ کو جنت کے رخ پر کھڑا کر دیا۔“

۶۔ اسلامی مرکز کی تحریک اب تک زیادہ تر مطبوعات اور اجتماعات کے ذریعہ چل رہی تھی۔ اب اس میں انشاء اللہ کیسٹ کا اضافہ کیا جا رہا ہے۔ بہت جلد انشاء اللہ صدر اسلامی مرکز کی تقریروں کے کیسٹ بڑے پیمانہ پر فراہم کئے جا سکیں گے۔ اس سے تحریک کی وسعت میں بہت زیادہ اضافہ ہو جائے گا۔ اس کے بعد وہ لوگ بھی اس کے دائرہ دعوت میں آجائیں گے جو اردو سمجھتے ہیں مگر وہ اردو پڑھ نہیں سکتے۔

۷۔ الرسالہ اردو اور انگریزی میں پابندی سے شائع ہو رہا ہے۔ اب انشاء اللہ اس کا عربی اور ہندی اڈیشن بھی زیر تجویز ہے۔ اور اس کے لئے ایک آفسٹ پریس کا قیام عمل میں لانا طے کیا گیا ہے۔ اس سلسلہ میں جو لوگ تعاون فرمائیں وہ اللہ تعالےٰ کے یہاں انشاء اللہ اس کا اجر پائیں گے۔

خدا کا فضل ہے کہ اسلامی مرکز کے لٹریچر کا وزن اب ملحدانہ ادارے بھی محسوس کرنے لگے ہیں۔ مولانا محمد ہاشم القاسمی نے حیدرآباد سے اطلاع دی ہے کہ اردن کا ایک وفد حیدرآباد آیا تھا۔ اس کے دو ارکان سے ملاقات ہوئی۔ انہوں نے بتایا کہ اشتراکی روس نے کتاب الاسلام یتحدی (مذہب اور جدید چیلنج) پر قانونی پابندی عائد کر دی ہے۔ روس جانے والا کوئی شخص اس کتاب کو لے کر روس کے اندر داخل نہیں ہو سکتا۔ روس میں اس کتاب کی فروخت اور اشاعت کی اجازت حاصل نہیں ہے۔

ایجنسی الرسالہ

ماہنامہ الرسالہ بیک وقت اردو اور انگریزی زبانوں میں شائع ہوتا ہے۔ اردو الرسالہ کا مقصد مسلمانوں کی اصلاح اور ذہنی تعمیر ہے۔ اور انگریزی الرسالہ کا خاص مقصد یہ ہے کہ اسلام کی بے آمیز دعوت کو عام انسانوں تک پہنچایا جائے۔

الرسالہ کے تعمیری اور دعوتی مشن کا تقاضا ہے کہ آپ نہ صرف اس کو خود پڑھیں بلکہ اس کی ایجنسی لے کر اس کو زیادہ سے زیادہ تعداد میں دوسروں تک پہنچائیں۔ ایجنسی گویا الرسالہ کے متوقع قارئین تک اس کو مسلسل پہنچانے کا ایک بہترین درمیانی وسیلہ ہے۔

الرسالہ (اردو) کی ایجنسی لینا ملت کی ذہنی تعمیر میں حصہ لینا ہے جو آج ملت کی سب سے بڑی ضرورت ہے۔ اسی طرح الرسالہ (انگریزی) کی ایجنسی لینا اسلام کی عمومی دعوت کی مہم میں اپنے آپ کو شریک کرنا ہے جو کار نبوت ہے اور ملت کے اوپر خدا کا سب سے بڑا فریضہ ہے۔

ایجنسی کی صورتیں

۱. الرسالہ (اردو یا انگریزی) کی ایجنسی کم از کم پانچ پرچوں پر دی جاتی ہے۔ کمیشن ۲۵ فی صد ہے۔ پیکنگ اور روانگی کے تمام اخراجات ادارہ الرسالہ کے ذمے ہوتے ہیں۔

۲. زیادہ تعداد والی ایجنسیوں کو ہر ماہ پرچے بذریعہ وی پی روانہ کئے جاتے ہیں۔

۳. کم تعداد کی ایجنسی کے لئے ادائگی کی دو صورتیں ہیں۔ ایک یہ کہ پرچے ہر ماہ سادہ ڈاک سے بھیجے جائیں اور صاحب ایجنسی ہر ماہ اس کی رقم بذریعہ منی آرڈر روانہ کردے۔ دوسری صورت یہ ہے کہ چند ماہ (مثلاً تین مہینے) تک پرچے سادہ ڈاک سے بھیجے جائیں اور اس کے بعد والے مہینے میں تمام پرچوں کی مجموعی رقم کی وی پی روانہ کی جائے۔

۴. صاحب استطاعت افراد کے لئے بہتر یہ ہے کہ وہ ایک سال یا چھ ماہ کی مجموعی رقم پیشگی روانہ کر دیں اور الرسالہ کی مطلوبہ تعداد ہر ماہ ان کو سادہ ڈاک سے یا رجسٹری سے بھیجی جاتی رہے۔ ختم مدت پر وہ دوبارہ اسی طرح پیشگی رقم بھیج دیں۔

۵. ہر ایجنسی کا ایک حوالہ نمبر ہوتا ہے۔ خط و کتابت یا منی آرڈر کی روانگی کے وقت یہ نمبر ضرور درج کیا جائے۔

ڈاکٹر ثانی اثنین خاں پرنٹر پبلشر مسئول نے جے کے آفسٹ پرنٹرز دہلی سے چھپوا کر دفتر الرسالہ سی۔۲۹ نظام الدین ویسٹ نئی دہلی سے شائع کیا

Regd. No. D(SE) 243
Regd. R.N. No. 28822/76

Number 99
February 1985

AL-RISALA MONTHLY

C-29 NIZAMUDDIN WEST NEW DELHI 110 013 Tel. 611128

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الرسالہ

سرپرست
مولانا وحید الدین خاں

کبھی جاننا اس کا نام ہوتا ہے کہ آدمی
یہ کہہ دے کہ ——— میں نہیں جانتا

مارچ ۱۹۸۵ شمارہ ۱۰۰

[illegible] کی سرپرستی میں شائع ہونے والا

الرسالہ

اسلامی مرکز کا ترجمان

مارچ ۱۹۸۵ شمارہ ۱۰۰

زر تعاون سالانہ	۳۶ روپیہ
خصوصی تعاون سالانہ	دو سو روپے
بیرونی ممالک سے	
ہوائی ڈاک	۲۰ ڈالر امریکی
بحری ڈاک	۱۰ ڈالر امریکی

الرسالہ کے لیے بنک سے رقم بھیجتے ہوئے ڈرافٹ پر صرف الرسالہ منتھلی AL-RISALA MONTHLY لکھیں۔

ماہنامہ الرسالہ
سی-۲۹ نظام الدین ویسٹ
نئی دہلی ۱۱۰۰۱۳

بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم

خدا کی یافت

قرآن میں ارشاد ہوا ہے: ان لوگوں نے اللہ کی قدر نہ کی جیسا کہ اس کی قدر کرنے کا حق ہے۔ اور قیامت کے دن پوری زمین اس کی مٹھی میں ہوگی اور آسمان لپٹے ہوئے ہوں گے اس کے داہنے ہاتھ میں۔ وہ پاک اور برتر ہے اس شرک سے جو لوگ کرتے ہیں (الزمر ۶۷)

اس سلسلے میں ایک حدیث مختلف روایات میں مختلف الفاظ کے ساتھ آئی ہے۔ امام احمد نے حضرت عبد اللہ بن عمر سے روایت کیا ہے کہ رسول اللہ صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم نے ایک دن منبر پر مذکورہ آیت پڑھی:

ورسول اللہ صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم یقول ھکذا بیدہ یحرکھا یقبل ویدبر، یمجد الرب نفسہ انا الجبار، انا المتکبر، انا الملک انا العزیز انا الکریم (... الارض) فرجف برسول اللہ صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم المنبر حتی قلنا لیخرن بہ (تفسیر ابن کثیر)

اور رسول اللہ صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم اپنے ہاتھ کو حرکت دے رہے تھے اور آگے پیچھے کر رہے تھے۔ اللہ اپنی بڑائی بیان کرے گا۔ اور کہے گا کہ میں جبار ہوں۔ میں متکبر ہوں، میں بادشاہ ہوں، میں عزیز وکریم ہوں۔ کہاں ہیں زمین کے بادشاہ۔ یہ کہتے ہوئے رسول اللہ صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم پر لرزہ طاری ہوگیا حتی کہ ہم نے کہا کہ آپ منبر کے ساتھ گر پڑیں گے۔

جب ایک آدمی خدا کا حقیقی ادراک کرتا ہے تو اس کا حال وہی ہو جاتا ہے جو اوپر کی مثال میں خدا کے رسول کا نظر آتا ہے۔ رسول اللہ صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم خدا کو اس وقت حسی طور پر نہیں دیکھ رہے تھے بلکہ تصوراتی طور پر دیکھ رہے تھے۔ مگر خدا کی عظمت کو بیان کرتے ہوئے آپ کا جسم ہل گیا۔ دیکھنے والوں کو ایسا محسوس ہوا کہ آپ زمین پر گر پڑیں گے۔

اسی کا نام خدا کی معرفت ہے۔ خدا کی معرفت اس مالک کائنات کی معرفت ہے جو سب سے بڑا ہے۔ جو سب سے طاقت ور ہے۔ ایسے خدا کو پانا محض سادہ پانا نہیں ہوتا۔ وہ آدمی کی پوری شخصیت کو ہلا دیتا ہے۔ وہ آدمی کے اندر بھونچال کی کیفیت پیدا کر دیتا ہے۔ خدا کی معرفت خدا کو دیکھے بغیر دیکھ لینا ہے۔ یہ اس وقت خدا کے سامنے ڈھ پڑنا ہے جب کہ خدا ابھی زمین و آسمان کا پردہ پھاڑ کر حیاتا انسان کے سامنے نہیں آیا ہے۔

[illegible]

کوئی جہاز مشکل میں پھنس جائے تو وہ ریڈیو کے ذریعہ خاص سگنل بھیجتا ہے۔ جس کو اصطلاح میں ایس او ایس (SOS) کہتے ہیں۔ اس کا مطلب یہ ہوتا ہے کہ ہم مصیبت میں ہیں، ہماری مدد کرو۔ مگر اس قسم کے سگنل کی قیمت اسی وقت ہے جب کہ اس کو وصول کرنے والا اسٹیشن اسے اہمیت دے۔ اگر وصول کرنے والا اسٹیشن اسے اہمیت نہ دے تو وہ فضا میں بکھر کر رہ جائے گا۔ وہ ایک ایسا کلام بن جائے گا جس کو بولنے والے کے سوا کسی اور نے سنا ہی نہ ہو۔

موجودہ زمانہ میں ہمارے لکھنے اور بولنے والے بھی خدا کے نام گویا "ایس او ایس" بھیج رہے ہیں وہ کہہ رہے ہیں کہ خدایا ظالموں کے خلاف ہماری مدد کر۔ مگر سو سالہ پکار کے باوجود ہماری مصیبت ختم نہیں ہوتی۔ اس سے ظاہر ہے کہ ہم جس خدائی اسٹیشن کو اپنا ایس او ایس بھیج رہے ہیں اس کے نزدیک ہمارے ایس او ایس کی کوئی قیمت ہی نہیں۔

ہم خدا سے دوسروں کی بربادی مانگ رہے ہیں مگر خدا اس کا منتظر ہے کہ ہم اس سے دوسروں کی ہدایت مانگیں۔ ہم اپنے قومی مقاصد کے لئے خدا کو پکار رہے ہیں، مگر خدا صرف اس پکار کو سنتا ہے جو دینی مقاصد کے لئے کی گئی ہو۔ ہم لوگوں کو آگ میں ڈالنے کی دعا کر رہے ہیں حالانکہ خدا کی مرضی یہ ہے کہ ہم لوگوں کو آگ سے بچانے کی دعا کریں۔ ایسی حالت میں ہمارا "ایس او ایس" خدا کے یہاں کیسے قابل لحاظ ہو سکتا ہے۔ جو فائر بریگیڈ پانی لئے ہوئے بیٹھا ہو اس سے ہم کہیں کہ آگ برساؤ تو وہ کیسے ہماری بات کرے گا۔

لوگ سمجھتے ہیں کہ ان کی جنتیں رزرو ہیں، یہی وجہ ہے کہ انھیں دوسروں کو جہنم کی آگ سے بچانے کی فکر نہیں۔ اگر لوگوں کو اللہ کا ڈر ہو تو وہ جان لیں کہ قیامت میں اللہ کی پکڑ سے وہی شخص بچے گا جس نے دوسروں کو اللہ کی پکڑ سے بچانے کی فکر کی ہو۔

لوگوں کے پاس الفاظ ہیں، صرف اس لئے کہ وہ قیامت کی ہولناکی کو دوسروں کے خانہ میں ڈالے ہوئے ہیں۔ اگر وہ جانیں کہ وہ خود بھی قیامت کی ہولناکی کے کنارے کھڑے ہوئے ہیں تو ان کی زبانیں بند ہو جائیں۔ خدا کی پکڑ کا خوف ان کو اتنا بےحال کر دے کہ وہ ہنسنے سے زیادہ روئیں۔ وہ بولنے سے زیادہ خاموش دکھائی دینے لگیں۔

In the context of independence, our task is to raise the level of education and public health and distribute the respective institutions evenly throughout the country.

We already have secondary schools in three districts, and we plan to have them everywhere.[2] There are retraining courses for teachers —for those who taught in liberated areas as well as for those who worked in Portuguese schools. In the educational sphere close co-operation has been promoted with Cuba.

After the withdrawal of the Portuguese army, only two doctors were left in Bissau (the only two civilian doctors there in the colonial period). But in the liberated areas we had more doctors than the Portuguese had. They were trained either in the socialist countries or locally with the assistance of specialists from Cuba, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. We also had courses for training medium-level medical personnel. What we need now are hospitals and medical centres in every district.

The greatest difficulty facing the republic as regards education and public health is shortage of money.

We should like to emphasise that the policy of the party and the government is based on the principles devised in the years of the anti-colonial war and verified by the experience of the liberated areas. The first principle, I repeat, is decentralisation of the administration and even distribution of the economy between town and country. Another one is active participation of the people in fulfilling the tasks set by the party and the government They should understand our policy and executive it energetically and efficiently. There is yet another principle that the liberation war has taught us —never to hide difficulties from the people. (For example, the government once failed to pay its civil servants for three or four months because it had no money, and we told them so at meetings.)

A new and still greater responsibility now rests on the PAIGC Although it has become the ruling party, it retains the structure of a mass national-liberation movement. This is so mainly because the party leadership seeks to preserve the dynamism of the masses in the new phase of the struggle, and to extend the close ties between the government and the people. Our party is a nation-wide movement, and the people identify themselves with it. During the liberation war people reasoned: The party is fighting against colonialism, therefore we are all in the party; anyone who is not an agent of colonialism. The people are not yet ready to accept the idea of a smaller party, a vanguard party, an advanced detachment. But they

[2] There are nearly 85,000 pupils attending primary and secondary schools.

will come to understand what a party really means as the revolution proceeds.

Our Constitution says: "The state is built up by the party." Before the proclamation of the Republic, the party conducted the anti-colonial war and at the same time governed the liberated areas. Later on it began to give the administration greater autonomy. That is how our state gradually took shape. It is now an important instrument of the party in building the new life.

Today there is a clear-cut division of functions between the party and the state. But the party has the decisive say and is the highest authority in our society. This year we plan to enhance its role, strengthen the existing party committees and set up new ones in all districts.

We must not fail to mention that the PAIGC is the ruling party of two independent states—the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and the Republic of the Cape Verde Islands, and constitutes the connecting link between them. The two states are governed by their respective national people's assemblies. It is intended to set up a Supreme People's Assembly of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands as the legislative body of a union of the two republics. Certain spheres of economic management and social administration are well coordinated through consultations. In particular, we want the economy of each republic to complement one another, to avoid duplication of industries; that is, we are striving to lay the foundations for truly fruitful cooperation, which is indispensable for the future union of the two states.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasise the role of international solidarity and cooperation at the present stage of our country's development by repeating what I said on behalf of our party and our people at the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: "During the grim war against Portuguese colonialism, we valued the Soviet people's lofty feelings of internationalism. And today the solidarity of the Soviet people and their Communist Party—our true allies—is more important than ever in building the new life in our country and promoting peace and progress on our planet."

We shall build a new society, one in which, as Chairman of the State Council Luiz Cabral has said, our people will not be exploited by either whites or blacks. Exploitation has no regard for colour: we know that there are some blacks who would like to take the place of the Portuguese. We want to build a strong and progressive state and a flourishing national economy. We want our people to become the master of their country.

RADICALISING THE REVOLUTION

Jean-Pierre Gombe
Member of the Special Revolutionary Staff, Central Committee, Congolese Party of Labour

Our country is going through a radicalisation period, i.e., through a process of deepening the revolution in every sphere. To properly understand why this was necessary, we have to look back a bit.

The August 1963 popular demonstrations resulted not merely in a change of government—they started a concerted struggle to build a socialist society. Our Marxist-Leninist party, the CPL, was formed in the course of this struggle.

Subsequent events, however, revealed a wide gap between party theory and practice. There was a deceleration of the revolution, the revolutionary machine was not working at top speed; more, it was being braked.

The situation was little short of alarming, and it was critically, and self-critically, examined in the Central Committee statement of 12 December 1975. The CC formulated a programme of energetic measures fundamentally to improve the position and speed up the revolutionary process. That, essentially, is the purpose of our radicalisation policy, and it is being pursued in the name of the revolution, for the triumph of socialism in the People's Republic of the Congo.

Begun by decision of the emergency CC plenum of 5-12 December 1975, the radicalisation movement should accelerate implementation of the directives of the Second CPL Congress (December 1974) on effectuating the national-liberation programme, in particular the three-year social and economic development plan. The main goal, the CC statement said, is "to secure a qualitative change in the situation, link theory to practice, mobilise the Congolese people for a vigorous struggle for socialist-oriented national liberation" We are now preparing for the third, special party congress and the problems it will examine are being discussed throughout the country

The radicalisation process extends to politics, the economy, culture and social relations. We consider it especially important to introduce revolutionary order in the political structure, the national economy and on the ideological front.

There can be no united action without ideological unity, but until recently the party leadership lacked cohesion and dynamism and the lower party organisations, action ability.

In many cases contact between the party leadership and membership, between the party and the masses, was disrupted. As a result, the trade unions, youth, women's and other mass organisations did not always correctly understand their tasks, notably the need to educate and mobilise the masses to carry out the national-liberation programme.

Hence, our priority political aim is to restore the party's dynamism. It must be closer to the masses, or more correctly, closer to real life. Of course it is important to issue directives, but the main thing is concrete, practical work.

Discrediting the party's fundamental principles by one's conduct is inadmissible. We must therefore apply more strict criteria in admitting new members and pay more attention to their ideological training.

As for the economy, we shall continue to concentrate on building up the state sector. Made up basically of enterprises nationalised after August 1963, it now extends to every aspect of economic life, but has not been properly managed. The situation was abnormal: instead of playing a vanguard role in the battle for economic liberation and higher output, many state-owned enterprises were a drag on the national exchequer. Their grossly inflated staffs lacked adequate political and professional competence. That is why the party decided to take concrete measures fundamentally to improve operation of the state sector, boost production, put its enterprises on a paying basis with no government subsidies. Then they will really be helping to solve our main problems and the state sector will become the basis in our fight against imperialism and for economic liberation.

In the cultural field, we have long been working for spiritual decolonisation and to bring our national cultural heritage within the reach of the people. But here too not everything was done correctly, purposefully and with the necessary speed. The party leadership has cast aside all doubt and hesitation in pursuing its revolutionary policy on culture. Its decisions in this field must fully coincide with our socialist orientation.

How have the people reacted to the radicalisation programme? The workers, peasants, all working people are convinced that the 1963 revolution was performed in their interests. And inasmuch as the radicalisation programme carries the revolution further, strengthens its positions, gives it a new impulse, it is only natural that the people should support the measures we have introduced. Evidence of this are the numerous letters of support the Central Committee has received since its December statement.

However, ours is a heterogeneous society, with widely different levels of consciousness. Obviously, these measures are bound to affect the interests of definite groups and will encounter their resistance. But the revolution must continue. Revolution is not "made" in drawing rooms. Inevitably there come periods of abrupt change and sharp upheavals that effect the egoistic interests of some groups, first of all bourgeois elements who fear losing their privileges, or do not stand to gain from the new policy.

For example, if some trade union leader comes out against radicalisation, that does not mean that he has the support of the working class. In many cases such a leader is simply an "office-holding bourgeois", and for him radicalisation might mean loss of the privileges he now enjoys. Consequently, his attitude to the new policy differs from that of the worker in the factory or the peasant in the field. When you explain to them what the radicalisation is all about, you can be sure of a positive response.

There are not many who reject radicalisation or do not appreciate the need for it. But we should not overlook the fact that there are such people. Nor should we overlook the designs and plots of foreign reaction, the imperialist-engineered economic sabotage.

Though the people as a whole enthusiastically accept radicalisation, not everyone understands it in the same way. The party knows that not all groups of the population—workers, peasants, intellectuals, students, soldiers—have an equal share in the radicalisation movement. That is why the party is doing so much to explain the new policy and show the masses that it is being carried out in their interests. We are going straight to the masses, frankly discussing and clearly explaining the true meaning of one or another measure and of the radicalisation movement as a whole. In Congolese conditions this is a much more important and effective method than relying entirely on the mass media.

The radicalisation movement is still young, but we have already come up against certain difficulties.

First, the party's propaganda of the new policy has to reckon with the counter-propaganda of its opponents. And their tactic is to distort the very meaning of radicalisation and sow doubt and confusion among the people. In surmounting this difficulty, the party is helped by its direct contacts with the people, by its work in the factories and offices, in the fields and on the streets. And the people understand us and support us.

There are also difficulties of a psychological character. The removal of one or another shortcoming in the economy often entails

sacrificing something. And it is not easy to convince people voluntarily to give up what they already have. Not everyone realises that the present state of the economy calls for restrictive measures.

The radicalisation movement is, in a way, a test of the people's political understanding. Naturally, there are difficulties, but these cannot deter a revolutionary.

We are inspired by the knowledge that the Congolese Party of Labour has embarked on a course hitherto unknown in Africa, and we know that other African countries will judge our experiment by its results.

Our radicalisation movement is a clear example of selfcriticism, that inalienable feature of the Marxist-Leninist party. Those who attended the 25th Congress of Lenin's party or followed its proceedings, could convince themselves of this. The Congolese Party of Labour does not confine itself to acknowledging its mistakes, but calls on the masses actively to participate in correcting them. That, we feel, is the earnest of the movement's success.

A POLICY GEARED TO MAN

Joint Delegation of Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and Afro-Shirazi Party (Tanzania) to 25th CPSU Congress

Q. How are Tanzania's main lines of development as defined by the Arusha Declaration[1] being implemented?

A. The Arusha Declaration, adopted nine years ago, was a statement of intent. It formulated a correct policy line for Tanzania as a whole. Its implementation will require considerable time. It is too early, therefore, to sum up results although we can tell about some achievements even now.

To begin with, the declaration stresses concern for man and his development as the party's central goal. It is man's all-round development that all our achievements are meant to promote.

The declaration binds the party membership and the whole nation to rely primarily on their own, internal forces[2] in building socialism. Accordingly, the basic means of production have been nationalised. The state has assumed control of the banks, insurance

[1] Approved by the TANU National Executive Committee at Arusha 1967—*Ed.*

[2] So interpreted by Tanzania's leaders, this formulation has an explicitly anti-imperialist connotation—*Ed.*

companies, big farms, transport, export and import firms, a substantial number of factories. The land has been declared national property and none but the state can grant anyone a title to land tenure.

To ensure continuous economic growth, special statal (or parastatal) organisations are set up to carry out new projects. They make up the public sector, which comprises factories and state farms and controls some commercial enterprises.

We would like to stress the people's participation in economic activity. Many an economic project is put into effect by the people themselves—outside the framework of the organisations we have mentioned—and is a fruit of their initiative and effort. This participation is effected in various forms, specifically through cooperative societies and district development corporations.

The declaration assures ample democracy and gives the people the power to end exploitation, oppression and humiliation. Most important of all, a new man is coming into being as the declaration is put into practice.

The party's general line approved in 1971 supports and spells out the principles of the Arusha Declaration. Its significance is determined by the propositions "Politics equal agriculture", and "Agriculture equals politics".[3] This is indicative of a line entirely in keeping with the distinctive conditions of our country.

Q. Some time ago a document called "**Ujamaa Vijijini**, or Rural Development" was adopted in Tanzania. How is the construction of **ujamaa** villages progressing? What real results do they achieve?

A. In Swahili, **ujamaa**, means roughly "a common concern of people". In building such villages, the authorities consult the population and persuade it of the need to live and work collectively. They teach it the difficult science of living together[4] and respecting the common interest, and do all this before people move to one new big village. The peasants are free to choose the site. Of course, in deciding to build an **ujamaa** village, account is taken of numerous

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[3] Late in January 1976, the TANU National Executive Committee resolved to set about fulfilling the third five-year development plan of Tanzania, which puts the emphasis on a long-term programme of setting up an industrial sector of the economy. *Mzalendo,* the TANU weekly, stressed in this connection that while agriculture is the basis on which Tanzania is developing, setting up an industry is the key to the country's rapid progress. It is the lack of industry, the weekly says, that prevents Tanzania from achieving its goal, the socialist transformation of society. *Mzalendo* points to the need to educate a new type of worker who will live and work in an atmosphere of collective effort, equality and social justice.—*Ed.*

[4] The rural population was scattered over a wide area in the past, at least in the continental part of Tanzania, with families living far apart.—*Ed.*

factors, such as the size of cultivable lands and pastures, soil fertility, water resources, the state of communications if any or the distance from the nearest public services. The government and the party give future villagers all the aid they need to change residence.

At present over half the population of the country lives in **ujamaa** villages, or what we call "planned villages". There the government sets up schools, out-patient hospitals and medical centres, provides water supply, and so on. All these public services are thus becoming accessible to more people than before. In particular, work has been made easier for women, if only because **ujamaa** villages now have piped water supply.

It has been decided to introduce universal free elementary education throughout the country by the end of 1977. We are now carrying out this task. It would clearly have been impossible to do this without **ujamaa** villages. The advancement of rural areas is also promoted by the revival of small-scale industry, formerly neglected.

In carrying out these measures, we set up numerous new party cells and branches. This enables people to participate in politics more effectively. As for the economy, they manage it on cooperative principles.

A law passed last year grants **ujamaa** villages greater powers and autonomy. Indeed, it is called **"Desh Madaraka Vijijini"**, or "More Powers for Villages of Socialism".

Imperialist propaganda alleges that peasants are "forced" to move to **ujamaa** villages. In the past, it claimed that Africans did not want to manage their affairs and were willing to live eternally under colonial rule. This turned out to be a lie. We can say as much about allegations regarding **ujamaa** villages. No sensible person would ever protest against measures improving his life and enabling him to shape his destiny as he sees fit.

Q. What processes are going on in the party? What is its structure? What is the basis of relations between TANU and Afro-Shirazi?

A. First of all, we must stress that the Tanzanian power system applies the principle of full priority of the party. Nor is this principle disputed by anyone.[5]

[5] The secretaries and chairmen of local party organisations carry out the bulk of the effort to put the policy of Tanzania into effect, says Rashidi Kawawa, prime minister of the republic. He stresses, however, that the party will unhesitatingly remove leaders who misinterpret the provision regarding the party's leading role in government.—*Ed.*

Our party—both TANU and Afro-Shirazi[6] (when we say "our party" we mean either of the two) has deep roots in the country.

It is important to emphasise that both TANU and Afro-Shirazi are broad-based mass organisations. Many ask why we do not form a narrower party of the vanguard type. We don't think that in our conditions a vanguard party is an indispensable guarantee of effective politics. We have resolved to build a socialist society in Tanzania under the leadership of our two parties. To bring about revolutionary changes, the masses building socialism must be able, as we see it, to participate directly in politics. We don't believe this opportunity should be a privilege of the few.

On the other hand, while the party is open to all, joining its ranks is a long and difficult process. An applicant must submit his application and other papers to the party branch concerned. In taking action on his application, an assessment is made of his achievements as an individual, his party beliefs and his attitude to socialism. After he has been admitted, he must receive two or three months' political education to become a full-fledged member.

For the time being, the system of a mass party fits into our conditions and social context. We don't want to establish rigid organisational forms for the people. The people are builders of the party and defenders of its policy and they realise that this policy is made by their own party. Our main goal is to build socialism. We intend to achieve this goal through a mass party.

As for merging the two parties or founding a new organisation, both parties are discussing the problem. It will take time to arrive at a common view and adopt the right decision.

The basic party unit is the "ten-cell" or a cell made up of tenants of ten houses. Cell members discuss in it all their social, economic and political problems. In villages, towns, circles, factories,[7] government departments, administrative offices and on farms, we have party branches, whose activity is coordinated by party district officers and committees and their executives. The next echelon is regional working committees of the party and regional executive committees elected at annual regional conferences. The party is headed by a Central Committee elected by the National Conference for a term of five years. The CC comprises seven subcommittees working under the Secretariat. A National Executive Committee is elected to direct

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[6] TANU is operating in the continental part of the country and Afro-Shirazi, on the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba—*Ed.*

[7] In June 1975, the CC TANU decided to have in industrial enterprises party secretaries vested with considerable powers—*Ed.*

everyday work. It is accountable to the National Conference, the highest party authority. Elections at all levels are entirely democratic and votes are cast by secret ballot.

We would also like to point out the role of the youth movement, which we think is stronger and more active than anywhere else on the continent. It is through it that we school our cadre members, future leaders of the country.

To train leading party cadres, TANU has set up the Kiwukoni ideological college in Dar Es Salaam (term of study, nine months). We plan to open four zonal colleges—in Murutunguru, Hombolo, Mahiva and Lushoto—to educate workers of lower echelons (term of study, three months). The Afro-Shirazi Party will soon set up its own ideological college in Zanzibar. Besides, the Party holds seminars, discussions and political rallies. These are all part of our political activities.

Q. What conclusions have progressive African countries and the Organisation of African Unity drawn from the events in Angola?

A. The events in Angola are a lesson which means, first of all, that a united and determined people following a definite policy is bound to win a liberation war. Africans know this well although imperialist manoeuvres and intrigues may occasionally mislead some of them. We reckon with the sovereignty of every independent African state. There is a wide range of factors that may prevent this or that country from adopting a position, it is expected to adopt. We know why that is so.

We wish to specify that the Organisation of African Unity has never split or disintegrated over the Angola issue. At the extraordinary session of heads of state and government in January 1976, the organisation resolved to refrain from taking specific action so as to head off still greater bloodshed in Angola. However, in spite of differences voiced at the session, the participants were unanimous in describing imperialism as the main threat to Africa. And the fact that the overwhelming majority of OAU members has since recognised the People's Republic of Angola is indicative of the political maturity of African states. They are determined to build up OAU unity in order to accomplish the historic task of liberating that part of Africa still under colonial rule

The OAU has asked the socialist countries to help free Africa in achieving this noble goal. We can affirm that by cooperating with the newly-free countries, the socialist states honourably fulfil their duty.

"Our delegation", said Abdulnuru Suleiman, its leader, member of the TANU National Executive Committee, in his speech during the 25th CPSU Congress, "regards it as its duty to express its appreciation and gratitude to the Soviet Union for its aid to the People's Republic of Angola and the MPLA party in defending that country's independence and national interests." Elsewhere in his address, he said: "Our parties think highly of the Soviet peace policy being implemented under the leadership of the CPSU. Peace is a most important condition for progress."

Imperialism is inseparable from colonialism. By fighting against colonialism, we are also fighting against imperialism. This fight will go on until imperialism is completely defeated. Our common goal is to build a strong socialist world in which the exploitation of man by man will be eliminated for all time.

THE MALAGASY PEOPLE HAVE CHOSEN THE SOCIALIST PATH

GISELE RABESAHALA
Independence Congress Party of Madagascar

Sharp changes have taken place in the Malagasy Democratic Republic within a relatively short period. After national independence, the people continued the struggle, this time against the neo-colonialist regime, and are now well on the way to complete liberation from imperialism. This transition was of course not easy. Both in the colonial period and under the neo-colonialist regime, the struggle did not stop for even a day; it involved much sacrifice and suffering and required dedicated and energetic effort.

Led by the progressive forces, the Malagasy people have achieved imposing successes. The neo-colonialist government[1] set up by the imperialists was overthrown in 1972. This was followed up by important foreign policy advances: revision of agreements on "cooperation" with France, evacuation of French troops, closure of military bases on the island and withdrawal from the "franc zone". These measures consolidated our sovereignty. The new regime has broken off all contacts with the racist government of South Africa, established diplomatic relations with the socialist countries, the Soviet

[1] See Gisele Rabesahala's articles in *WMR*: "Madagascar Revolutionary Democrats (September 1972) and "Madagascar Looks Ahead" (July 1974).

Union above all, and adopted the principles of non-alignment. It supports the anti-imperialist movement on the African continent.

Home and foreign policy was given a more progressive accent after Didier Ratsiraka became head of government in June 1975. Within a few months all the natural wealth and energy resources, the banks and insurance companies were nationalised. The transfer to the state of one of the pillars of France's former colonial domination—la Compagnie Marseillaise de Madagascar, the oldest export-import firm on the island—dealt a telling blow to the positions of imperialism and neo-colonialism. So did the dismantling of the US satellite tracking station, which was actually used for spying.

Agrarian reform has been speeded up. Progress in the countryside (according for 85 per cent of the population) has made for a more democratic administration and greater involvement of the peasants in public life through the reorganised **fokonolona**.[2]

We owe all these progressive changes to the people's heroic struggle. Their determination to advance further towards socialism was demonstrated anew at the referendum of 21 December 1975.

Voters were asked to say "yes" or "no" to the Charter of the Malagasy Socialist Revolution, to the draft Constitution of the Malagasy Democratic Republic based on the Charter, and to support or reject the candidature of chairman of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, Didier Ratsiraka, for the post of President. Nearly 95 per cent of the voters said "yes", thereby declaring for social progress. From then on the socialist choice, approved by the overwhelming majority of the population, has determined the entire state policy and it is enshrined in the Constitution.[3]

The referendum was an important landmark in our country's life. The Charter says that only through socialist revolution can we promote swift, independent and harmonious development in the economic, social and cultural spheres, that the struggle to strengthen national independence is inseparably linked with the struggle for the triumph of the socialist choice. The Charter sets these objectives and principles as the prelude to the building of socialism: genuine democracy that rules out exploitation of man by man, just distribution of the national wealth, equal access for all Malagasies

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[2] The traditional community in Madagascar. The Constitution approved by the December 1975 referendum declares that the Malagasy state is founded on the *fokonolona*. The general meeting and elected executive committee of the *fokonolona* decided on economic, social and other matters—*Ed*.

[3] It says that the socialist choice, like the republican form of government, is not subject to revision—*Ed.*

to cultural values, transfer of the basic means of production to the state and the people, and abolition of all forms of discrimination.

The referendum was followed by the structure of government. The President urged bringing into the administration representatives of all political trends supporting the Charter of the socialist revolution. For the first time the Supreme Revolutionary Council and the National Unity government included two members of the National Bureau of the Independence Congress Party of Madagascar (AKFM). In response to Didier Ratsiraka's call, the progressive forces formed a National Front for the defence of the revolution. Its members support the socialist path and are determined to repulse internal and international reaction. The front will help mobilise the masses to fight for genuine economic independence and build the new society. We are aware that only clear-cut objectives based on socialist principles can promote national unity.

Our tasks are tremendous and require dedicated, sustained effort by our people. For they simultaneously have to eradicate the legacy of colonialism and neo-colonialism, defend the revolution against the attacks of imperialism and internal reaction, and lay the foundations for the new society.

The progressive forces of Madagascar are confronted with many difficulties. The 80 years of the colonialist and neo-colonialist yoke even today affect economic life and have left an imprint on the mentality and behaviour of certain social groups. The social strata which had always served as a support for the colonialist and neo-colonialist regimes are now opposing the socialist course.[4] True these allies of imperialism constitute an insignificant minority and have little political influence, as the referendum showed. But they have the backing of the foreign companies still operating in our country. For them the implementation of the Charter of the socialist revolution is tantamount to losing all their privileges

The experience of the countries now on the non-capitalist road shows how important it is to guard against the intrigues of internal reaction and imperialism. The latter never lays down arms never ceases fighting to regain what it has lost. The intervention in Angola, the use of the existing military bases and the building of new ones, including the Diego Garcia base, gambling on economic difficulties—these are but a few of imperialism's subversive and aggr[illegible]

[4] The leadership of the "Tsiranana fund" (Tsiranana was head of the neo-coloni-alist regime)—a camouflage for leaders of the Malagasy Socialist Party—[illegible] the people to vote against the progressive programme proposed in the December referendum.

sive acts against the liberation movement of the African and other peoples.

But we are optimistic, and our optimism is based on the decisive change in the world balance of forces. The historical initiative is now in the hands of the fighters for peace, freedom and progress. We are living at a time when the spirit of detente is increasingly pervading international relations, when the socialist community is steadily advancing, while the capitalist world is bogged down in its worst ever crisis.

The national-liberation movement has scored new successes. The historic victory of the peoples of Indochina, the victory of the peoples in the former Portuguese colonies, and the success of the African peoples' fight against neo-colonialism are an inspiration for the revolutionaries. The changing world situation helps the peoples of the newly-free countries to consolidate their political and economic independence, and, what is most important, to choose a social system that truly accords with their interests.

We are grateful to the socialist countries and all progressive and revolutionary forces in the world for supporting our struggle. We are glad that the progressive changes in Madagascar are having a positive impact on other countries in the Indian Ocean area and inspiring the patriotic forces to fresh victories in the battle for freedom and justice, peace and progress.

WHITHER US FOREIGN POLICY AT THE BICENTENARY?

HELEN A. WINTER
International Affairs Secretary, Communist Party, USA

The crisis of US imperialist foreign policy is acknowledged on all sides. In the USA it is manifested in a sharp struggle to determin the future course of US international relations. The struggle ha entered a period of great intensity during the bicetennial observan ces of the American War of Indpendence, which Lenin called "one of those great, really liberating, really revolutionary wars".[1]

The bicentennial observances coincide with electoral contests pr paratory to the national elections 6 November and foreign policy i a central issue of these contests.

From the Revolutionary War—*to* the Export of Counter-Revolution

US governing circles and their candidates for the contested gov- ernmental offices try to exploit the democratic traditions of the 18th- century American revolution. They invoke the old promises, ne glecting to note how they were betrayed, and either repeat the promises or claim that nothing has changed in 200 years. One of the aims of all this is to justify the imperialist foundations of the foreign policy of the ruling classes.

The people's democratic and progresive movements condemn U imperialist policy as a betrayal not only of the ideals of the Ame rican revolution, but also of the interests of the nation and the masses today. US working people require a foreign policy con cive to peaceful, friendly relations with other countries. The mand a radical change of US foreign policy to a policy whic plements the principles of peaceful coexistence.

[1] Letter to American Workers, in *Lenin on the United States*. Intern... lishers, New York, 1970, p. 334.

A glance at certain features in the evolution of US foreign policy helps to make a class assessment of these contending positions.

It is true that US capitalism was predominantly anti-feudal and anti-colonialist during the revolution and for a short period afterwards. The American revolution gave further impetus to anti-feudal struggles in Europe, notably in France, which removed barriers to capitalist development.

However, even then it was flawed by a policy of deliberately exterminating the indigenous native American Indian peoples, the enslavement of forcibly imported Africans, and ruthless exploitation of immigrant European working people. From the outset of US capitalist development, class oppression, racism and aggression against other peoples were incorporated in capitalism's "American way of life".

Owing to many favourable conditions, capitalism developed rapidly in the USA, especially after slavery was ended. But by the end of the 19th century, US capitalism entered its imperialist stage. Under the pretext the ideas of "manifest destiny" the US grabbed colonies of Spain in some areas of the Americas and launched expansionist forays in the Pacific and Asia. Earlier aggressions against Mexico and Canada had whetted the appetite of US monopoly capital.

US imperialism emerged stronger from World War I in consequence of the defeat of German imperialism and at the expense of Great Britain, France and other European countries which were weakened by the war It joined other capitalist states in the attempt to crush the young Soviet state, an attempt repelled at great cost and sacrifice by the peoples of that state, led by Lenin and their communist vanguard.

Subsequently, US imperialism's implacable hostility to the first workers' and peasants' state was manifested in its complicity with other imperialist powers in financing and promoting the restoration of German imperialism in proclaiming "neutrality" when Hitler and Mussolini invaded Spain, which amounted to support of the fascist forces. This foreshadowed its attitude at the outbreak of World War II, when the US did nothing to curb the aggressions of fascism in Europe and of Japanese militarism in Asia.

With the developing anti-fascist character of the war, popular progressive forces in the United States and throughout the world began to demand that a second front be opened against Hitler's armies. It was this vast and powerful movement of democratic, popular forces that pushed the United States into an anti-fascist policy. This movement, together with the tremendous show of

strength by the Soviet Union and partisan forces in many cou..tri of Europe, forced the allies to open the second front and s... Yalta and Potsdam agreements. Without such a movem... which the communist parties were an integral and often lead... force, the then Senator Harry Truman's earlier "advice" to let Ge. many and Russia bleed each other white, may have prevailed.

Very soon after Potsdam it was apparent that US imperialism w... swinging away from the agreement and embarking on global aggres sive policies. It moved into positions previously occupied by othe imperialist powers in the Pacific. Military US bases were establish... in many countries Support was given to reactionary regimes ir Latin America. Progressive governments were threatened or de feated (as, for instance, in Guatemala) by massive US aid to reaction.

Non-white nations especially have been the targets of US imperialist adventures and the policies of its multi-national corporations. Racism is supported and cultivated to divide the peoples and to carry through a system of economic super-exploitation. The aggressive wars in Korea and Vietnam were attempts to crush the independent progressive regimes of these countries, and those attempts had racial overtones as well. All this was a part of a grand design to establish an "American Century" through cold war, professed "liberation", massive deterrence and brink-of-war policies.

Step by step, US foreign policy evolved into a strategy manifested by its attitude to the Popular Unity government in Chile Using the CIA, the US authorities aimed their policy at overthrowing Allende by a coup. For this they generated maximum pressure

This, the original objectively progressive role of US capitalism of the 18th century was abandoned long ago. As a result, its foreign policy became an instrument of the support of ultra-reactionary fascist regimes and of the export of counter-revolution.

The New Trends and Their Opponents

But if Chile represented a bloody, fascist, temporary victory ... US imperialist counter-revolution, the defeat of US imperialism in Vietnam marked the long-term trend of the bankruptcy and crisis of its foreign policy.

Even before the collapse of the Pentagon's Vietnam adventure the developments in the world, including the loss of the monopol over atomic weaponry, forced US imperialism to face the new reality. The consolidation of the world community of socialist nations and the rise of newly liberated countries, joining together in the anti-imperialist struggle, together with new economic difficulties and the growing working-class military in the capitalist world, ...

sulted in a shift in the world relation of forces. In the US there began a rise in the strength of the popular democratic and working-class forces. The defeat of US imperialist forces in Vietnam clinched this process. The anti-war struggle in the United States mobilised the broadest mass democratic pressures and exposed the real motives and essence of US imperialist aggressive foreign policy.

In these conditions, the initiative of the USSR for detente met a response from the US masses And the more realistic section of the ruling class began to see the futility of pursuing the desperate aggressive course which had met with drastic defeat. The process of detente, which had already been expanding in Europe and elsewhere, was given an impetus in the United States.

The necessity for a change and a more realistic view of the new international relationship of forces is recognised by almost all circles of big business, ideologues of capitalism, liberals, and other "moulders of public opinion". When Richard M. Nixon was seeking the presidency in 1968, he proclaimed he would bring about a "new American revolution". It was a demagogic slogan, but its proclamation signified the existence of a public desire for a turn of events, including foreign policy.

This was reflected in the positive support of an overwhelming majority of the US people to the agreements reached by then-President Nixon and Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in Moscow in 1972, including agreement on detente between the USA and the Soviet Union, contained in the document—"The Basic Principles of the Relations Between the USSR and USA". At one of his press conferences last year President Ford said that his administration will continue the policy of easing tensions between the Soviet Union and the USA, and declared it was a policy on "a two way street" concept

The strength of popular support for detente is so strong that even opponents of detente have to hide their opposition. Recently Senator Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash) who is closely connected with the military-industrial complex and has consistently striven by deeds to undermine and eliminate detente, was asked: "in your view, what is wrong with the policy of detente with the Soviet Union that the Ford Administration is pursuing?" Jackson answered: "It's not the concept of detente that is at fault; it's the way the Nixon and Ford administrations have managed it."[2]

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[2] *US News & World Report*, 8 December 1975

This is more than an electoral tactic, it underlines a fundamental conflict in US political life which is now becoming acute as rightist attempts in both main bourgeois parties—Republican and Democratic—are made to keep US foreign policy from further developing detente politically and progressing to the stage of military detente.

The Jacksons and their like, for example, former Republican Governor of California Ronald Reagan, are alarmed not only by foreign policy changes favouring detente and its irreversibility, but by the concomitant domestic changes which are both cause and effect of detente. For detente enhances the power of the people to struggle for their vital interests. The struggle for the people's social and economic demands and the struggle for detente and peace are two sides of one struggle—the struggle against the most reactionary monopoly influence.

Of late detente has been subjected to strong attacks by the more aggressive circles of state-monopoly capital,[3] who stubbornly resist acknowledging the new correlation of world forces and cling instead to the bankrupt positions of the cold war. Seizing the opportunity afforded by the electoral campaigns, these circles and their political representatives and ideologists have increased the pressure on the Ford administration to repudiate its commitments at Vladivostok and Helsinki.

They deny that detente and peaceful coexistence relate solely to inter-state relations, and claim that detente is incompatible with proletarian internationalism, with the solidarity of the socialist community with peoples struggling for national liberation. Those distortions of the essence of detente have found expression in attacks on the assistance given by the Soviet Union and Cuba to the beleaguered patriotic forces of Angola in their struggle against South-African and imperialist intervention in that country.

Certain reactionary circles, on the other hand, repeat demagogically the Maoist slander that detente signifies an agreement to "forbid" the class struggle and the struggles of less developed peoples for national liberation and independence. This does not prevent

[3] The forces associated with AFL-CIO president George Meany are also outspoken in their rejection of detente and in their anti-Sovietism. The right-wing social-democrats are fighting against improvement of US relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist states. In view of the stand taken by this politically corrupt clique—the AFL-CIO bosses and social-democrats of the USA, it is not surprising that they honoured Daniel P. Moynihan, the former US Ambassador to the UN with a silver cup for his attacks, including racist attacks, on the socialist and less developed countries.

some representatives of these circles from attempting to dictate policies of excluding communists from the governments of Western Europe, a gross interference in the internal affairs of those countries. Or making charges that efforts of the less developed countries to safeguard their national resources and correct unequal terms of trade are "extortion" that must be resisted by the developed capitalist countries.

Such deliberate misinterpretations of detente form premises for the demands of US right-wing circles to return to policies of "peace through strength", to adopt retaliatory measures against Cuba and the socialist community, and to step up interventionist activities in Africa in support of the racist minority regimes. They also underline the demands for continuous increases of the 112 thousand million dollar military budget.

Working-Class Stake in Detente

In the fall issue of the ostensibly "liberal" **Foreign Policy**, the editors opened an examination of US foreign policy in the "Third Century". The editors stated: "Our bicentennial coincides with a by-now nearly universal awareness that our role in the world has changed. But there is little agreement on the meaning of the change, of the proper American policy for our third century."[4]

The main issue the editors pose is, in brief, the conflict they believe exists between the principles upon which the United States was founded and the conduct of its foreign policy "in a world of competitive nation-states". This problem leads to the dilemma of "morality and expediency, principle power, idealism and realism", which "can never be fully resolved; it can simply be redefined and reformulated in the terms of each age". And this leads them to the pessimism about detente. They are seeking ways to "interpret" detente to give it a negative content under the guise of promoting the national security and welfare of the United States. Thus by a devious "liberal" route they reach the views held by the right-wing politicians.

To proceed with the way of polemics chosen by **Foreign Policy**, it is evident that "in a world of competitive nation states" the real dilemma arises from the historic struggle of two social systems. And the triumph of socialism over capitalism will resolve it. This is the view of communists, and it is true with regard to the way of changing the class foundations of US foreign policy.

But here we also deal with another problem. The "liberals" are

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[4] *Foreign Policy*, No. 20, Fall 1975, p. 97.

in one camp with the right-wing politicians in their rejection of detente and peaceful coexistence which creates the possibility for realism to gain ascendancy over illusion and morality over expediency, as well as principle over power.

Notwithstanding these efforts by the foes of detente, the concept of detente is almost universally accepted as the main trend of the times. Support for detente is rooted deeply in the consciousness of the US working class and masses, who see its importance for the destiny of the world.

Long before the US ruling class accepted peaceful coexistence and detente as an official state policy, solidarity with the Soviet Union had been a powerful, sometimes decisive, trend in the US working class and the democratic-minded masses. This trend has at times risen to heroic heights in the contest with imperialist foreign policy.[5]

Nationwide relief movements in the 1920s and 1930s to help the socialist land were organised. Basic in this trend was a flowering of proletarian internationalism. It reached a new peak in the period of economic crisis in the 1930s. All this carried the seeds of the future —US-Soviet cooperation in the anti-fascist war and now in the developing struggle for detente.

And today the US communists believe that the role of the working class and masses of people can be decisive in maintaining a consistent policy of detente, developing it to the stage of military detente, and making, it irreversible.

The Communist Party has been in the midst of this struggle from its birth. It was a leader in the "Hands off Russia!" movement of the 1920s, as it was in the campaign for normal diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. It has consistently fought for this policy, and for a shift in US foreign policy to achieve improvement of relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, as well as with all peoples of the world as the only guarantee of peace.

US foreign policy is today still formulated and carried out by the Administration in office in accord with the aims of the dominant section of monopoly capitalism. With the development of an anti-monopoly coalition in domestic affairs, a change will be speeded also

[5] At the very time of an official, rabidly anti-Soviet campaign (in 1918) when the Wilson administration had involved the United States in a shameful armed intervention in Siberia to help the imperialists strangle the new born Soviet republic, Seattle workers asserted an independent class position by undertaking a general strike to end the intervention.

in foreign relations, strengthening and expanding detente relations and thus contributing to guaranteeing peace.

Our party's rôle in this work has been defined in its Constitution, which declares: "In the struggle against US imperialism, the world's most powerful imperialism, our party works to build the solidarity of the US working class with developing countries, the national liberation movements and especially with the victims of US imperialist aggression, exploitation and domination. Only through world working-class solidarity and anti-imperialist unity can peaceful coexistence be assured and the world saved from nuclear war."[6]

Continued mobilisation of the mass movement of democratic-popular force can guarantee strengthening of international detente, adherence to the Helsinki agreements, reaching an understanding with Soviet Union on limitation of strategic arms and other bilateral problems.

The Soviet Union's willingness and readiness to reach such an understanding was reiterated on 25 February at the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by its General Secretary, Leonid I. Brezhnev who said: "The Soviet Union is firmly determined to follow the line of further improving Soviet-US relations in strict accordance with the letter and spirit of the agreements reached and commitments taken, in the interests of both peoples and peace on earth."

The task of our people is to give internationalist support and aid to the fighters for independence and freedom, against imperialist interference in Africa, Latin America and Asia, and in every situation where reactionary forces impose their will on peoples' movements. US imperialism must be compelled to relinquish its colonial grasp over the Puerto-Rican nation and to end the economic boycott against Cuba. Our people must insist that the government carry out the Paris Agreement and meet the reparations agreed to in Vietnam.

In this bicentennial year the fulfilment of these tasks looms as the greatest need for our people's attention.

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[6] Constitution of the Communist Party of the United States of America, N. Y., 1975, p. 7.

AGAINST THE INTERESTS OF THE ARAB PEOPLES

ADEL HABA
Representative of the Iraqi Communist Party of the Journal

President Anwar Sadat's decision to abrogate the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and Egypt has aroused another wave of anti-Sovietism in the imperialist press and in reactionary papers in the Arab East, with Maoist propaganda keeping step with them. Rating the decision as "good news", the enemies of the Arab national-liberation movement encouraged by international imperialism are trying to denigrate the long history of Soviet-Arab relations, cast aspersion on their fruitfulness, and even blame the Soviet Union for the collapse of Egypt's recently adopted policy. In so doing they do not hesitate to falsify historical facts.

The truth is that the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community laid the foundation stone of national industry in many Arab countries and helped them build its key branches according to modern standards, organise the training of national personnel, and develop their national culture and science. To this should be added the USSR's tremendous military aid to the Arab peoples, which enabled them to repulse imperialist and Zionist aggression. Let us look at some statistics.

The Soviet Union assisted Egypt in building 137 economic, public and cultural projects. Syria—about 50 projects, Iraq—72, Algeria—more than 80, The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen—40.

The building of the Aswan hydroelectrical power complex is a striking example of Soviet assistance to Arab countries. The Aswan High Dam is the world's biggest. It enabled Egypt to increase its area of arable land by one-third and begin extensive electrification of the countryside, providing power for industry. Soviet specialists helped discover oil, gas, iron, coal, lead, zinc and phosphate deposits in Egypt. Thanks to cooperation with the USSR, Egypt was able to build a modern industry, including the huge metallurgical works in Helwan and plants for the production of aluminium, radio equipment, antibiotics and fertilisers.

With Soviet assistance Syria is building a huge power station on the Euphrates. After its completion the output of electricity will treble and the area of farmland will double.

A major irrigation project is under construction with the assistance of the

USSR on the Tigris river, in Iraq. It will be of key importance for extending cultivated areas, increasing the capacity of reservoirs, and combating droughts and floods. The Soviet Union helped Iraq to repulse the onslaught of the international monopolies when it nationalised the oil industry. For our people the national oilfields in Rumaila have become a symbol of Soviet-Iraqi friendship. The Soviet Union also helped in prospecting large deposits of sulphur in Mosul and phosphates in western Iraq, and in building plants for the production of agricultural machinery, electrical instruments, medicaments, fabrics and glass.

Algeria received Soviet assistance in developing its oil industry, finding mercury, lead and zinc deposits, building a metallurgical plant at Annaba and factories for the production of tractors, machinery, metal-cutting lathes, and steel pipes for the oil and gas industry.

The Soviet Union gives the Arab countries all-round assistance in training skilled personnel and sets up vocational training centres. In Egypt alone, more than 50,000 skilled workers were trained in 140 trades with Soviet assistance before 1972. During the construction of the Aswan hydroelectric power station, Soviet specialists trained 19,000 Egyptian workers. Thousands of Arab students have graduated or are studying in the Soviet Union.

The Arab peoples appreciate the effectiveness of Soviet aid. During the dark days of the aggressive wars unleashed against them by the Zionist-imperialist alliance, they unmistakably realised who their real friends were. It was the Soviet Union that created an air ridge to deliver combat equipment to the Arab armies, enabling them to inflict telling blows against the Israeli aggressors. It is the Soviet Union that has been invariably supporting the Arab peoples' just cause at international forums. Realisation of this truth by the working people grows as the stand of the imperialist powers is exposed. At least two facts could be mentioned to give an idea of that stand: the tripartite aggression against Egypt in 1956, when President Nasser decided to nationalise the Suez Canal, and the vetoing by the United States of all UN Security Council resolutions on the restoration of the Palestinian people's national rights

Beyond doubt the anti-Soviet campaign plays into the hands of those who oppose the Arab peoples' independence and desire to build a new life. As our party's news paper, *Tarik ul-Shaab*, has written, the speech President Sadat made at the National Assembly when it revoked the Soviet-Egyptian treaty reflected the strengthening of the right-wing forces in Egypt and the consolidation of American influence.

The entire recent history of the Arab East shows that hostile policies towards the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community can only harm the Arabs. An inglorious end on the dust-heap of history awaits those who would like to deprive the Arab liberation movement of its tested weapon—Soviet-Arab friendship.

TRADE AS A FACTOR FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

ANDREJ BARCAK
Minister of Foreign Trade, Czechoslovakia

New serious changes are taking place in world trade and in areas of foreign economic relations closely linked with it. Foreign trade on the democratic principles of equality, respect for national sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit is winning increasing recognition. These principles are becoming standards of international economic relations due primarily to the efforts of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community.

Imperialism has always resisted new, progressive principles of world trade. The exploiting classes have always regarded trade as a source of high profits, a means of bringing other countries under their control and carrying on a colonial policy, succeeded by its neocolonial variant. And greed has led to stronger trade rivalries, a source of war.

After the Great October Socialist Revolution, the imperialist principles dominating the world market lost their universal character. Their operation was further restricted by the rise of the world socialist market and the dis integration of the colonial system Against the background of a radical change in the balance of forces in favour of socialism and peace, it is becoming ever more evident that the old approach to world trade is historically doomed Eliminating it is no easy task, however. Reactionary imperialist quarters still try to use trade as a means of undermining the economic independence of various countries, applying political pressure and diktat and interfering in other countries' affairs, and as a vehicle of bourgeois ideology.

As a result, discrimination against socialist countries persists, capitalist countries still impose unfair terms of trade on developing countries and trade wars break out between capitalist countries or alignments, hitting the working people's interests first of all. Some politicians still believe that discrimination in trade is an effective weapon against socialist countries. They include certain US senators, who serve the military industrial complex by raising

obstacles to normal trade with socialist countries. They make most-favoured-nation treatment conditional on meeting demands that verge on gross interference in the domestic affairs of socialist countries.

These tendencies are added evidence of the invariably reactionary nature of imperialism. However, the imperialists' selfish designs clash more and more with new world realities, first among which is, from the point of view of revolutionary struggle, the growing power of the socialist community.

In a historically short time, socialism has achieved outstanding successes in the economic competition with capitalism. The CMEA countries increased their share of world industrial output from 17.5 per cent in 1950 to 37.5 per cent in 1974. In the same period, the United States, share in world industrial output dropped from 43.6 to 25.4 per cent, and the Common Market's from 21.8 to 16 per cent.

Tho planned and crisis-free economic development of socialist countries ensures dynamically growing trade between them. Trade expands in step with closer economic relations between socialist countries and benefits them. In 1960-74 trade between CMEA countries grew by almost 280 per cent, the 1971-74 period showing a 56 per cent increase. In 1974, their mutual trade accounted for nearly 53 per cent of their foreign trade. It plays an important part in equalising their economic development levels and guaranteeing a steady rise in the standard of living. Mutual trade enables the CMEA countries to meet most of their important requirements: in 1974, for example, rolled ferrous metals 54 per cent, rolled non-ferrous metals 71, machinery and plant 67, iron ore 76, oil 80, cast iron 96, and coal almost 100 per cent.

The socialist countries, especially CMEA members, base their mutual trade and economic cooperation on the principles of proletarian internationalism, respect for state sovereignty, independence and national interests, and non-interference in internal affairs. They take maximum account of the requirements of each country and the need to coordinate national economic plans. Recent communist party congresses in the socialist community have shown that the parties attach primary importance to fulfilling these plans and to drafting and carrying out joint long-term programmes.

Expanding all-round economic cooperation among the CMEA countries on these lines enable them to solve difficult problems. In the area of the CMEA countries energy sources are distributed most unevenly. Most of these countries lack oil and gas, that is, the most effective fuels. In 1961-74, Soviet oil deliveries to other CMEA countries increased from 6.3 to 59 million tons and gas deliveries from 200 million to 8,600 million cubic metres. This makes, in particular, for the stability of Czechoslovakia's power resources. The Soviet Union supplies 92 per cent of our oil imports and 100

per cent of our natural gas imports. It has become Czechoslovakia's main trade partner and accounts for more than 30 per cent of our foreign trade.

Before World War II, Czechoslovakia's trade was mostly with West European countries. The bulk of its exports was made up of textiles, glassware, leather and some food products. The share of machinery and plant in exports did not exceed six per cent.

Due to the rapid growth of Czechoslovakia's economy and industrial potential in postwar years and the reorientation of its foreign trade to countries of the socialist community, the share of machinery and plant in our exports now makes up almost 50 per cent. While the national income of the USSR in 1948-74 showed a 380 per cent increase, foreign trade had grown 8.3-fold by 1974 and was worth 85,200 m. korunas. Progressive changes in the Czechoslovak economy are also seen in the pattern of our foreign trade. Electronic equipment, transistors and chemical products lately have a more prominent place in it.

Last year the CMEA countries completed the bilateral and multilateral coordination of their economic plans for 1976-80. Under agreements and specialisation programmes they will meet on a reciprocal basis a substantial proportion of the demand for fuel and power, metals, machinery and plant, chemical products and consumer goods. The emphasis is on integrating production in the key industries. The qualitatively new tasks set by the Comprehensive Programme of socialist economic integration also find reflection in trade agreements between CMEA countries, including Czechoslovakia.

Trade with socialist countries will be an important factor in advancing the Czechoslovak economy and raising our people's standard of living. In 1976-80, its volume will increase by roughly 40 to 42 per cent.

The socialist community considers that its rapid economic progress can and should play an important part in the steady and dynamic growth of world trade and help effectively in reshaping international economic relations on democratic lines.

Closer economic links between socialist and newly independent countries make for progressive trends in world trade. The process of nationalising foreign trade as a whole or its key fields that took place in numerous Asian and African countries after they won political independence was greatly influenced by the experience of state monopoly of foreign trade in socialist countries, an experience which has fully proved its effectiveness.

Needless to say, the emergence of the peoples of onetime colonies as politically independent nations does not automatically free them from the shackles of the world capitalist economy. Imperialism uses new, disguised mehods to continue exploiting these countries as markets and suppliers of raw materials. It also resorts to discrimination in trade for the same purpose.

Capitalist countries pursue a harsh policy towards all commodities coming from new independent states, raw materials included. They impose twice as high tariffs as on imports from developed capitalist countries. Furthermore, price formation on the capitalist world market is extremely unfavourable to developing countries, with high prices on machinery and low prices on raw materials. Another discrimination factor is the quota system, prompted mainly by purely political considerations and intended to cause sharp rivalries between developing countries.

The developing countries see one of their primary tasks in achieving economic independence and equal trade. They are fully supported in this by the socialist community. Due to the solidarity of socialist countries, the legitimate demands of developing countries gain recognition in the UN and at various international conferences.

Between 1950 and 1973, the CMEA countries increased their trade with the new independent countries roughly 22-fold. A special fund of 1,000 million transferable rubles has been set up in the CMEA International Investment Bank to grant economic and technological credits to developing countries. To ensure payment for plant and other facilities, the CMEA countries grant developing countries government and commercial credits unfettered by any political or economic demands. The long-term credits granted by the CMEA countries to date total 11,000 million rubles. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have abolished tariffs on imports from developing countries. To promote the growth of their economies, they increase imports of manufactured goods from these countries.

The comprehensive programme provides for the possibility of developing countries participating in CMEA activities and its international economic organisations, which affords many of these countries valuable opportunities, as exemplified by the CMEA agreements with Iraq and Mexico.

International relations today are characterised by the fast-growing economic cooperation between countries with different social systems. Trends in the development of international relations have their effect on foreign trade. "There is a force more powerful than the wishes, the will and the decisions of any of the governments or classes that are hostile to us", Lenin said. "That force is world general economic relations, which compel them to make contact with us" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 155). International detente, now becoming the dominant aspect of world politics, has made for favourable changes in trade between socialist and capitalist countries and helps use opportunities to normalise and perfect the machinery of world economic relations.

Conversely, beneficial changes in economic relations between countries with different social systems carry the process of detente deeper and extend and strengthen the material basis of peaceful coexistence. This is a gain for all the peoples fighting for peace and security. "Mutually beneficial

economic cooperation is becoming an increasingly important factor in stabilising peaceful relations between countries", said Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CPCz and President of Czechoslovakia, in his Helsinki speech.

Foreign trade monopoly continues to serve as a dependable safeguard against imperialist attempts to capture positions on the socialist market, exploit the raw material resources of socialist countries and undermine the socialist economic system. Imperialist plans for every manner of "commercial blockade" and "economic embargo", designed to isolate the Soviet Union and subsequently other socialist countries as well, have miscarried.

The policy of encouraging mutually beneficial trade between countries with different social and economic systems is objectively necessitated by the internationalisation of economic activity, the international division of labour and the scientific and technological revolution. Yet the socialist countries' adherence to this policy was for a long time misrepresented by imperialist politicians as a communist "tactical manoeuvre" prompted by "weakness". Many a would-be theorist still uses these shop-worn arguments against the foreign economic policy of socialist countries. History has taught them nothing.

No sensible person is now likely to argue that the socialist community is "weak". Now as in the past, socialist countries demonstrate by deeds their resolve to expand mutually beneficial economic exchanges with capitalist countries, which they regard as an important means of promoting international security and cooperation. "In line with their policy of peaceful coexistence, in the interest of social progress and in view of the fact that the international socialist division of labour is effected with due regard to the world division of labour, the CMEA countries will continue to develop economic, scientific and technological relations with other countries irrespective of their social and political systems, on the principles of equality, mutual benefit and respect for sovereignty" (comprehensive programme).

The socialist countries are against autarky, each country producing everything it needs. Disregard of the economic advantages provided by the international division of labour is alien to them. In this age of powerful growth of the productive forces and rapid technological progress, no country can afford economic isolation. The very scale of contemporary production and scientific research require tremendous resources which even countries having a major economic potential do not always command.

Economic relations between countries belonging to different systems are now based on important agreements at government level. There are inter-governmental agencies to promote cooperation in industry, agriculture, science and technology. Long-term and wide-ranging agreements are of especial importance. They are supplemented by agreements

economic cooperation on a compensatory basis. This means that capitalist firms taking part in the construction of industrial complexes in socialist countries will be compensated with part of the output. Agreements of this nature have already been concluded by the Soviet Union, Poland and other socialist countries, Joint research and development on a growing scale also benefit from expanding trade in patents and licences and from mutually beneficial exchanges of know-how.

The CMEA countries' trade with capitalist countries is today worth over $40,000 million, much more than during the imperialist cold war. Trade played an important part in breaking down the political and psychological barriers raised by the cold-war strategists. Agreements normalising trade often preceded treaties settling political problems.

The capitalist countries' growing interest in economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community is heightened by the undeniable fact that the socialist economy is crisis-free. It is an open secret that the serious economic crisis in the capitalist world has prompted many businessmen to reconsider their attitude and search for ways and means of expanding trade with socialist countries.

It would be simplistic to imagine that growing trade between socialist and capitalist countries will cure a crisis rooted in the evils of a system based on private ownership of the means of production. On the other hand, it is plain that orders placed by socialist countries contribute, sometimes substantially, to the reduction of unemployment, that scourge of the people in capitalist countries.

According to data released by the UN Economic Commission for Europe, the economic crisis has adversely affected West-European trade over the past eighteen months. By contrast, trade between socialist and capitalist countries in 1974 was up 42-44 per cent on the previous year and a further growth was registered in 1975. And while trade with socialist countries still has a modest share (roughly five per cent) in West European trade, it should not be underestimated. Even according to some economists, trade between the CMEA countries and developed capitalist countries of Europe provides jobs for at least two million people in those countries.

The working class of capitalist countries, which is led by communist parties and many big trade unions, demand that their governments take more effective steps to expand trade with socialist countries and rid it of survivals of the cold war. Efforts in this direction are part of the general struggle against imperialism and monopoly that is intensifying in capitalist countries.

The socialist countries highly appreciate the solidarity of the international working class. This solidarity helps their effort for the establishment of democratic principles in international relations, including the economic sphere. Much has yet to be done to this end.

The facts show that the economic doors of the socialist countries open more widely, so to speak, than those of their capitalist partners. W we mean is that our doors are open for trade, not for the inflationary p cesses typical of the "free market".

Imbalances in reciprocal deliveries make it necessary for capitalist co tries to place their trade with socialist countries on a balanced basis. T solution of a number of fundamental problems will depend on the willi ness of West-European countries to import from socialist countries m machinery, plant and manufactured goods.

An equally important problem is that of tariff discrimination agai imports from socialist countries. Some capitalist countries are liberalis their trade policies in order to boost exports. According to the UN *Eco mic Bulletin* tariffs have been reduced on 99 per cent of the 1,097 comr dities imported from capitalist countries and only on 42 per cent of goods imported from socialist countries. Many other capitalist counti have taken a similar stand. Discrimination also expresses itself in m rigid import regulations and more exacting technological and sanit standards in regard to imports from socialist countries. The customs uni of capitalist countries provide for duty-free movement of goods within group and impediments against outsiders. This applies to the Comn Market and EFTA.

The capitalist countries' liberalisation of trade policy has been shar curbed in recent years owing to the economic crisis. Indeed, new prot tionist hurdles have been raised to trade. This prevents progress in mu ally beneficial economic relations between Czechoslovakia and ot socialist countries, on the one hand, and capitalist countries, on the otl Were some obstacles removed, as was done under the Czechoslovak-Finr agreement, new inducements could be found for mutually benefi commercial relations.

Due to the effort of socialist countries, the Helsinki Conference cal for the restriction and gradual removal of all trade barriers. Its Final A signed on 1 August 1975, contains important recommendations for grea cooperation in the economic, scientific and technological fields, as well in environmental protection.

The adoption of these recommendations does not at all imply, as ult leftists contend, a class reconciliation or class truce undermining the b of the class struggle on a world scale. It would be just as wrong to exp these recommendations could bring about a rapprochement or converge of countries with different social systems. Their cooperation does n nor can, eliminate class contradictions between the socialist and capit systems.

The growing economic, scientific and technological cooperation of co

tries with different social systems and opposed ideologies by no means tends to end the objective phenomenon of class struggle. However, this increases the responsibility of states and all social forces, which must see to it that this struggle does not take a course threatening mankind with a devastating military conflict. "We communists", said L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU, "will continue to do all in our power for the earth never to be engulfed in the flames of a nuclear conflagration."

Like other countries of the socialist community, Czechoslovakia, with its experience in foreign trade, looks ahead with optimism, now fortified by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, whose Final Act stresses that world trade can and should be one of the most important factors in economic growth and social progress and that advances in this sphere promote peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

A pressing task now is to seek the removal of discrimination and other artificial obstacles to international trade and the elimination of all inequality, imposition and exploitation in international economic relations. This is urged by the programme of continued struggle for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and independence of peoples, advanced by the 25th Congress of the CPSU. The socialist community, hailing it as a programme of joint action, will work for its steadfast implementation. In common with the communist parties of capitalist countries, with all the forces of peace, democracy and progress, it resists imperialist reaction, which tries to thwart or hold back the process of detente.

LESSONS IN LABOUR DEFEAT
(Letter from Australia)

W. J. BROWN
Australian Labour Movement Journalist

The result of the 1975 national elections—and the remarkable precedents set during the events contributing to Labour's defeat—face the Australian labour movement with new problems and new challenges. The events leading to the 13 December elections exposed more clearly than ever how Australia is really governed not by democratic elections but by manipulation by powerful, non-elected local and foreign monopoly groupings outside parliament.

The putsch for power the Australian ruling class launched in October, which led on to the Kerr-Fraser coup of November 11,[1] was a new and disturbing experience for the Australian people. It showed that the real economic-political forces ruling Australian capitalism are prepared to treat their own vaunted "democratic" conventions with total contempt when it suits their class needs. In quick succession Australia's top bourgeois rulers underwrote a remarkable series of new far-reaching departures from their own established parliamentary practices. The convention that senators who retire or die be replaced by a representative of the same political party from the particular state went by the board as the Liberals made their first manoeuvres for power by undemocratic means. For the first time the convention that the senate not be used to deny supply of finance to govern was broken.

[1] For the first time Australia experienced a coup d'etat. This was the climax of a crisis deliberately created by the Fraser-led bloc of the Liberal and Country parties. Their manipulated senate majority and their unprecedented denial of supply was cynically used as the excuse they needed to use the anachronistic vice-regal post of Governor General (Kerr) to dismiss the democratically elected Labour government which on two occasions in less than two years received the people's mandate and had firm support in the House of Representatives.

The Liberal Party leaders, and the faceless men of monopoly prompting them from behind, were prepared to pay a dear price for power. Trampling on their own parliamentary "safeguards" and the so-called "impartiality" of their vice-regal trappings meant they were prepared to seriously damage their own bourgeois constitutional processes.

The clear fact is that not Fraser or Governor General Kerr but the faceless men of Australian and foreign monopolies were the real supra-parliament forces who made the serious political-economic decisions that the Labour government had to be destroyed regardless of the method—or cost.

Abundant evidence has been presented to show that Fraser did not launch his October putsch in denying supply to the Labour government on his own decision. Similarly, abundant evidence exists to show that the subsequent Fraser-Keer coup was also not taken merely by Fraser and Kerr. They acted with full pre-Knowledge that they had the wholehearted endorsement of the highest echelons in Australian and foreign big business.

The Australian bourgeoisie had decided that they wanted class power directly in their hands through a millionaire conservative like Fraser to ensure that the burdens of capitalism's new economic crisis were met at the expense of the people—not monopoly profits.

Foreign bourgeoisie, particularly in America and Japan, wanted Labour destroyed to remove the obstacle of Labour's policy of "Australian resources under Australian control" and to open the way for heavy investment in our nation's vast mineral wealth.

Both Wall Street and Washington wanted to restore a strongly pro-American government in Canberra They wanted a Liberal government to ensure tighter consolidation of war bases on Australian soil. They wanted destruction of the independent, peace-oriented foreign policy of Labour which made Australia a name respected for the first time internationally since the allied fight against fascism in World War II.

The important part played by American pressure groups for greater access to Australian uranium was exposed in an interview with **Nucleonics Week,** when William Jentes, attorney for the American Corporation Westinghouse, gave a remarkable accurate forecast by saying: "Maybe if the Labour government is thrown out in Australia in five weeks we can get uranium we thought we had..." **This was in the November issue published five weeks and three days before the election day!**

The conclusion is inescapable that the Labour government was deliberately destroyed by a long-range plan. This went through variously carefully orchestrated stages—the series of stunts and scandals; the manipulation to get a false Senate "majority"; the Senate deferral of the budget (later to be taken over and implemented by the Liberals once they got power); the coup d'etat and establishment of Fraser in the advantageous position of prime minister to fight the 13 December elections, and then the monopoly-owned media putting the final touches with the most fiercely concentrated attack on the Labour government on record.

What is to be the approach of the labour movement to the new situation they now face? Despite mistakes and shortcoming the Labour government had many outstanding achievements to its credit in both home and foreign policies. Yet, when monopoly forces outside Parliament decreed it had to be destroyed this is precisely what happened.

The Socialist Party of Australia wrote to Prime Minister Whitlam before the 11 November coup with a proposition that has been rendered more urgent than ever by events that followed. Our proposal was that the Labour parliamentarians, and the ALP generally, consider initiating and throwing their full weight behind a nation-wide campaign to expose the dangerous growth of modern monopoly power and to develop mass awareness of the need for control and curbs on these undemocratic, supra-parliamentary forces of wealth and privilege.

The SPA declared its intention to throw its full weight into such a badly needed campaign. The ALP's participation—or initiation—could be a decisive factor. Indeed, in the SPA view it is an inescapable need for the Labour Party to enter such a campaign. Either the ALP meets the challenge of the powerful forces of monopoly or it resigns itself to their mercy.

Reformism traditionally avoids class struggle. This has been the main trend in the ALP. Now class struggle has been crudely thrust upon them by Labour's basic enemies in local and foreign board-rooms.

Dimitrov in his famous 1935 speech, developing the concept of the united front against monopoly capital in times of economic crisis, pointed out that when capitalism finds itself unable to govern in the old way it acts ruthlessly to substitute one form of capitalist government for another. Without exaggerating the present situation by suggesting Australia has already become a nation under fascism, the local and foreign bourgeoisie certainly substituted cle

forms for new in ensuring power for their direct political representatives. It is a situation that needs to be met with united front and the broadest popular front action to push back the menacing increase of monopoly power in the nation.

Indeed, Fraser's crudely pro-American course creates possibilities for arousing some expression of national front resistance to the consequences that will inevitably flow from his "open door" policy for foreign exploitation of our national resources and for consolidation of American war bases on our soil.

The Socialist Party of Australia has put to the Labour Party and other sections of the labour movement the standpoint that even a moderate course that can arouse mass awareness and readiness to act on a programme limited at this stage, to curbing local and foreign monopoly power will be an important start.

Some Labour Party members may consider even such a realistically based campaign to be "too radical". The alternative is to meekly accept the ruthless realities of recent developments. On the other hand, some sections of the Left may consider proposals to campaign for curbs or controls on monopoly "too moderate".

Both sections might take into account the comments of a British political comentator interviewed on Labour's defeat He pointed out that the objectives of the Australian labour movement were generally pitched at a low level. He drew attention to the fact that campaigns against monopolies, including calls for nationalisation, were a prominent policy feature of the British labour and trade-union movement. He also pointed out that as the nation with the highest percentage of home owners in the world, a large section of Australia's population was highly property conscious and sensitive to inflationary or economic insecurity which might jeopardise their property holdings. The observations are shrewdly sound in both cases.

The Australian Labour Party generally, not only its left wing, needs to give a stronger lead on the decisive struggle against monopoly. It should take into account that one of the basic underlying lessons of the election is that the swinging voter in Australia leans strongly towards a conservative position. Yet these voters among farmers, small businessmen and academics are non-monopoly forces and can, with a correct approach, be won to realisation that growing monopoly power over their lives needs to be curbed. This can be a most important advance.

"Leftist" shouts for "nothing short of socialism" and full-scale nationalisation, at this stage, can do no more than drive these peo-

ple away. In fact, they can assist to perpetuate rather than make inroads into the mass base of monopoly power.

On the election result in general, the SPA will counter both right opportunist trends to give away the struggle in the light of Labour's defeat and left sectarian trends to lapse into super-revolution or ultra-left expressions of frustration. We will stress that both causes will, in the final analysis, assist the pro-monopoly forces. We will stress that revolutionary socialist objectives at this stage can be best advanced by building a powerful united front of the workers and the broadest popular front among farmers, academics, small businessmen and others against their common enemies—the local and foreign monopolists.

The solid 43 per cent (over 3 million voters) that voted for Labour despite the heavy monopoly-owned media barrage shows that there is a powerful basis among wide sections of the community for such a concept to become reality.

Fraser faces no easy path. He has no solution to capitalism's inbuilt problems of inflation and unemployment. He faces a strongly aroused labour movement of heightened unity smouldering with the deep hostility he aroused. Internationally, he faces a situation where the dominant trend remains towards detente, not the die-hard anti-Soviet cold-war dogmas he has rushed in to proclaim.

His short-term tactic of trying to play Mao Tse-tung off against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries will soon be exposed as embroiling Australia in the insane Maoist line of "inevitable nuclear war" which threatens our nation along with the rest of humanity.

The SPA line in 1976 is to help build not only a powerful people's movement to curb monopoly power but also to help rebuild a broad peace movement in Australia for detente, disarmament and development—with particular emphasis on removing American war bases which are making our country a front-line nuclear spearhead for Washington militarists.

Side by side with helping build such broad people's movements the SPA will redouble efforts around its own independent policies. Independent election campaign activity by the SPA showed great interest can be stirred in our unwavering line on socialist policies. During the election campaign only SPA speakers and its press and leaflets clearly brought out the dynamic contrast of the crisis-free economies of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries where unemployment and inflation is unknown. More of this needs to be done together with popularising the Programme of our Second Congress which presents the SPA path to socialism in Australia.

Victory for Fraser and the forces who backed him was a setback. But they have no way out. It is no empty optimism but solid reality that the most decisive forces of our time are those of the world forces for peace, national independence and socialism. These are the forces of the future. Given the correct policy there is powerful potential for their development in Australia.

Since the beginning of this year the new conservative government in Australia has moved rapidly to develop a reactionary foreign policy of making Australian war bases more extensively available to the United States and to join in the spurious clamour against alleged sharply increased Soviet presence in the Indian Ocean. Prime Minister Fraser has also foreshadowed a visit to Mao Tsetung in the near future. In home policy a series of heavy attacks on wages, pensions and living standards generally has been launched.

But resistance is growing. A threat of nation-wide "rolling strikes" by workers in all states was fundamental in preventing a serious wage cut and a mass demonstration of industrial and professional workers outside Parliament house as the new Parliament assembled shows that great potential exists for developing anti-monopoly action.

THE PROBLEM OF POWER IN THE TRANSITION PERIOD

ZAHI KARKABI
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Never before has the prospect of socialism been so near to reality than in our time, in this era of the ever growing superiority of the socialist world system, the deepening crisis of capitalism and the rise of the mass revolutionary movement for social and national liberation. The growing intensity of the class battles naturally rivets the attention of communists on the aspects of Marxism-Leninism that have a direct bearing on the conquest and consolidation of working-class power. In this context it is important to discuss the objective laws governing the transition from capitalism to socialism, a discussion begun in the columns of this journal with the article, "The Image of Our Own Future", by Ib Nrlund, member of the Executive and Secretariat of the Communist Party of Denmark.[1]

It gives an argumented rebuff to our ideological opponents, the bourgeois ideologists and advocates of opportunism and revisionism, who are doing their best to discredit the experience accumulated by the socialist countries, undermine the unity and cooperation of fraternal parties and justify every retreat from Marxism-Leninism. They inflate out of all measure the importance of "specifics", "exclusiveness", "inimitability" in the development of one or another country. Their idea of our struggle is everyone going his own way, with communism, our aim, replaced by all manner of roguish recipes and home-grown "models" of socialism, whether Danish or Zionist, as preached by Ben-Gurion, Katsnelson and their followers. The criterion of truth, as Ib Nrlund rightly reminds us, is life, practice. We do not know of a single case of socialism being built by these recipes, though the parties that advocate them, the social-democrats, for instance, were and are in power in many countries. At the same time we see the rich experience of existing socialism, and the fraternal parties attribute their achievements primarily to stringent adherence to the objective laws of development.

In reading Nrlund's article, I found that I shared many of his thoughts and much of what he says about the feelings of a communist in a capitalist country who has closely followed life in the Soviet Union and other socialist states. And like Nrlund I ask myself: "How will all this work out in my own

[1] *World Marxist Review*, January 1976.

country?" These thoughts, I believe, are near and dear to my comrades in various other countries, for every real communist is bound to appreciate the value of Lenin's statement: "We now possess quite considerable international experience, which shows very definitely that certain fundamental features of our revolution have a significance that is not local, or peculiarly national, or Russian alone, but international... It is the Russian model that reveals to *all* countries something—and something highly significant—of their near and inevitable future" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 21-22). Nor does this in any way contradict another tenet of Marxism, concerning which Lenin said: "The revolution proceeds in its own way in every country... World revolution is not so smooth as to proceed in the same way everywhere, in all countries" (Vol. 28, p. 123). The complex and creative character of our work resides in the fact that we have to devise a realistic strategy and tactics that take into account local conditions. However, this does not repeal the common laws of history, and, what is more, national conditions cannot be deeply understood without a scientific understanding of these common laws.

But we would be underestimating the complexity of our work if we were to reduce everything to the co-relation between the common and the "particular", for this would be no more than a snapshot of our times, showing current differences in the position and conditions of one country in relation to others. This is necessary, but certainly not enough. We must find the key also to the peculiarities that are part of reality and distinguish it from the reality of "yesterday", from the historic past, even if only the recent past. It is on these points that I wish to dwell in my contribution.

Capitalism has undergone fundamental changes in the first three quarters of the century. Communists do not disregard these changes; they consider it their duty to subject them to objective analysis. The results of such analysis by the fraternal parties are discussed and verified collectively in order to further enrich Marxism-Leninism. In our time, its theoretical basis has been augmented by a number of new conclusions about the deepening socialism, about the possibilities of improving the international situation, general crisis of capitalism and the changing balance of forces in favour of forecasting the future of the young states that have broken out of the colonialist yoke, etc. Without repeating the comprehensive analysis contained, for instance, in the documents of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, I propose to deal in some detail on one feature of the present world situation.

We know that from the standpoint of building up the productive forces, the material prerequisites for transition to socialism, state-monopoly capitalism can, to use Lenin's expression, climb "a rung of the ladder of history between which and the rung called socialism *there are no intermediate rungs*" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 359). In some of the more developed

capitalist countries the communist parties have drawn the conclusion that the objective material prerequisites for socialism already exist. On the other hand, in these same countries, they have had to admit that the transition to socialism as the next step is hardly likely. For it encounters a non-material barrier, the need to achieve general democratic aims, the scope of which is substantially greater than in the past. Why? An Historic Analysis will disclose the origins also of this new sharp contradiction.

The transition from the free enterprise capitalism of the past, with its *laissez faire* motto, to present-day, monopoly and state-monopoly capitalism, was accompanied by the unprecedented concentration of power in the financial oligarchy, a tight elite opposed to the interests not only of the working class, but also of all social strata, including the peasantry and working intellectuals, small businessmen and the middle strata generally. In countries like ours, dependent on imperialist powers, this also involves a definite section of the progressively-minded national bourgeoisie. Attempts by the monopoly power to shift on to the taxpayer the entire burden of the present sharp crisis, inflation and unemployment, economic militarisation squandering of national resources by the military-industrial complexes, the results of scientific and technological progress used by the monopolies to maximise profits with no regard whatever to deterioration of working conditions, the quality of life and the environment—all this has come as a telling blow to the broad non-monopoly mass of the population. And to keep that mass in submission, imperialism is more frequently falling back on political reaction, curtailing traditional bourgeois-democratic rights and freedoms, extending the prerogatives of the executive branch to the detriment of elected representative bodies, resorting to repression against the progressive forces, is increasingly leaning towards an authoritarian regime, and when the situation becomes especially acute, directly relies on neofascism and dictatorial regimes. "The recent experience of the revolutionary movement" L. I. Brezhnev said at the 25th CPSU Congress, "provides graphic evidence that imperialism will stop at nothing, ending all pretence at any kind of democracy, if a serious threat arises to the domination of monopoly capital and its political agents."

That being the situation, the communist parties of many non-socialist countries given priority in their revolutionary strategy to the formation of broad popular fronts and alliances, and unity of the left, democratic and all anti-imperialist forces. The aim is to carry out profound democratic transformations of the social and political system of capitalist countries through a series of transitionary measures, phases and stages. Thus, policy statements of the German Communist Party speak of "anti-monopoly democracy", in Canada the Communist Party aims at a "democratic anti-monopoly government". "It can be presumed", the international symposium on the 40th anniversary of the Seventh Comintern Congress pointed out, "...

in many capitalist countries the socialist revolution will be preceded by one or several stages or phases of democratic revolution of the new type (as distinct from the anti-feudal bourgeois-democratic revolution). And this, in turn, will make it possible, indeed necessary, in a number of cases, for the existence over a more or less long period of a transition government, or more accurately, a popular, democratic, revolutionary government with a higher or lower degree of working-class hegemony."

And I would repeat: the details will not be the same everywhere, there will be (and should be) distinctions in the levels achieved by a group of countries, or even by a single country. For example, the policy documents of a number of Latin-American countries speak of a revolutionary-democratic popular government, of national governments of a progressive, anti-imperialist orientation. The programme of our party, adopted at its 17th Congress, takes into account all the specifics of the situation in Israel and sets general democratic, anti-imperialist tasks, in particular the formation of a united peace front, wide unity in the struggle for a fundamental change of Israeli policy, freeing Israel from dependence on imperialism, and a just and durable peace with the Arab countries.

All of these, even the most minute, peculiarities are of no little importance. For they are closely linked with a profound analysis of the present situation, which our ideological opponents use for renewed attempts to "refute" Marxism-Leninism, to prove that its foundations, laid a hundred years ago, have become "obsolete" and that the communists themselves are "abandoning" them. Confusion is being induced on the all-important question of the character and class substance of political power in the transition period. The common aim of all these fabrications is to counterpose to the "Leninist" the "democratic" road to socialism, ferret out non-existing contradictions, though the present revolutionary strategy of the communists is based on creative application and development of Marxism-Leninism.

The founders of Marxism-Leninism always regarded the struggle for democracy as a component and inalienable part of the struggle for socialism. Lenin wrote: "It would be a radical mistake to think that the struggle for democracy was capable of divering the proletariat from the socialist revolution or of hidding, overshadowing it, etc. On the contrary, in the same way as there can be no victorious socialism that does not practise full democracy, so the proletariat cannot prepare for its victory over the bourgeoisie without an all-round, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 144).

The ideas of genuine democracy running through Marxist-Leninist teachings, and the principle of encouraging the activity of the masses are a forceful refutation of yet another stock calumny of bourgeois and opportunist ideology to the effect that in seeking power, the communists are ready to ignore the will of the "majority of the people". Marxists should not be mis-

taken for extremists or putschists of a Blanquist type who pin their hopes on "resolute action" by a "resolute minority". Lenin described this approach as "not merely foolish but criminal" (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 31, p. 93). He stressed that establishing the political power of the working class depends on support from the masses that have gained experience and attained political maturity at previous stages of the struggle.

The issue of the transition to socialism through a number of intermediate phases was first dealt with from the standpoint of principle in fundamental writings of Marx and Engels. Subsequently, Lenin elaborated it carefully and communists have every reason to be proud of the vitality of their theory, which is as valid now as ever. Speaking of the events in Portugal, for example, the press reported the growing popularity of Lenin's writings, banned in the years of fascist dictatorship. It pointed out the special interest taken in the article "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It", which says that in developed capitalist countries the way for the victory of the working class can be paved by first effecting far-reaching general democratic, anti-monopoly changes under the leadership of revolutionary-democratic organs of power. It "will *still not* be socialism", Lenin wrote, "but it will *no longer* be capitalism. It will be a tremendous *step towards* socialism" (Vol. 25, p. 360).

A tremendous step. A tremendous step but not the concluding one—these are two truths of equal significance which communists always bear in mind. "Carrying out the party programme for the formation of a democratic anti-imperialist front", says the resolution of our 17th Congress "...will create conditions for a transition to a higher revolutionary stage of the Israeli society—to socialism." Just as we define our primary task on a strictly scientific basis, so the successful transition to socialism makes it necessary to take into account the objective laws of this process established by Marxism-Leninism.

One of the most important of these laws is undoubtedly the history-tested truth that there can be no question of real socialism until state power is assumed by the working class and the people led by it. What does this mean?

There was an interesting episode in British history—an early attempt to introduce socialism by "parliamentary" methods. In 1920, the following motion was tabled in parliament on behalf of the British Labour Party: "In view of the inability of the capitalist system to judiciously use and organise natural resources and industrial forces and to ensure the mass of the population the requisite standard of living, and considering that the cause of this inability lies in private property and in private control of the means of production and distribution, parliament declares the need to make legislative efforts for the gradual replacement of the capitalist system by a socio-economic order based on public property and democratic control of the

implements of production and distribution" (R. Palme Dutt, "Socialism in the British Parliament". *Kommunistichesky Internatsional,* 1923, No. 28-29, p. 7, 659, retranslated). Needless to say, Parliament rejected the motion, which was absolutely inevitable at a time when the working people were very far from achieving the goals of even the democratic stage of struggle. It seems to me, however, that this fact of history is of some interest and gives food for thought in new conditions.

Let us presume that sustained struggle in a capitalist country today has enabled us to undermine the domination of monopoly forces and achieve a degree of worker participation in the management of enterprises even though production is still based on private property, and that we have at last brought about a broad government coalition in which a fitting place is held by the communist party and its partners of the left alliance, representatives of the working people and, along with them, spokesmen of the bourgeoisie. What would be the outcome? There can hardly be any doubt that those who owned the means of production would not give them up of their own free will. But let us assume that in this hypothetical case the parliamentary majority would be against them. It is safe to say that the bourgeois "opposition" would do all in its power to slow down, check and, in the end, foil the implementation of progressive solutions. One cannot but recall at this point the brutal reality of the events in Chile, where the situation was much "less dangerous" to the bourgeoisie and not identical with but only partly similar to the situation under discussion, and yet imperialism pitted all the forces of reaction against the Popular Unity government without giving a moment's thought to the need to respect the laws. This is a fresh reminder of the necessity for democracy and socialism always to be prepared to defend their gains and never to rest on their laurels. Indeed, this is the conclusion that Chile's communists drew on analysing the tragic lessons of those events. "As a party", Rene Castillo wrote, "we committed one of our most serious errors in overestimating the democratic nature of the government system and not taking timely steps to reorganise it" (*WMR*, July 1974, p. 30).

The accomplishment of general democratic tasks, however consistent and successful, does not at all imply that mere "evolution" is enough for the subsequent transition to socialism, for this transition has always been, and always will be, a socialist revolution. The invariable essence of this transition to a new system is due at least to three groups of factors. To put it in brief (IbNrlund's article deals with the problem in greater detail), it is a question, first of the need to eliminate the capitalist mode of production, which is based on private property and the exploitation of wage labour, no matter how it is "modified"; secondly, of doing away in the course of struggle for democracy with the system of class oppression in order to establish genuine working people's rule; thirdly, of creating a society opposed to

capitalism and based on a broad alliance between the working class as the most consistent revolutionary force and all those who seek emancipation from capitalist power.

Communists approach the issue of the nature of political power in the period of transition in specific terms by ascertaining what are the motive forces of revolutionary changes and who has an objective interest in them and is capable of carrying them through to the end. They do not do this on the basis of any dogmas or biassed concepts but through scientific analysis of the class composition of society in contemporary conditions. Analysis reveals that this force is the working class led by its Marxist-Leninist party and leaning on alliance with other working people. The progressive social role of the working class in contemporary capitalist society does not diminish but increases in spite of changes coming about in its social, professional and educational composition under the impact of the technological revolution. It also helps to widen the range of potential allies of the working class in the fight for the new system and in the process of establishing it. These forces play a decisive part in effecting socialist changes. It is for this reason and in this sense that communists speak of the transfer of power to the working class and of its leading role. It is this and nothing else—no special characteristics, shadings or qualities—that is indispensable for the essence of the law of transition to socialism which the founders of Marxism-Leninism called the dictatorship of the proletariat. What is indisputable is the law not its forms. "Bourgeois states", Lenin wrote, "are most varied in form, but their essence is the same: all these states, whatever their form, in the final analysis are inevitably the *dictatorship of the bourgeoisie*. The transition from capitalism to communism is certainly bound to yield a tremendous abundance and variety of political forms, but the essence will inevitably be the same: the *dictatorship of the proletariat*" (Vol. 25, p. 413).

Of course, in being translated into reality, every law acquires this or that set of special features imparted to it by life itself. Establishing working-class power can be a single act or a result of development over a certain period. This power may vary in structure, organisation or method. Experience shows that characteristics can vary in the most diverse combinations. While the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and Bulgaria was a direct result of a socialist revolution, in Hungary and the GDR it was a result of a democratic, anti-fascist, anti-imperialist type of revolution developing into a socialist revolution. And whereas the fight for working-class power in the Soviet Union necessitated a protracted civil war, its establishment in a number of other countries proceeded in a relatively peaceful manner.

There is no point in trying to forecast the exact turn which the struggle

for socialism in this or that capitalist country will take subsequently, and it is still more absurd to make "universally valid" prophecies. The details will be furnished by time and the effort of the masses. We may well look forward to seeing much that will be new in the methods and approach to establishing people's rule, in the relationship between democracy and parliamentarism, variants of participation in socialist construction by non-communist parties remaining loyal to the people's interests and enjoying their confidence, the practice of using certain elements of the buorgeois state, and so on. There is every reason to believe that the growing influence of the socialist world system and of the appeal of the ideals of scientific communism and the extensive development of the democratic movement, in which Leninism has always seen "the best stimulant for the revolution" (Vol. 29, p. 90), all improve the chances of the revolution taking a peaceful course and having a peaceful outcome in many countries, which Marxism has always preferred. Be that as it may, communists will always be the last to object to the abolition of private property by peaceful means, as Engels wrote in 1847, shortly before the appearance of the first edition of the *Communist Manifesto*. Furthermore, nothing can make us abandon the conviction that real socialism can only be achieved by respecting the main laws of history discovered by Marxist-Leninist theory and confirmed by practice.

A correct answer to the question of the relationship between the general historical and the concretely distinctive is particularly important today. Some believe that this is what complicates things and that the general "gets lost" in too much multiformity. We have an entirely different opinion. The more facts there are, the more reliably they pave the way for any serious and conscientious analyst to grasp the meaning of the given phenomenon.

So long as the practical experience of socialist construction was confined to the Soviet example, the laws of the transitional period could only be observed in one concrete form and fused with it, so to speak. Besides, in any specific experience taken by itself, laws may stand out with a differing degree of clarity. This has always been an object of speculation for bourgeois "Sovietologists" and occasionally—why not admit it?—a source of mistakes for some of our comrades, who yielded to the temptation to thoughtlessly copy the experience of other countries. Communists firmly reject such an approach, as everyone knows. They show up past blunders and draw conclusions to prevent a repetition of mistakes.

In our time, the main laws discovered by Marxism-Leninism express themselves in a wide range of examples and in multiformity of the concrete. The manifestation of these laws in this or that country is complemented by the experience of all fraternal parties. This makes us confident that the outlines of our future can be seen by the representatives of any country even today if they analyse the nature of real socialism.

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE NATION

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We now have a repetition of what always happens in the capitalist countries at times of economic upheaval and political tension. Political parties—even those far removed from democracy—parade under the national banner as champions of the people's interests. Newspapers of widely different colouring, speeches of bourgeois MPs, statements by government bureaucrats, all repeat the call for concerted action of all classes "for the common weal" in the face of adversity.

Such are the declarations. But what is the real correlation of national interests to those of the various classes?

Cosmopolitan by nature and aspirations, the Norwegian big bourgeoisie has proclaimed itself the bearer of the national idea, presenting its selfish aims as those of the entire nation. The welter of eloquence about the "people" is meant to conceal class antagonisms and the class struggle within the society. National interests are depicted as some neutral ground on which all citizens, all sections of the population, converge to form a "united" nation. In reality, however, this bogus national unity and bogus identity of interests of capitalists and workers (both in the same boat!) only reveals the prime fact of social life, the mutual opposition of classes, so accurately formulated by Lenin: "Employers and wage workers, the insignificant number of the rich ('the upper ten thousand') and the tens of millions of those who toil and own no property—these are indeed 'two nations' " (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 9, p. 307).

"A small group of representatives of monopoly capital, altogether about 90 families, are tightening their domination over Norwegian society" our Communist Party programme declares. Small in numbers, but economically powerful, this clique of financial and industrial tycoons has appropriated the national wealth, which by right should belong to the working class and all the working people.

And so, we have a deepening of the antagonism between the interests of the overwhelming majority of the nation and the financial oligarchy. That is how the Communist Party of Norway assesses the situation, declaring that there is an objective, irreconcilable conflict between the people and the narrow caste of big capitalists who have a stranglehold of the national economy. And not only the working class, but actually the entire nation, is oppressed by the big bourgeoisie. The social watershed is between the ruling propertied clan and the rest of the population.

That being so, is it perhaps true to say that the main contradiction, between labour and capital, has been relegated to the background? Certainly not. Quite the contrary, the more the fundamental class antagonism develops into a conflict between the nation and the oppressive anti-national clique, the more sharply etched is the existence of two, and only two, social and political poles—the big bourgeoisie and the embattled proletariat. Regardless of all the new contradictions engendered by capitalism, the struggle between these two basic antagonistic classes remains the decisive factor. And the more vividly the division of society stands out as a division between the vast majority of the population and its small privileged part, the greater becomes the role of the working class as the consolidating core of the nation.

However small in numbers, the monopoly caste is not isolated from the population. It draws its strength from the capitalist mode of production which penetrates all the pores of society. That is why the monopolies are able to retain the social base of their domination.

The working class stands on one side of the watershed together with the vast majority of the nation, but is not diluted in it. In Norway, as in other capitalist countries, there are increasingly large strata whose fundamental interests and aspirations are coming more and more close to—in some cases even coinciding with—the class interests of the proletariat. But they do not consciously and actively support all its economic and political demands. Their social position shifts, their democratism is usually limited, narrow, inconsistent, and this lays a greater responsibility on the proletariat, the most progressive and consistently revolutionary class. Its political independence and clear-cut class positions are essential prerequisites for enhancing its role of leader of the people in the fight for their interests. Only by understanding the main contradiction of bourgeois society, between labour and capital, can we correctly understand the relation between the class-political and national-historic tasks of the labour movement and clearly envisage the prospect of liberating the nation from its oppressor, the alliance of financial and industrial monopoly.

The big bourgeoisie contends that its interests are identical with those of the nation, though it knows only too well that this is not so. It uses a combination of deceit and flattery to justify its claim to be the leading class

of society. It sees the main menace to its domination in the growing strength and influence of the proletariat. To ward off that menace, it accuses the working class of indifference to the destinies of the country, alleges that it has no genuine patriotic feelings, and questions its right and ability to speak for the nation. The apologists for big capital are doing everything to prevent the working class from appreciating the national character of its historic mission, prevent its alliance with other strata of the toiling population, now beginning to rise against the omnipotence of the oligarchy. In short, the purpose is to prevent Norwegians from realising that the proletariat is the hegemon of the nation. The right-wing social-democratic leaders and the left-radical elements, with their primitive notions of the nation's structure, are willing helpers in this attempt to belittle the proletariat's role in national life.

The proletariat, of course, is fighting for its own class interests, but these do not contradict the central requirements of national development. Its class position does not isolate the proletariat from the broad strata of the nation, does not separate it from national problems. On the contrary, it allows for a fuller appreciation of their social content. Marx ridiculed the idea that "the workers are monks creating their own world outside the big world".

The attacks levelled on the proletariat by capitalism's hired ideologists are in line with the general charge that Marxism-Leninism accepts reality only as it concerns classes and not the nation, and that the communists base all their activity on the workers' class, and not on national interests

Marxism-Leninism regards classes and nations in their unity, as elements of an objective social structure. Such concepts as "people", "nation", "national interests" were first scientifically elaborated by the founders of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin vehemently opposed all attempts to proclaim these concepts non-Marxist, expel them from the political vocabulary of the workers' party. Marx, he emphasised, constantly used these concepts and expressed his sympathy with oppressed nations, rightly believing that no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations. "Marx had no doubt as to the subordinate position of the national question as compared with the 'labour question'. But his theory is as far from ignoring the national movements as heaven is from earth" (Vol. 20, p. 436).

Yes, today bourgeois society is divided into "two nations". But in emphasising this, Marxism-Leninism does not maintain that the nation disintegrates, nor does it negate the reality of its existence as a historically formed stable community of people. Anarchistic concoctions about the "abolition" of nations, the national nihilism are alien to the working class and its party. The working class does not want to "abolish" the nation. What it does want is to transform the "two nations" into one, a nation free of exploitation.

The Norwegian working-class movement did not all at once, and not easily, arrive at a correct understanding of the relation between the class and the nation. Much of the confusion was injected by the anarchists: they regarded national interests and the class tasks of the proletariat as irreconcilable opposites. Indifference to national interests arose among part of the workers as a reaction to the demagogic slogans of the bourgeoisie, which presented its own interests as those of all Norwegians, but there were many who espoused nationalism and chauvinism. And the bourgeoisie deliberately fostered nationalist prejudice in its attempt to direct the people's patriotism into reactionary channels.

All this caused no little damage to our working people. The reactionaries took advantage of the mistakes made by the labour movement. For a long time, interpretation and resolution of national problems was, in effect, left entirely to the bourgeoisie. And once it could control so powerful and stable a force as the people's national consciousness, it could without much difficulty manipulate it. But it could do so only up to the 30s, when sharp class conflicts developed, revealing the bourgeoisie's true attitude towards the nation.

It was the communists who brought into the workers' movement clarity on the dialectical link between the idea of class and the genuine national idea. Through its Marxist-Leninist analysis of the history of class and national-liberation struggles in Norway, the party showed that working-class policy always accorded with the fundamental interests of the nation. Today, too, the working class, the backbone of the nation, expresses its progressive aspirations. As for the big bourgeoisie, it has long become a malignant growth on the body of the nation.

The history of the big bourgeoisie is a history of betrayal of national interests. Every time Norway was faced with national problems, its economic rulers came out in their true colours. Greed and selfishness was the motivation behind their crimes against the nation. In contrast, the working class always acted as the most patriotic force in the battles for our national independence.

Without delving into the distant past, one might recall the treasonous conduct of the bourgeoisie on the eve and during the Second World War. Indeed, this is the most vulnerable period of its history, and it is no accident that its apologists return to it, just as the criminal returns to the scene of his crime. Latterly, the controversy over this period has become especially acute.[1]

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[1] One of the most outspoken confederates of big capital, Hokon Lie, former Secretary-General of the Norwegian Labour Party and an inveterate opponent of a broad anti-monopoly popular front, recently put out an anti-communist book, one of several inspired by the CIA. This time he attacks the Communist Party for its position during the nazi invasion of 9 April 1940. The party replied with a documented "White Book of 1940" (Hvitboka om 1940, Ny Dag, Oslo, 1975), effectively exposing all his

The degeneration of the big bourgeoisie on the national question was glaringly demonstrated during the war. This was the sequel to its prewar policy: way back in the 20s, it stimulated the fascist deformation of national consciousness. During the sharp class clashes of those years, it called for a "strong personality" to mobilise the "national forces". To this the working class opposed its own force and was able to rebuff the early fascist sallies, which were fraught with danger for all our people.

In the crisis 30s, the proletariat firmly took its stand as the leading class in the struggle against the monopolies' economic policy, for democracy and peace, for the cause of the entire nation, and its message was heard by all Norwegians.

The bourgeoisie retaliated by a frenzied onslaught on the working class. It shifted to the workers the entire burden of the crisis, for which it was itself responsible. It tried to crush the workers' organisations, treating them as dangerous foes of the nation. The big 1931 lock-out did not produce the results the capitalists had hoped for, for it did not break the will of the working class. It was at this point that the bourgeoisie trotted out its "strong personality", no other than War Minister Vidkun Quisling. He despatched troops against the strikers at the Norsk Hydro electro-chemical plant, at that time a subsidiary of the German IG Farben. The workers retaliated by a series of solidarity strikes. A broad mass, democratic anti-fascist movement developed throughout the country. In rural areas, too, the government's reactionary policy was staggering from one setback to another. The government was now fighting not only the "dangerous class", but the majority of the people. The proletariat was at the head of this popular movement against monopoly omnipotence, for the vital interests of the nation. This found its symbolic expression in the 1938 May Day demonstrations, in which young communists and socialists carried both the Norwegian national and red proletarian flags.

The national flag was thus rescued from the bourgeoisie, which had tried to use it as a cover, and had besmirched it time and again.

Its foreign policy, too, was an insult to the honour and dignity of the nation. Deliberately blind to the threat of imperialism, Norway's armed forces were deployed in the north to prevent a wholly imaginary "Russian attack". This opened the road to Hitler's troops.

The moment the invasion came—even before the population learned of it—the leaders of all the political parties beat a hasty retreat from Oslo. But the leaders of the Communist Party remained, and from the very first took up the fight against the enemy. The revolutionary party of the working

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statements. The book clearly shows that the communists followed a consistent policy in the anti-fascist struggle on the eve and after the nazi invasion. It exposes the big bourgeoisie's and social-democratic government's dangerous gamble with the national interests and shows up their betrayal and capitulation.

class was the only one that did not succumb to the panic. In Oslo and throughout the territory occupied by the nazis at sunrise on April 9, 1940, the communists, together with non-party workers and other patriots, hurried to the mobilisation centres, but only to find that there was no one there from the army command, or that everything was in a state of utter confusion. In Oslo, the order of the military command was: "Go home, it will all be over in an hour or two".

Quisling, the man who in 1931 had despatched troops against the Norsk Hydro workers "to save Norway from communism", proclaimed himself prime minister and became a tool of the nazis in all their crimes.

The greatest burden fell to the working class. The communists and trade union militants were the first victims of the terror. The communists were the first party declared "dissolved", and Quisling's first "act of government" was to ban the communst *Arbeideren*.

It was later established that, already on 11 April representatives of the industrialists were negotiating with the occupation authorities in Oslo on how to prevent a national movement and "undesirable developments"—undesirable for the big bourgeoisie. Directors of some of the biggest factories, concerned for the "destinies of the fatherland", queued up to offer their services to the occupation authorities. They took along with them judges of the Supreme Court who had not had time to flee the capital Among the first collaborationists were the directors of the German-Norwegian Siemens firm in Oslo, Norsk Hydro, the Norwegian Industrial Alliance, a number of prominent industrialists and bankers and high-ranking officials.

For the working class the fight against fascism was a fight for national liberation, for ational renewal based on the people's sovereign right to shape their future. The Communist Party sought to unite the workers around social and national goals. The Central Committee stated that "in forming a temporary alliance with the bourgeoisie the working class... categorically and as a matter of principle refuses to uphold the reactionary policy of the bourgeoisie".[2] The record will show that it remained true to this course, while the capitalists, at best, had only "one foot" on the side of the nation. Just as during the First World War, some supported the British, others the Germans, but above all they were concerned for their factories. The working class, led by the communists, was locked in political and armed struggle with the invader, while big capital kept industry going in the interests of the invader and, under the protection of the occupation regime, intensified exploitation of the workers.

The working class was free in deciding on its attitude to the nazis and formulated its national and internationalist position in explicit terms. The workers had no objectives or interests that should be concealed; nor were

[2] See *Partiets politikk under krigen*, NKP, Oslo, 1945.

they concerned with keeping private property or profits intact. The working class was objectively assigned the role of the leading force in the fight against fascism and suffered the greatest losses in it. In the years of the Resistance, 23 members of the CC CPN and hundreds of party activists lost their lives. Through a selfless fight in exceedingly difficult conditions such as no other class had ever known, the workers and communists showed themselves to be the staunchest and most reliable defenders of the nation's dignity and freedom.

Immediately after the war, the big bourgeoisie set out to regain its key economic and political positions, relegate other sectors to an insignificant role and, above all, disunite and push aside the working class and isolate the Communist Party. This was its main strategic objective. However, the working class and other working people realised the danger of breaking up the nation into innumerable cells on the pattern of bourgeois political "pluralism". The experience of joint struggle, the might which the international communist movement had demonstrated in the war against fascism, and the power of socialism embodied by the Soviet Union led to deep-going changes in the people's orientation and in the alignment of political forces. The CPN declared that the dividing line no longer coincides with the old boundaries between political parties.

Linking up with the reactionaries' policy of splitting the nation was the shameful policy of right-wing social-democratic leaders, who not only torpedoed the desire of the working class for unity under the banner of one party guided by scientific socialism, but destroyed the possibilities of organising society on a new basis, in accordance with the new conditions resulting from the increased social leverage and political prestige of the working class.

The working class called for democratisation at home and an independent policy abroad. However, the very idea of an independent, national foreign policy was alien to the bourgeoisie. It feared that such a policy would cut it off from its foreign partners. The fundamental idea of its schemes was to associate Norway with a military alliance of the Western powers.

The rightists' support of the Marshall Plan was indicative of their anti-national policy. The very fact that Norway gave in to Washington's demand for recognising the discriminatory curbs on trade with the "communist bloc" imposed by the United States was a disgrace to the big bourgeoisie and its accomplices. A number of commodities were listed as "strategic" items not to be exported to socialist countries. Under US pressure, Norwegian ship-owners refused to charter vessels to the Soviet Union or East European countries.

The acceptance of the Marshall Plan proved, however, to be merely [illegible]

prelude to still greater national humiliation. In the spring of 1949, Norway joined NATO against the most emphatic protests of the working class and its allies. It was an act running counter to the vital interests of the nation. Accession to the NATO imperialist bloc discredited the country, particularly in the eyes of the peoples that had waged or were waging a fight for national independence, a fight far more exacting than Norway had ever known.

Only consistent solidarity of the working class with the revolutionary forces of the world, with the peoples fighting for freedom, gives the world an idea of Norway differing from that created by an official policy agreed with NATO. We communists have always upheld the right of every people to social and national self-determination, just as we demand this right for our own people.

The national role of the working class found its fullest expression in the campaign against Norway's membership of the EEC. The fact that vast sections of society made common cause with the working-class movement in this campaign showed that the working class had really won recognition as the leading force of the nation.

The people's resistance to the effort to take Norway into the Common Market was a vivid illustration of the importance of the national question today. Due to the expansion of multinational monopolies, numerous capitalist countries, including highly developed ones, are again faced with the problem of national independence which necessitates struggle against unequal treaties and against attempts to hold up economic development and curtail sovereignty.

The campaign against joining the Common Market which the Norwegian people carried on for ten years—from 1962, when the Storting began to discuss the matter, to 1972 when the people said "no" to EEC membership in a referendum—was an example of unity of action of the working class and its allies—the farmers, fishermen, intellectuals, small manufacturers and a section of the nonmonopoly bourgeoisie.

Those in power foresaw that they would meet resistance. "A strong national sentiment", said Foreign Minister Lange as far back as the late forties, "should be regarded as a real obstacle to European integration." Nevertheless, the advocates of a "united Europe" of trusts did all in their power to overcome the people's devotion to the idea of national sovereignty. To this end, they tried to use the positions they had won in dragging the country into NATO. Indeed, it was at that time (1951) that the Storting adopted its Resolution 89 entitled "The Constitution and the Participation of Norway in International Organisations". The fundamental idea of the resolution, an idea the big bourgeoisie was trying once again to impose, was that national sovereignty was an antiquated concept and that departing from the principle of sovereignty would not be contrary to the Constitution.

The working class showed itself to be a determined opponent of surrendering the people's sovereign rights to foreign monopolies. In common with its allies, it resisted the capitalist magnates' anti-national policy. By their struggle against foreign and Norwegian monopoly capital the proletariat and its party inspired, and were backed by, the nation, which achieved victory.

The popular movement against joining the EEC was not a sign of either narrow-minded nationalism or a negative attitude to international cooperation. On the contrary, it was expressive of protest against the regional limitations of the imperialist policy of blocs barring the way for normal relations and cooperation with *all* nations and *all* states irrespective of their social and economic systems, on the principles of complete equality and mutual benefit.

The actions of the working class, which vindicated the country's national interests, were also in keeping with its internationalist convictions. It was the communist idea of inseparable unity of the national and internationalist positions of the working class that made it strong enough to foil the conspiracy of foreign and domestic monopolies designed to make the working people of Norway and other West-European countries subservient to international capital.

As early as 1962, when the issue of EEC membership was submitted to the Storting, some spokesmen of the big bourgeoisie pretended to be surprised that the communists, that is, champions of internationalism should take so keen an interest in the national aspect of the matter. The bourgeois politicians' feigned surprise did not discourage the Marxists-Leninists any more than the scepticism of the right-wing social-democrats, who simply could not understand how anyone can uphold national interests and yet advocate proletarian internationalism.

The policy of the Communist Party of Norway, which considers that patriotism and internationalism are inseparable, showed the party's firm adherence to Marxist-Leninist theory. The founders of Marxism-Leninism insisted on fighting "against small-nation narrow-mindedness, seclusion and isolation" (Lenin, *Coll. Works,* Vol. 22, p. 347). At the same time they pointed out that "an international alliance is only possible among *nations* whose existence, autonomy and independence in internal affairs are, therefore, included in the very concept of iternationalism" (Engels). Internationalism does not separate anyone from his country but brings him back to it and fosters genuine national awareness. Safeguarding national interests against encroachments from international capital requires internationalist unity of the anti-imperialist forces, primarily of the working class. The internationalism of the working class determines its leading role in the fight for the independent existence of nations.

Experience shows that the attitude of either of the two main antagonistic classes to the national interest is determined by its situation in society.

The big bourgeoisie today plays a traitorous role time and again, for its entire home policy is reactionary and is characterised by fierce attacks on the workers, farmers, fishermen and the steadily growing segment of the population engaged in the service industry, hence virtually on the whole nation.

Bourgeois propagandists play up the national aspects of the current crisis while concealing its class aspect to divert criticism from big capital, responsible for the difficulties besetting the people. They describe the crisis as an inevitable adversity equally affecting all citizens, with no one to blame. It is alleged to have come from without and to be a result of changed circumstances in other countries. They urge the nation to unite in tiding over a "common" disaster. They say nothing about the causes of the crisis, and prefer to call it a "recession" for fear of association with the "great depression" of the thirties and the political lessons which the working-class movement drew at the time by seeking anti-monopoly unity on a broad basis.

The current economic measures of the monopolies and the social-Democratic government are typically bourgeois. They are being carried out according to a classical capitalist recipe which recommends to put the burden of economic woes on the workers' shoulders. The national income is redistributed under the aegis of the state to safeguard big capitalist enterprises, such as ship-owning companies and shipyards, against failure. Government credits and appropriations are used to save them and other big firms from bankruptcy. The aim is said to be "economic stabilisation". Yet the medicines prescribed by the rulers to save the sick man—capitalist society—merely worsen the patient's condition.

The government, employers and right-wing union leaders join efforts to impose on the workers a "combined economic settlement" instead of the traditional collective tariff agreements. This measure will not give the workers what they need in view of growing prices and unemployment.

Defining the crisis as a national calamity which all must combat in common by accepting an "equal distribution of hardships", the government is in effect relieving the real culprits of the responsibility which they, and they alone, must bear for economic anarchy. Instead of a genuine national programme for solving problems created by capitalism, the government advocates with support from bourgeois parties a programme giving priority to the interests of big capital.

The working class is at the head of the people in the fight for their fundamental interests. First among these is the cardinal issue of today, the problem of peace. "On this issue", Lenin wrote, "the proletariat truly represents the *whole* nation, all live and honest people *in all* classes..."

(*Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, p. 99). In uniting all active national forces for peace and greater detente, against the arms race, the working class strives to stave off a danger threatening the very existence of the nation.

The vital interests of the working class are most closely linked with detente and peace whereas the interests of the big bourgeoisie are linked with profit and power and hence with the arms race and militarism. In the present situation, with the country tied to NATO and shackled by military commitments to foreign powers, the working class is striving to draw the people into the struggle to vindicate the princples of peaceful coexistence. No policy could be more fruitful for Norway than taking concrete steps towards detente. All workers and the overwhelming majority of the people realise this.

However, this policy is opposed by reactionaries. The hawks representing the big bourgeoisie in the bellicose *Morgenbladet*, and their more or less conscious imitators in other mass media, whip up chauvinist passions over minor issues in an effort to arouse hatred for the Soviet Union, specifically in view of the discussion of measures to strengthen Norwegian sovereignty over Spitsbergen and of Soviet-Norwegian talks on delimiting the continental shelf in the Barents Sea. All this is detrimental to normal relations between the Norwegian and Soviet communities of Spitsbergen and to goodneighbour relations between Norway and the Soviet Union. This chauvinist fuss is so irresponsible and so obviously at variance with the national interests of Norway that even the ruling quarters found it prudent to dissociate publicly from it.

The economic masters of Norway are sounding the roll-call in the name of national salvation. At the same time they are launching a campaign of an entirely different kind—an offensive against their own nation. The dialectics of the current struggle are such that while the bourgeoisie imposes its narrow selfish class solutions on the people under the guise of national interests, the working class openly offers the country its class programme giving a genuinely national answer to the monopoly challenge. A proper combination of the class and national tasks of the labour movement is the basis for the communists' strategy of forming and strengthening a united anti-monopoly front of the people. To the incompetence of the ruling class and the imperialist policy of dividing the nation, the Communist Party opposes the consolidating vanguard role of the working class—the nation's hope.

ON THE IDEOLOGICAL EVOLUTION OF MAOISM

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The theoretical views of Mao Tse-tung and his followers on the main problems of the revolution, proletarian dictatorship, war and peace, and national liberation, are deeply hostile to Marxism-Leninism and revolutionary practice. The evolution of Maoism concerns not only its content, but also its forms of ideological and political mimicry, designed to camouflage its essence by a welter of anti-imperialist phraseology. This evolution can only be described as progressing ideological and political degradation.

Maoism is in a state of permanent crisis which is becoming more aggravated and profound. On all cardinal issues, experience is increasingly exposing Maoism as a trend opposed to Marxism-Leninism and fundamentally contrary to the vital interests of the peoples, the cause of peace and socialism. The new 1975 Constitution made Maoist policy the law of the land. Maoism's degradation has thus entered a new stage. From playing up to imperialism the present Peking leaders have gone over to joint action with it and other reactionary forces; from an accomplice of anti-communism, Maoism has become one of its varieties. The facts demonstrate more and more convincingly that the Maoists are intensifying and extending their anti-communist activity in all the currents of the world revolutionary process. And this activity is conducted by state and party organs, and also through Peking-supported pro-Maoist splinter groups in various countries The ideological and political confrontation with the socialist community and the international communist and workers movement on all the central problems of contemporary world development and the building of socialist society, is complemented by subversion of third world national-liberation movements and attempts to direct them against

the existing socialism. "The degradation of Maoism", Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of CC BCP, told the 11th Party Congress, "has reached a new stage. Maoism is in alliance with the most aggressive forces of imperialism, fascism and revanchism, with the enemies of peaceful coexistence and social progress. Its actions are becoming increasingly dangerous to international peace and security. The policy and ideology of the present Chinese leadership are deeply hostile to Marxism-Leninism and the communist ideals. Our party deems it its duty actively to participate in the fight against Maoism, for its political and ideological defeat."

Attitude Towards Marxism-Leninism

As an ideology, Maoism is a conglomerate mainly of pettybourgeois views, permeated moreover with nationalism and Great-Han chauvinism, demagogically veiled by ultra-revolutionary phrases and professions of "loyalty" to Marxism-Leninism and communism. This is not a comprehensive, integral doctrine, but a eclectic hotch-podge of various, often contradictory, ideological positions. Its most general philosophical and theoretical basis is subjectivism, curiously combined with metaphysics and sophistry. In practice this unscientific philosophy boils down to ignoring the requirements of the objective laws of social development or to acting in defiance of them.

The Maoists resort to the most incredible manipulations of the laws and categories of dialectics. They have no compunction in using one and the same philosophical proposition to substantiate contradictory political slogans and actions, or reject these propositions altogether if they do not suit their purpose. Highly characteristic in this respect, for instance, is the evolution of the Maoists' understandng of the main (including the basic) contradictions of our epoch.[1] Their opportunistic treatment of the prob-

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[1] In 1960 the Maoists formulated the main contradictions of the epoch as follows: "Between the working class and monopoly capital; between the imperialist countries; between the peoples of colonies and semi-colonies and imperialism; between the socialist and imperialist countries" ("Long Live Leninism", Peking, 1960, p. 16).

In 1969 the Ninth CPC Congress produced a new formulation: "There are four major contradictions in the world today. The contradictions between the oppressed nations on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other. the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries; the contradiction between imperialist and social-imperialist countries and among the imperialist countries; and the contradiction between socialist countries on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other" (*Peking Review* Special issue, No. 16, 1969, p. 26).

In 1973, the Tenth Congress reduced all the contradictions to two: between the "superpowers" and the rest of the world and between the "superpowers" themselves (*Peking Review*, No. 35-36,1973, p. 26). Or more precisely, the main contradiction was formulated as between the "superpowers", and especially the Soviet Union on the one hand and all the other countries and peoples on the other.

lem of contradictions is based on subjectivist criteria, arbitrary division of these contradictions into external and internal, antagonistic and non-antagonistic, basic and non-basic, etc.

Maoism borrows its ideas from the most diverse ideological-political trends and schools. And as its ideological degradation progresses, it draws more on incompatible ideas.

In the 1920s Mao began by formal, declarative acceptance of Marxism-Leninism which he reinterpreted to fit nationalistic prejudices. The facts show that even the Comintern executive was concerned over this vulgar attitude to Marxism-Leninism. In the early years after the victory of the people's revolution in China, Mao and his closest associates, though many of their views were far removed from the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism, vowed fidelity to it. But even in those days they dogmatically used the correct tenets of scientific communism to vulgarise them, thereby robbing them of their effectiveness.

As the differences between the CPC leadership and the international communist movement deepened, there were revealed in Maoism components that are incompatible with Marxism. The list included anarchism, with its preachment of violence, the Trotskyist thesis of permanent revolution, which was linked to world war, the Bonapartist faith in the omnipotence of the army, Bakunin's cavalier treatment of economics as a secondary factor, Great-Power or Great-Han chauvinism, etc.

Maoism borrows views and concepts from the arsenal of imperialist ideology (e.g. the "superpower" concept), and anti-communist propaganda draws on Maoist theory. In fact it is often difficult to say who borrows more from whom. But there is an undoubted similarity between, for instance, the Maoist concept of "Sinoisation of Marxism" and the bourgeois concept of "national communism". As for anti-Sovietism, here the position of the Maoists and of the most reactionary imperialist forces coincide.

An essential factor in Maoism's ideological evolution is the active attempts of its leaders, headed by Mao himself, to emasculate the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism through their "Sinoisation". On the pretext of taking into account Chinese specifics, they have sought to replace scientific communism by unscientific Maoism and impart to Chinese nationalism and Great-Han chauvinism some semblance of scientific validity. Peking persists in imposng "the ideas of Mao", "a Sinoised Marxism"[2] on the international communist movement as the "ultimate" in the development of Marxism-Leninism in the contemporary epoch.

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[1] The Maoists are at pains to conceal the real basic contradiction of this era of transition from capitalism to socialism—the contradiction between world capitalism and world socialism.

[2] It will be recalled that on 21 August 1973, the *Jiefang Jihpao* wrote: "The ideas of the Communist Party of China are the ideas of Mao Tse-tung, Sinoised Marxism."

An essential place in "Sinoised Marxism" belongs to the Maoist co ception of the characteristic features and criteria of socialism. That coi ception is the ideological basis of the attacks on the existing socialism an the strategy of the communist parties fighting imperialism and for th transition to socialist society. Speculating on the Marxist propositior that the principles of socialism should be creatively applied in each cour try, Mao deliberately exaggerated China's national specifics and producc the so-called "Chinese model of socialism". With time it became clea that behind this sham adaptation to Chinese conditions was a campaig against the fundamental principles of socialist construction. More, th Maoists do not consider that their "model" is applicable only to the specifi conditions of China: they try to present it as a model of "true socialism'

This Chinese "model" is premised on negation of the leading role c the working class in socialist construction: the Maoists regard the villag as the main base of socialism. The Chinese "model" is characterised als by factual negation of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard

The Maoist understanding of socialism precludes proletarian inte nationalism. Furthermore, the Maoists link their "model" to the trad tions of bourgeois chauvinism, with its ideas of extremist nationalisn Sinocentrism, hegemonism and the effort to make China "the world first state" which would rule over "the five continents". Indicative in th respect is Mao's statement at a meeting of the CC CPC Military Commi sion on September 11, 1959: "We must conquer the world... We wi build a powerful state."

To somehow justify their break with proletarian internationalism, th Maoists have invented the conception of building socialism, even comm nism, without creating the necessary material and technical basis. The voluntarist plans envisaged passing whole stages of building communi society, a forced leap from unfinished socialism to communism. B having realised the absurdity of this policy, they went to the other extrem claiming that the building of socialism was a long, immeasurable proce Such concepts discredit the principles of scientific socialism.

Latterly the Maoist mass media have turned their attention to "barra communism". Everyone who favours use of the socialist principle material incentives is denounced as part of the "new bourgeoisie", a defe der of the "remnants of the old society" and "survivals of bourgeois law' And this, as we shall later see, is used for far-reaching slanderous conclu sions with regard to the socialist community.

Proclamation of the "Chinese model" of socialism was merely th prelude to continued betrayal of socialism and to alliance with the enemi of existing socialism. The record of the past few years will show that th Peking ideologists have borrowed the methods of imperialist anti-commu nism for ideological subversion against the socialist world system In

too they have exposed their kinship with the class enemies of socialism—they ape them in finding all manner of pretexts for stepping up the struggle against the real gains of socialism, the communist and workers' movement.

Experience has proved that the "ideas of Mao Tse-tung" and his "socialist model" are groundless, for they run counter to the objective laws of historical development and the theory and practice of the world revolutionary movement. This is at the core of the permanent crisis of "Mao Tse-tung's ideas" and their practical application.

This crisis logically led to the final discrediting of Maoism when the Peking leaders began to present as Marxism-Leninism reactionary views and conclusions borrowed from the arsenal of imperialism. Hence, Maoism has placed itself not only outside Marxism-Leninism, but has entered into an irreconcilable confrontation and conflict with it. Maoism's regressive ideological evolution confirms Lenin's thought that "evasiveness or lack of principle in theoretical questions is tantamount to utter ideological bankruptcy" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 8, p. 316). Hence, a light-hearted, and moreover conciliatory, attitude to the Maoists' ideological speculations is tantamount to support of their anti-Marxist and anti-communist positions.

Escalation of Anti-Sovietism

Anti-Sovietism is the main orientation of Maoist foreign policy. And here we are dealing with a long-range policy sanctioned by the 9th and 10th CPC congresses and the new Constitution Though disguised by professions of "fidelity to proletarian internationalism", this policy implies not only refusal to join with the socialist countries against imperialism, but also an outright shift to the positions of imperialism and reaction.

The Peking leaders' anti-Soviet policy has undergone a definite evolution; it has its stages and culminating points. Without going into an examination of the anti-Soviet sentiments of Mao and his entourage before the 1949 revolution, it should be noted that these sentiments came to the surface after about 10 years of normal relations with the USSR which, on the whole, were based on proletarian internationalism. When the differences came to light, the Maoist leaders at first argued that there were ideological differences with the USSR and other socialist countries and the international communist movement only on certain questions of the strategy and tactics of anti-imperialist struggle. After that the Peking leadership proclaimed the Soviet Union "enemy No. 1" of the workers' and communist movement, indeed of all the peoples of the world. There were monstrous slander and insinuations directed at the CPSU and the Soviet Union and Jesuit-like attempts to provide a theoretical "justification" for this rabid anti-Sovietism.

The main "argument" was the totally fabricated charge of "degeneration" of Soviet society—a refurbished variant of Trotsky's old thesis. The

Maoists allege that the Soviet Union has ceased to be a socialist state and has restored the "capitalist economy" and "dictatorship of the bourgeoisie" (*Peking Review*, No. 14, 1975, p. 6). The Maoists seized on the false thesis invented by the revisionists and their anti-communist accomplices about the "new bourgeois elements reared within socialist society trying to usurp power", the emergence of a "new class", etc. In 1968 Mao stated: "The Soviet Union of our day is a dictatorship of the German fascist type, a dictatorship of the Hitler type." In the CC report to the 10th CPC Congress (August 1973) this piece of slander was repeated: "This Soviet revisionist ruling clique...has restored capitalism, enforced a fascist dictatorship and enslaved the people of all nationalities..." (*Peking Review*, No. 35-36, 1973, p. 23).

Whatever the Peking leaders have done to normalise relations with some socialist countries (exchange of ambassadors, negotiations, agreements and treaties, etc.) have in no way altered their anti-socialist policy. On the contrary, the real motives behind these moves were to set each socialist country, and all of them, against the Soviet Union. And here, too, the Maoist leadership is at one with the reactionary imperialist forces and centres.

In the first decade after the victory of the people's revolution, thanks to fraternal cooperation with the USSR and its disinterested and all-round assistance, China made considerable headway in economic and cultural development. As a result of expanding Chinese-Soviet cooperation there were established industries never before known in China: aircraft, automobiles, tractors, radio equipment, etc. The present Chinese leaders at that time spoke in a different language. In particular Mao Tse-tung stated: "To transform China into an industrial country, we must seriously study the advanced experience of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has been building socialism for 40 years now and its experience is of immense value to us. Let us consider who designed and built so many important factories for us? Was it the US, or England? No. It was not they. Only the Soviet Union did this because it is a socialist country and is our ally."[3] Now this is being kept from the Chinese people, and the malicious lie is being spread that the vital interests of the peoples of the socialist community are "inimical" to the interests of the Chinese people.

Addressing the jublee session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in November 1957, Mao Tse-tung declared: "After the October Revolution, any government that refuses to live in friendship with the Soviet Union is only impairing the genuine interests of its people." Comparing these words with the present anti-Soviet outbursts of the Peking leaders, we can [illegible]

[3] Mao Tse-tung, "Concerning the Correct Resolution of Contradictions Among the People", Moscow, 1957, p. 48.

what lack of political principle can lead to on so cardinal an issue as the attitude towards the Soviet Union.

The Maoist slogan of "relying on one's own forces", which is meant to justify isolation from the socialist world, factually determines the political orientation of China's economy in the interanational capitalist market, with all the consequences following therefrom. In pursuance of their nationalist policy, the ruling Mao group has, beginning with the 60s, deprived the Chinese economy of assistance from the USSR and other socialist countries. In 1973 the share of China's foreign trade with capitalist countries was 79 per cent, compared with only 21 per cent with socialist countries.

The chief obstacle to the achievement of Peking's strategic aims is the agreed policy of the socialist-community countries, a policy of decisively rebuffing the Maoists' chauvinistic plans and splitting activities. That is why the Maoists are stepping up the fight against the countries of the socialist community, seeking to undermine their unity and discredit socialist economic integration. Posing as "patrons" of the socialist countries and "champions" of their national sovereignty, the Peking leaders aim their attacks primarily at the collective bodies of the socialist community, CMEA and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation.

At the same time they are taking a benevolent attitude towards NATO and showing touching solicitude for its future. Some bourgeois writers had good reason last year to describe China as an honourable member of NATO. The Maoists support political, economic and military unity of Europe's imperialist forces. Now that their dream of leadership of the socialist system has not materialised, they deny its very existence. At the Sixth Special UN Assembly in April 1974 the Chinese delegation made this statement: "The socialist camp which existed for a time after World War II is no longer in existence (*Peking Review*, No. 16, 1974, p. 6).

One can readily appreciate why imperialism and its reactionary forces are more actively using the Maoist leadership as allies in their attempt to discredit the momentous achievements of the socialist community. The West German neo-fascist *Nation Europa* (No 10, 1973) was very outspoken on this score: "Capitalist Europe breathed a sigh of relief after the last party congress in Peking: the continued existence of Maoism is assured. In other words, we need not fear that the Chinese and Russians will fall into each other's arms under the banner of world communism."

History knows very rare cases of men professing to be Marxists and socialists surpassing the most reactionary ideologists in attacking the citadel of Marxism and socialism. Nor is there any precedent for the fact that the Maoist Constitution institutionalises hostility towards another state: anti-Sovietism has been elevated by the Maoists into the civic duty of every Chinese!

Trump Card

Eulogy of war as a means of resolving international conflicts is still another characteristic of Maoism. Mao has long been theorising about the revolutionary role of armed violence. He is trying to lull the vigilance of the peoples, faced with the menace of a thermonuclear war: the nuclear weapon is discounted as a "paper tiger". Then there is Mao's poem published in the Chinese press on new year's day 1976. It extolls war and the flames that would engulf the heavens and the earth. Indicative too is Mao's statement on 10 March 1973 at a meeting with journalists and publishers: "Our trump card is war and dictatorship".

Now that the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems are taking hold in international relations, the Peking leaders are coming out more openly and cynically as inveterate enemies of detente. They are frenziedly preparing the Chinese people for war, assiduously instilling the idea that a new world war is a fatal inevitability. For a long time they tried to conceal their Great Han militarist propensities. Now, however, militarisation has become official policy. China continues to test nuclear and thermonuclear weapons not only underground, but also in the atmosphere. A Reuter report from Peking says China already has medium-range missiles.

The trend in the world is towards a healthier international climate, but the Peking leaders persist in their cold-war policy against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They are doing everything to prevent durable peace and goodneighbour relations and openly support the reactionary forces working to cancel out the results of the Helsinki Conference.

China has rejected the Soviet proposal to normalise relations, notably the proposal to assume mutual obligations not to employ any type of weapon, conventional, missile or nuclear, against each other. At the 30th UN Assembly (1975) the Peking delegates did not support a single one of the 25 disarmament resolutions which were adopted by an overwhelming majority. Contrary to the objective trend in international affairs, the Chinese leaders are trying to instill in the world public the idea that the threat of war is growing, that the "two superpowers" are both "seats of a new world war" (*Peking Review*, No. 4, 1975, p. 24).

Maoism's ideological and political degradation is thus clearly demonstrated also on the issue of war and peace, the most pressing issue of our time. The Peking leaders are more closely working with imperialism and reaction against international peace and security, in attempts to undermine detente, in intensive psychological preparation of war. If it depended only on them, the Maoists would be prepared, through provocation and rashly adventures, to plunge other countries into a thermonuclear catastrophe. That is why the promotion of peace and security is inconceivable without struggle against Maoist ideology and policies.

Maoism's ideological and theoretical positions are incompatible with the objective laws and principal trends of social progress. Peking's policy is inimical to the peoples' struggle for peace, freedom, national independence and socialism. The record clearly proves that the Maoist ideology and practice are groundless. Historically, Maoism has no future.

The evolution of Maoism as an ideological and political trend reaffirms anew that retreat from the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism, its distortion, damage revolutionary practice.

The interests of world socialism and of the international communist movement call for a principled struggle against Maoist ideology and policy, which are not only incompatible with Marxism-Leninism, but frankly hostile to it. While repelling Maoism, Marxists-Leninists do not interfere in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of China, and have no intention of doing so. In fact, the coutries of the socialist community have consistently emphasised their readiness to normalise relations with China on the principles of peaceful coexistence. More, Marxists-Leninists are far from the thought of "excommunicating" any party from the communist movement or any country from the socialist world system. They maintain that if Peking returns to a policy really based on Marxism-Leninism, that will allow for development of relations with the PRC and CPC on the principles of socialist internationalism.

THE BIOGRAPHY OF A CLASS

The International Working-Class Movement, Problems of History and Theory, in seven volumes (in Russian); Chairman of chief editorial commission—B. N. Ponomaryov; Volume One: *The Rise of the Proletariat and Its Formation as a Revolutionary Class,* Editor—A. S. Chernyaev, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1976, pp. 668.

The international working-class movement and its vanguard, the communist parties, constitute the most powerful social force of our time, the mainspring of world development. Yet until recently there have been no major attempts to make a Marxist-Leninist generalisation of the *entire* history of the emergence and formation of that force, to write what might be called a "collective biography of the international working class". Now a beginning has been made: the first volume of such a "biography", written by a group of Soviet historians, philosophers and economists, has come out in Moscow.

Explaining the aims and intention of the new multi-volume work, Academician B. N. Ponomaryov writes: "Our purpose is to present a sufficiently comprehensive picture of the socio-economic and ideological-political development of the working class, of its maturing as the leading force in the revolutionary transformation of society. This should not be just a history of 'civilian society', with some emphasis on the role and activity of the working class...but a coherent exposition of the events and problems directly relating to the development of the working class, presenting them against the background of the development of society as a whole. The task is to show, on the basis of factual material, its growing role in ensuring the social progress of mankind" (p. 6).

The contents of this initial volume show that this difficult task is being successfully tackled by the authors. Not only have they avoided repeating the usual material contained in works on modern history, but have conducted an original research into the history of the working class. They have masterly applied an interesting method of comprehensive coverage: they highlight, against the background of the historical events of the epoch,

the major economic and social problems, the philosophical views and ideological clashes involved in the development and struggle of the proletariat.

The first volume covers a particularly long historical period. This is understandable, for to trace the emergence of the proletariat as an independent social force distinct from the other unpropertied classes entails dealing not only with the "infancy of contemporary bourgeois society", as Marx called it, but also with the decay of feudalism. It is this period, from the disintegration of feudalism to the 1860s that the first volume examines.

The main subjects of research are: the proto-proletariat, the proletariat of early manufacture, the factory proletariat, and the embryo of the modern working class—a product of the industrial revolution.

The first part of the volume deals mostly with the period when the proletariat was only being formed into a class. It was still incapable of independent political action and, as a result, often had to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for its class enemy—the bourgeoisie. We are presented with, so to speak, the childhood of the working-class movement. But it was the childhood of a giant. As it matured, the working class began to dissociate itself, in the social, political and ideological respect, from the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and from the lumpenproletariat, on the other. As early as the June 1848 uprising in Paris, it came out with its own slogans, mortally frightening the bourgeoisie, which hastened to betray the revolution and helped to down it in blood. The second volume will tell us how the working class rose to its full stature in the days of the Paris Commune, when the first proletarian revolution established the first government of proletarian dictatorship in history.

In the volume under review we often come across the word "first": the appearance of the *first* workers' association (mid-18th century) and the *first* organised stoppage of work in machine-using industry in England (1758). And also the *first* rigorous anti-labour, the *first* ban on trade unions and strikes in France (1791) and England (1799-1800); the *first* cyclical crisis of capitalism (1825); the *first* appearance of the concepts of "socialism" and "communism" in the political vocabulary; the *first* red banner raised over workers' barricades: the establishment of the Communist League and the *first* anti-communist trials.

Since Europe was the cradle of capitalism and since it was there that the working-class and socialist movement made its first steps, the events on that continent occupy much space in the book. But because it deals with the history of the working-class movement in the whole world, it pays due attention to the United States, Latin America, Australia and some countries of Asia. As we come nearer to modern times, we shall meet, in subsequent volumes, with the young proletariat of Africa, which began to form into a class much later, but which is making swift progress along this path in a number of countries.

It is to the credit of the book under review that it does not try to erase the differences existing between individual countries and regions. On the other hand, analysis of the methods of the proletarian struggle in the 1840s brings the authors to this important conclusion: "Class conflicts between the workers and the bourgeoisie in various countries manifest certain common features" (p. 303).

Forming an integral part of the first volume are the chapters on the history of the spiritual and ideological development of the proletariat, of how it elaborated its class ideals and the methods for implementing them.

The second part of the volume, headed "Scientific Communism and the Working-Class Movement", is devoted to the history of the rise and consolidation of Marxism, and to the emergence of the revolutionary party of the proletariat. The chapters elucidating the theoretical and revolutionary-organisational activity of Marx and Engels alternate with those illuminating the role of the working class in the European revlutions of 1848-49. The generalisation, by the founders of Marxism, of the experience of these revolutions contributed to the development of the theory of scientific communism. The formation of the First International and the struggle conducted by Marx and Engels to establish the principles of proletarian internationalism in the working-class movement, which was experiencing a fresh upswing at the time, were a historic landmark.

"Scientific socialism," the book says, "is the acme of centuries of human culture... Marxism gave the working class an important instrument for understanding reality" (p. 645).

Two features of the book under review are highly significant. First, the authors' desire to explain historical facts from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism. For example, the historical account of the factory proletariat's strike movement is accompanied by a comprehensive theoretical commentary about Marxist-Leninist views on strikes, their potentialities and their place in the arsenal of the proletariat's class struggle (see p. 210). The book includes a chapter on a burning issue, namely, the ideological battle over the proletariat's historical role—a controversy that began in the days of Marx and Engels and continues in our days.

The second feature is the extensive use of the latest data provided by historical science in the Soviet Union and abroad. Among the references works used in preparing the first volume, more than 310 were published in the last 20-25 years (including some 120 by Soviet and over 190 by foreign authors). These figures speak for themselves.

The book is of great political and scientific interest to the reading public both in the Soviet Union and abroad.

—L. D[illegible]

MAN AND SOCIETY IN THE WORLD OF INFORMATION

V. G. Afanasyev, **Social Information and Management** (in Russian), Moscow, Politizdat, 1975. 408 pp.

The word "information" is used ever more frequently by journalists and scholars in describing essential features of our time. It denotes the qualitatively new role of information in public life, especially in the management of society, a sphere in which this role is particularly manifest and poses many complicated theoretical and practical problems. The imperative need of a scientific basis for solving them has brought into being a new line of science, the theory of social information, or information used for managing social processes. In the book under review, V. G. Afanasyev, corresponding member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, sets out to elaborate the basic concepts and problems of this theory.

The purpose of the book, Afanasyev says, is "to bring out, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist methodology, mainly the qualitative, essential aspects of social information with due regard to the achievements of mathematics, cybernetics, engineering psychology and other sciences" (p. 8). It deals with almost all major theoretical problems of social information. Along with theoretical problems involved in establishing the nature of social information, the author considers the problems of the actual management of socialist society, such as decision-making, the relation between information and man, the organisation of scientific and technological information, the characteristics and function of political information.

There is a chapter on the theory and practice of creating and running information systems and automated management systems (AMS), whose further development was envisaged by the 25th Congress of the CPSU. The experience of evolving and introducing AMSs, information systems for collective use, and other systems leads Afanasyev to the conclusion that under socialism this calls for

more democratic management, broader participation of the working people led by the party. "Scientific management", he notes, "is incompatible with a technocratic, narrowly economic approach. Management... is a **party matter, a matter of political significance**" (p. 306).

Wide use is made in the book of the findings of the social and natural sciences in the Soviet Union and abroad, the experience of developing and operating automated systems for the collection and storing of information, and the experience of management. The author points to the social, political and ideological aspects of social information and management and to the qualitative differences in approaching them under socialism and under capitalism.

—O. SOMMER

LESSONS OF HISTORY: THEIR RELEVANCE TODAY

In his works Academician Dezso Nemes, a prominent Hungarian historian and public figure, Political Bureau member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, rector of the Higher Political School, investigates past epochs and brings out their dialectical interconnection with the present, with today's class struggle. This is also true of his book entitled **Pages from the History of the Hungarian Working-Class movement,**[1] which deals with the period from the turn of the century to the beginning of the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1918.

In discussing social and economic life. Nemes is concerned mainly with the ideology and policy of Hungarian social democracy, but he also dwells on the history and destiny of social-democracy as a whole.

At the turn of the century, the author notes, the only political organisation of the working class in Hungary was the Social-Democratic Party, whose left wing later became an important component of the Communist Party.[2] In those days the SDP organised and directed the trade unions' struggle for better living and working conditions for the workers. It initiated and led mass movements against the reactionary government, for civil liberties. "It disseminated among the workers the ideas of socialism, linking them with the fight for economic and political demands, including universal suffrage. It made the workers realise that social emancipation and socialist goals could be achieved with the winning of political power" (p. 22). These merits marked mainly the initial period of the SDP's activity.

When the era of imperialism set in, the party found itself at the cross-roads. First of all it had to define the nature of the impending

[1] Dezso Nemes, *A magyar munkasmozgalom tortenetehez*. Tenyek, vitak tanulsagok, Budapest, pp. 597.

[2] The Communist Party of Hungary was formed in November 1918—*Ed.*

revolution—a matter of tremendous theoretical and political importance. The point was that Hungary, one of the main components of the Austro-Hungarian empire, had not only a reactionary political system with remnants of feudalism, but also an industrial proletariat totalling one million, about 100,000 of them united in the party. The objective conditions were ripe for the development of the bourgeois-democratic into socialist revolution.

Equally important was the question of whether the Social-Democratic Party could cope with the new revolutionary tasks. Noting that history gave a negative answer to this question. Nemes emphasises that the proletariat's class struggle cannot be successful unless it is led by a revolutionary worker's party. But the SDP, especially its leadership, had a narrow and in many ways dogmatic notion of the successive change of social formations. The Social Democrats believed that only a developed and long-existing capitalism could create the conditions for socialist reforms. So long as the proletariat did not make up the bulk of the population, they maintained, socialism would be "premature". "The SDP maintained," the author writes, "that the liberal bourgeoisie must take over power from the aristocracy so as to promote democratic reforms" (p. 23). This view was typical of right opportunism.

Such a point of view and the corresponding policy could not but lead to grave consequences. "The Social-Democratic Party", Nemes notes, "being at the same time a party of the trade unions, gave every support to the workers' economic struggle, which assumed great scope at the beginning of the century. But the direct opponent of the workers in that struggle, was, more often than not, the liberal bourgeoisie itself, which the party leadership considered its chief political ally and which asked and received help from the autocratic government against the workers" (p. 24). This naturally aroused indignation among the mass of the workers, and widened the split in the party.

At the same time, the party's left wing was gaining in strength. A significant landmark in that process was the year 1914, when the First World War broke out, and turning point came in 1917, when the Great October Socialist Revolution triumphed in Russia. It was in that period that Lenin's thesis on the irrefutable ideological and political kinship of opportunism and social nationalism was confirmed in Hungary (see Lenin, **Coll. Works**, Vol. 21, p. 154). As the author convincingly shows, it was in that period that the futility of the social-democratic policy was even more plainly manifested: the struggle for reforms proved to be vain, and the party leadership d

not want and could not embark upon a revolution, although it did not deny its theoretical feasibility.

Thus the author, using factual historical material, shows the consequences of neglecting the class point of view and the inseparable link between theory and practice, and of adhering to reformist views and mechanical interpretations of the historical process. He substantiates the conclusion about the need to take a differentiated approach to social-democracy, to be able to see the positive elements in its policy, and at the same time to see the fundamental distinction between reformism and the scientific communism. This conclusion is obviously relevant to our time. So is the conclusion that the proletariat can win if it is led by a revolutionary party—a conclusion amply substantiated by the author with facts from the history of the working class movement in his country

—Tibor Erenyi

THE "RED GIUNTA" OF BOLOGNA

Vincenzo Galetti, **Bologna non e un'isola rossa**, Bari, De Donato, 1975, pp. 372.

In Italy, everybody knows that a local government body headed by communists and their allies serves the working people's interests best. The activity of left-wingers in communal, provincial and regional government is measurable by the achievements of the so-called red giuntas, primarily those of Emilia-Romagna and Bologna, where the communists have long headed local government. It is not accidental that there is now so much talk about the "miracle of Emilia and Bologna" in Italy, a country of great economic imbalances and social contrasts aggravated by the crisis.

The book under review is a detailed account of the effort and achievements of Bologna's communists supported by the socialists, as well as of obstacles to progressive changes.

Its author headed the Bologna communist organisation from 1966 to 1973 and so is well familiar with the problems he writes about. He stresses with good reason that the city "is now one of the main centres of capitalist contradictions" (p. 173). In working to transform Bologna socially, its progressive authorities follow a communist slogan of 1945, "An ancient city for a new society" (p. 352). Through legislative acts and other measures, they made capitalists and monopolies allocate a substantial proportion of their profits for the city and province and launched a general urban development plan giving priority to social problems. Revealingly, expenditures on the city's social needs today make up 40 per cent of its budget appropriations whereas the national percentage ranges between 10 and 15 (p. 363).

Needless to say, the city authorities cannot effect radical social changes. But even so, the communists have fully proved their ability "to govern and to make policy in a new way" (p. 5).

Take, for example, unemployment, a problem that has plagued Italy for years. It has declined to a minimum in Bologna and the communal council plans to achieve full employment in the city and vicinity (p. 79). Housing is an equally acute problem. In this respect as well, the example of Bologna is striking. Low-rent homes for working people are being built on a large scale. The authorities have put an end to the activity of real estate sharks and the "construction Mafia" and established effective rent control.

The municipality devotes special attention to the younger generation, as the book shows. Nurseries and kindergartens take care of 75 per cent of children of pre-school age—one of the highest indices in Western Europe (p. 365). The number of elementary and secondary schools is growing and a "local school reform" was carried out by revising syllabuses and modifying "teachers' statutes" along progressive lines. Much is done to make higher education accessible to young people of different social origin. Bologna University (55,000 students) is one of the country's biggest (p. 354).

The crime rate in the city is Italy's lowest due to measures taken by its authorities. "To create a city meeting the requirements of modern man as much as possible and resisting chaos and degradation" (p. 178) is the city administration's goal invariably supported by the people. Mass organisations cooperate with the authorities, primarily communists, in solving urgent problems of the city and province.

Neighbourhood councils have become an important form of local autonomy encouraging Bolognans to join in public activity. Set up on communist initiative, they play a noteworthy part in discussing, planning and carrying out various measures. The close unity of the workers of Bologna and peasant organisations of the province is an appreciable gain for all democratic forces.

The communists of Bologna are carrying on their effort at a time when monopoly groups and the central authority, to say nothing of anti-communists of every description ranging from neofascists to "leftists", are trying hard to frustrate the giunta's work through economic pressure and bureaucratic procrastination, slander and outright provocation. The bourgeoisie makes no secret that it dreads the impact of Bologna's example. However, the working people everywhere are declaring for progressive municipalities. A strong indication of this was the outcome of the June 1975 elections which brought left-wingers into the government of most communes, provinces and regions. And this has prompted Galetti to entitle his interesting book **Bologna Is No Red Island**, meaning that it is not isolated from the rest of the country.

—Y. YAROPOLOV

US PROFESSOR VS. ACADEMICIAN SAKHAROV

The democratic journal **Blatter fur deutsche und internationale Politik**, put out in Cologne, has published an open letter writen by American economist Hans Apel to Andrei Sakharov.[1]

Professor Apel, who for a long time taught at the University of Bridgeport in the USA, has for more than ten years carried on comparative studies on socio-economic development in socialist and capitalist states. From 1962 on, he made a number of trips to the European socialist countries (German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria), and recently continued his research work in the Soviet Union. On his return he read in **Der Spiegel** extracts from Andrei Sakharov's book **My Country and I**, printed in West Germany (in other capitalist countries it is known as **My Country and the World**).

The gloomy picture of life in the Soviet Union as presented by Sakharov contrasted sharply with Apel's findings resulting from many years of research and with what he had seen for himself. In an open letter entitled "Twenty Questions to Andrei Sakharov", he warned the addressee that his writing would be used in the West "for the cheapest anti-Soviet and anti-communist propaganda", that it "can only multiply the worst prejudices" of readers of the bourgeois press, who for decades had been told of the Soviet Union being "backward" and in "dire straits".

Apel's careful study of the data used by Sakharov to compare living standards in the Soviet Union and in capitalist countries led him to the conclusion that "all of them without exception are either false or unproved".

"How can you substantiate your emphatic assertion", Prof. Apel asks A. Sakharov, "That Soviet living standards have been rising 'too slowly'? As a matter of fact, the tremendous lag in the living

[1] See *Blatter fur deutsche and Internationale Politik*, No. 2, 1976, pp. 173-91.

standard of the mass of the Russian people in 1913 was significantly reduced despite the ruins caused by the Civil War following the revolution and by the two world wars. Does this not mean that in the periods of peaceful construction living standards in the USSR rose at a far higher rate than in, say, the USA, which experienced neither revolutionary upheavals nor war destruction?" He cites concrete examples showing that between 1960 and 1973 the real wages of the Soviet industrial workers rose by approximately 60 per cent, while the wage increase of American workers in the same category, considering inflation, was several times lower.

Apel describes as "totally groundless" the data Sakharov uses in comparing the wages of Soviet and American working men. Sakharov, he says, has understated real wages in the Soviet Union by no less than 38 per cent, and overstated American wages by more than 12 per cent.[2] He totally disregards, among other things, the high taxes American workers have to pay and the fact that, the enormous salaries of corporate managers, many of whom "earn" several hundred times more than the "average American", are also included in the average wage in the USA.

Apel further notes that the American workers must pay for many things which in the Soviet Union are granted by the state or the enterprise free of charge. This applies, first and foremost, to medical care and education. Apart from this, the Soviet state subsidises two-thirds of the actual cost of housing and allocates funds to keep the prices of nearly all types of social services low Employees at Soviet enterprises buy their meals at considerably reduced prices; many of them pay minimal prices for accommodation in holiday homes and sanatoria. Enterprises also contribute large sums for the maintenance of nurseries and kindergartens, paid maternity leave, etc.

The yardstick of living standards. Apel explains, is the size of the family income rather than individual earnings. And this income depends largely on the extent to which women are drawn into production. In this connection Apel rebukes Sakharov for his advocacy of the "traditional role of woman as mother and housewife who should have no professional interests of her own". Nowadays, he notes, this view is rejected everywhere as reactionary and incompatible with the aspiration of women for genuine equality. Unlike Sakharov, Apel expresses a high opinion of the status of women in Soviet society. The broad participation of Soviet women in labour activities, being a key factor promoting their equality with men, naturally has a positive effect on living standards in the USSR.

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[2] For details on the growth of the Soviet people's prosperity see our next article.

According to Apel's calculations, the average real income per member of a Soviet family is 67 per cent of the American level, and this percentage shows public prosperity in the USSR to be quite different from the picture Sakharov has presented.

Apel wonders at Sakharov's assertion that US citizens officially registered as poor receive state benefits which "the Soviet citizen can only dream of". "I do not know of anything that could confirm this contention", he says. True, the "food programme" centrally financed by Washington helps many of those whose incomes are so low that after paying their rent and electricity bills, the doctor's or other fees, they have no money left for food towards the end of the month. But a large percentage of the poorest do not get this help, *they cannot afford even to buy food coupons.*

As to other allowances for the needy, they differ in various cities and states, but as a rule cannot provide even a minimum income. In 1973, 25 million Americans, or every eighth, were officially classified as poor. But only about half of them received some kind of allowance. Hence Apel concludes that the number of destitute people in the United States runs to many millions, and in all probability doubled in the crisis year of 1974. "I believe", he writes, "that it is the American poor who can only dream of some of the major benefits to which even the poorest Soviet citizen is entitled: job opportunities, free medical care, a truly comprehensive system of social security, and a high level of occupational training".

Point by point, Apel refutes Sakharov's allegations that the working people are in a worse position in the USSR than in highly developed capitalist countries. Sakharov writes, for instance, that in the USSR "annual leave is very short—two weeks for most people" and that the time of leave is "fixed by the management". But in what countries, Apel asks, do the majority of employees get longer paid leave and can take it at any time they choose?

The American economist knows no such countries. And since there are no conclusive statistics on this issue, he wonders what comparative data Sakharov could use to back up his conclusion. Apel himself has conducted research in four countries which were at a comparable level of socio-economic development before the war. Two of them—Bulgaria and Romania—took the socialist path after the war; the other two—Greece and Turkey—remained capitalist. The average annual leave of the professor's respondents in Bulgaria and Romania was 22 and 21 days respectively, in Greece and Turkey—12 and 14 days. As to the Soviet citizens questioned, most of them had a month's leave, and the inhabitants of northern USSR had a 45-day leave.

The American scholar cannot agree with Sakharov's assertion that the working week in the Soviet Union is "longer than in most Western countries". According to statistics, he writes, the average working week in the period from 1963 to 1972 ranged between 40.1 and 40.6 hours in the USSR, as against 39.8 to 41.4 hours in the USA, and 42 to 44.3 hours in West Germany.

He disagrees with what Sakharov says about pensioners' condition in the USSR. He points out that in the Soviet Union women can go on pension at 55, and men at 60, whereas in the USA retirement age for both sexes is 65. Moreover, the American pensioner cannot have an additional income, otherwise a corresponding sum would be deducted from his pension, which, as a rule, is not more than one-quarter of his former income. In the Soviet Union, where the retirement age is much lower and pensioners are still able-bodied, a great many of them can maintain their incomes at the same or nearly the same level by working part of the day or part of the year. But even if he does not work, the average Soviet pensioner can lead quite a well-to-do, though modest, life owing to low rent and low prices of public services. In the USA, Apel notes, a considerable number of elderly people get no pension at all.

To Sakharov's claim that housing conditions in the USSR "are as bad as in the past for the majority of the people, although intensive housing construction is under way in many cities", Apel says: "Having declined to make a concrete comparison with the situation in the West, did you pay attention at least to the fact that in most Western countries—the United States, Britain, France, Italy, Austria or Belgium—the housing conditions of the greater part of the population remain 'as bad as in the past'? Did you consider the fact that in the two world wars none of these countries suffered anything like the losses in housing incurred by the Soviet Union? And the fact that housing construction in these countries has up till now not surpassed the level achieved in the 1950s—15 flats a year per 1,000 inhabitants?"

Sakharov's point of view, Apel says, conflicts with what the majority of Soviet people think about their own housing conditions. Thirty-four per cent of the Soviet citizens interviewed by the American researcher described these conditions as "very good", 37 per cent as "good", 16 per cent as "satisfactory", 10 per cent as "unsatisfactory" and only 3 per cent as "bad" The results of the survey he conducted in the USSR give the lie to this passage from Sakharov's writing: "If a family receives a flat to itself, this is a happy chance that many others wait for throughout their lives."

Out of the 194 Soviet citizens interviewed, 179 (134 with and 45 without families) had flats to themselves.

But what baffled him most is this contention of the academician: "It is not true that we have the lowest rent in the world." By simple arithmetic Apel shows that the Soviet Union does have the lowest rent. In the West, he writes, rent takes up 20 to 25 per cent or more of the family income and amounts to less than 15 per cent in exceptional cases only; whereas in the USSR, a tenant having a flat with 36 sq. metres of living space (excluding area of kitchen, bathroom, lavatory, hall, passages, etc.), i.e. about 50 sq. metres of total housing space, pays about 10 roubles a month for rent (only living space has to be paid for). This is roughly one-sixth or one-seventh of the amount paid in capitalist countries for a similar flat.

Sakharov presents literally all aspects of Soviet life only in dark colours. "Drinking water is not pure", he complains. But without any fear I drank water from the tap in the Soviet Union, Apel objects, and I found it much better than in Western countries. As to the state of the rivers, he says that he saw thousands of people bathing in the Dnieper, the Moskva River, the Volga and the Neva, but not in the Hudson or the Rhine.

Sakharov tells his readers that "public service shops are almost non-existent" in the USSR. "Could you specify the kind of service shops?" asks Apel, who visited different Soviet cities and saw numerous dressmaking establishments, shoemakers' shops, laundries, hairdressers' and even wig-making shops

Apel describes as "surprising" Sakharov's argument that in the USSR "the level of education is low", and "medical service for the majority of the population is of poor quality". Apel reminds him that in the Soviet Union there are 117 hospital beds for every 1,000 inhabitants, which exceeds the level in the USA by 50 per cent, and that in the USSR was one doctor for every 370 persons in 1970[a] as compared to one for every 645 and 572 in the united States and West Germany respectively. The general opinion in the West, says Apel, is that the situation in education and public health is much better in the USSR than in capitalist countries.

There are some of the remarks of a bourgeois economist on Sakharov's slanderous fabrications.

Apel's open letter was prompted not by sympathy for the socialist system or the communist ideology but by elementary objectivity. He points to the striking contrast between life in the Soviet Union

[a] In 1974 the USSR had one doctor for every 317 inhabitants.

and the picture of it presented by bourgeois propaganda capitalising on Sakharov's writings.

Apel had probably expected his letter to find a response in the "big" press. But it was mentioned by none of the newspapers and magazines which so willingly print Sakharov's most absurd fabrications. So Apel, who now lives in Vienna, came to Bonn and called a press conference to break through the wall of silence. At the conference he rated the materials about the Soviet Union published in the leading West German newspapers and magazines as "one-sided and misleading journalism" detrimental to detente.

But even after the press conference the major dailies and periodicals continued to maintain a dead silence over his letter.

—A. Toll

WHAT THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN GAVE THE SOVIET CITIZEN*

The Soviet Union's ninth five-year development plan (1971-75) attained its main goal: more than 80 per cent of the national income went into raising living standards; average monthly wages and salaries increased 20 per cent, and collective farmer earnings 25 per cent.

PERCENTAGE GROWTH OF PER CAPITA REAL INCOMES

	1965	*1970*	*1975*
percentage of 1965	100	133	165
Percentage of 1970		100	124

Social services expenditure equalled the total for the previous two five-year periods. "Never before", the CC report to the 25th CPSU Congress said, "has our country known such a comprehensive social programme as the one carried out in the period under review."

Sources of Growing Prosperity

In 1975, the minimum wage was raised to 70 roubles a month for persons employed in material production. There was also a wage rise for the intermediate categories, and higher salaries for doctors, teachers in all types of schools and other educational personnel. These, plus a number of other measures, meant higher earnings for more than 75 million people.

Another important factor in raising living standards under socialism is the public consumption funds. These are formed both at factory and national level, and are used to finance free education and vocational training and re-training, free medical services, pensions, student, family and other grants, free and reduced-price accommodation in sanatoria and holiday camps, kindergartens, annual paid holidays, etc.

GRANTS AND OTHER BENEFITS FROM PUBLIC CONSUMPTION FUNDS

	1965	*1970*	*1975*
Grants and other benefits, billion roubles	41.9	63.9	about 90
Per capita, roubles	182	263	352

* This survey is based on data supplied by the USSR Central Statistics Board.

Among the major measures financed out of the public consumption funds in 1971-75, mention should be made of higher old-age pensions for workers, collective farmers and other categories, also invalids and families who have lost their breadwinner, additional benefits for invalids of the Great Patriotic War and families of men killed in the war. A number of other grants and benefits introduced in the course of the ninth five-year plan are designed to improve the conditions of unmarried mothers and low-income families. Grants to students, trainees of special, technical and vocational schools have likewise been increased.

All told these measures benefited about another 40 million people.

GROWTH OF AVERAGE MONTHLY WAGES AND SALARIES (ROUBLES)

	1965	*1970*	*1975*
Average cash wages	96	122	146
Grants and other benefits from public consumption funds (exclusive of annual paid holidays)—average per person employed	33	42	52
Average wage, including grants and other benefits from public consumption funds	129	164	198

Wages rose at a faster pace in industry, which accounts for the biggest population group.

AVERAGE WAGES OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS (ROUBLES)

	1965	*1970*	*1975*
Average cash wages	102	131	161
Grants and other benefits from public consumption funds (exclusive of annual paid holidays)—average per person employed	37	48	59
Average wage, including grants and other benefits from public consumption funds	139	179	220

Considering that usually there is more than one wage earner in the family, average wages per family, including grants and benefits from public consumption funds, amounted to 356 rubles in 1975. The proportion of the population with an income of 100 rubles and more per family member increased 8.5-fold compared with 1965.

The CPSU and the Soviet government attach special importance to keeping prices of basic foods and consumer goods stable as a means of raising living standards.

STATE RETAIL CONSUMER GOODS PRICES (1970=100)

	1970	*19[illegible]*
All goods	100	99.6
Foods	100	10[illegible].9
meat and poultry	100	100
butter	100	10[illegible]
vegetable oil	100	100
sugar	100	100
bread and bakery products	100	100
vegetables	100	10[illegible]
Consumer goods	100	9[illegible]
cotton fabrics	100	100
woolen fabrics	100	[illegible]
clothing	100	98
knit goods	100	9[illegible]
footwear	100	10[illegible]
cigarettes and tobacco	100	[illegible]

Real per capita incomes in the USSR double approximately every 15 years, so that there are qualitative changes in the living standard of each new generation.

Living Standards and Way of Life

The social programme formulated at the 24th CPSU Congress and carried out in the ninth five-year plan signified an important forward step towards the new way of life, particularly in the more balanced structure of material and cultural requirements and also in the socialist way of their satisfaction.

There is no unemployment in the USSR. This is coupled with a steady increase in the workforce, as follows: 1965—76.9 million, 1970—[illegible] million and 1975—102 million.

Higher incomes made for a higher demand for goods and services. Retail trade over the past five years increased 36 per cent, with steep increases in sales of meat and meat products, eggs and other staple foods. Thus, per capita meat consumption in 1975 was nearly 21 per cent, and eggs 35 per *cent, up on 1970.*

More consumer durables—furniture, TV sets, radio sets, refrigerators, washing machines, etc.—are being produced to meet the growing demand. *Now there are 45 per cent more TV sets per 100 families, nearly twice as* many refrigerators, 25 per cent more washing machines and 58 per cent vacuum cleaners than five years ago.

The ninth five-year plan was the fourth to carry out an intensive housing programme, with most of the new housing built by the state. Over 11 million new flats and single-family cottages, with a total floor space of 544 million

sq. metres, were built in 1971-75. This has meant better living conditions for 56 million people, and also that in the main housing can now be allotted on the principle of a separate flat to each family. All in all, over 2 billion sq. metres of housing were built in the past 20 years, a figure unmatched in any other country.

A characteristic feature of the socialist way of life is in the low proportion of the family income that goes into rent, upkeep of private housing and taxes, which have remained virtually unchanged over the past 10 years. The following figures are typical of a working-class family budget: rent, maintenance amounted to 2.5 per cent in 1965, the same in 1970 and 2.6 per cent in 1974, with the respective figures for heating 0.4, 0.3 and 0.2 per cent.

Conditions are changing in rural areas, too, with 99 per cent of all houses now having electricity and many thousands of rural communities also gas. Television, radio sets, refrigerators, motorcycles and automobiles are increasingly becoming part of rural life.

Bigger expenditure on improving working conditions, education, public health and environmental protection are all components of the social programme carried out over the past five years.

The transition to universal secondary education has been virtually completed: in 1975, over 96 per cent of all 8-year school leavers went on to the 10-year school. In 1974 state expenditure per student amounted to 153 rubles in general schools, 617 rubles in specialised secondary schools and 977 rubles in higher educational establishments.

In 1974 accommodation per child in day nurseries cost 503 rubles and 454 rubles in kindergartens, with the state defraying about 80 per cent.

Constantly rising cultural requirements matched by rising opportunities for their satisfaction is still another characteristic of the socialist way of life. The USSR holds top place in the world in the number of readers of newspapers, magazines, and books, size of theatre and cinema audience, etc.

In 1971-75 the USSR printed 8 billion books and pamphlets, an increase of 1.4 billion over the preceding five-year period. Book sales for the five years amounted to 2.8 billion rubles, or 800 million rubles more than in the previous five-year period.

Behind the Facade of the "Welfare State"

The present capitalist crisis has markedly slowed down improvement of the worker's living standard, and in some cases has even depressed it. Today even the more zealous defenders of monopoly do not venture to claim that capitalism has given way to the "welfare state". For capitalist reality is such that the working people are meeting with mounting difficulties.

This concerns, above all, one of man's most vital rights, the right to work. Unemployment in the leading capitalist countries now stands at more than

15 million; in Western Europe it is as high as 4-5 per cent, and nearly 8 per cent in the United States.

The tendency in the leading capitalist countries is towards a decline in real wages. Thus, total real incomes in the seven main capitalist countries (USA, Japan, FRG, Britain, France, Italy and Canada) decreased by an average of 1.3 per cent in 1974-75, and considerably more in some industries. In the US, real wages in the manufacturing industries registered a 9.7 per cent drop in 1974-75, and in Britain the decline was 7.5 per cent (December 1974—August 1975).

The relative worsening of the workers' position stands out glaringly in any comparison between wages and monopoly profits. In the FRG, net profits of 100 leading companies rose by 28 per cent in 1973, while net wages and salaries rose by 7.9 per cent, and real wages by only 1.1 per cent.

Prices continue to soar in all capitalist countries, and this means higher living costs. In 1963-72 higher prices swallowed up 70 per cent of the rise in nominal wages in Britain, 68 per cent in France, 67 in Italy, 60 in the USA, and 53 in Japan. Living costs in these countries rose by an average of 56.3 per cent in 1971-75, and by an average of 25.4 per cent in 1974-75, including an 11.2 per cent rise in 1975.

In the past few years price rises have been especially steep in consumer goods. In 1974-75, in the seven leading capitalist countries food was up by an average of 33 per cent, with these figures for individual countries: FRG 10 per cent, USA 24, France 26, and Britain 45. The US consumer price index registered a 9.1 per cent increase last year, and the Department of Commerce forecast for 1976 promises another 6.5 per cent rise.

Taxes are still another burden on the worker: in 1975, they increased by 34 per cent in Britain, 27 in Italy and 12.5 in France.

The economic crisis has also cut into housing construction, in a number of capitalist countries, though there is a housing shortage in all these countries. Again the figures: housing starts in the US dropped by 34.3 per cent in mid-1975 compared with 1973, and by 25 per cent in the FRG. Rent in leading capitalist countries is higher, too, having risen by as much as 33 per cent in 1974-75. For instance, in the USA it increased 22 per cent, coal and heating oil 70 per cent, and electricity and gas 32 per cent.

Medical care is more expensive. Recent years have seen higher doctors fees, higher cost hospital accommodation, medicine, etc. The cost of medical care in the seven leading capitalist countries increased 27 per cent in 1974-75; the US figure is 21 per cent.

In comparing social and economic development in the two opposing world systems, people in the capitalist countries are coming to appreciate the fundamental advantages of socialism, which assure every person material well-being, access to education and culture, the free and all-round development of the personality.

MIGRANT WORKERS IN CAPITALIST EUROPE

Foreign workers driven out of their countries by want—Africans collecting refuse in French cities, Turks on unskilled jobs at Volkswagen plants in West Germany, Italians earning a living in Switzerland as seasonal workers, Spaniards mining coal in Belgian pits—are all doomed to poverty abroad as well as at home. In the more developed capitalist countries where they go in search of a living they are offered only the meanest and lowest-paid jobs. Many newspapers point out this fact, rightly describing foreign workers as the "stokers of Western Europe".

The total number of foreign workers employed in Western Europe after the end of the Second World War is estimated to have been 30 million (**Der Spiegel,** No. 34, 1975, p. 55). Towards the end of 1974 there were about 11 million (**Dagens Nyheter,** December 1, 1974). There was slight decrease by mid-1975, but the proportion of foreigners in the total workforce is still great, as shown in the following table (**Der Spiegel,** No. 34, 1975, p. 55).

	work force (millions)	*Foreign workers (thousands)*	*Percentage of foreign workers*
FRG	26.5	2,500	9.4
France	21.4	1,930	9.0
Britain	25.1	1,835	7.3
Switzerland	3.1	861	28.2
Belgium	3.9	265	6.8
Austria	2.9	236	7.9
Sweden	3.9	222	5.7
Netherlands	4.7	160	3.4

The contemporary "migration of peoples" is due to growing imbalances in the capitalist world economy, which also gives rise to discrepancies between demand and supply on the national labour market. On the other hand, and more important still, active behind the flow of vast numbers of workers from various countries is, un-

mistakably, the "guiding hand" of big business, the major monopolies. By massive imports of foreign manpower monopoly capital seeks opportunities to exploit cheap labour and, on the other hand, to step up competition on the labour market by opposing local and migrant workers, create added opportunities for holding down wages and ultimately weaken working-class unity.

By far most migrants in Western Europe are engaged in humdrum, unskilled, poorly paid work. Some estimates set the proportion of the unskilled among foreign workers in West Germany in recent years at 40 per cent, of the less skilled at 45 per cent and of the skilled at a mere 15 per cent. In recent years, the most laborious operations have been assigned almost exclusively to foreigners. The building industry, mining and metallurgy and auxiliary farm work account for 89 per cent of migrants in Switzerland, 72 in France and 56 in West Germany. In other industries, especially those equipped with new plant, foreigners are used only for preparatory operations. Automated industry, wrote Dominique Lahalle, a sociologist of the French National Scientific Research Centre, needs more and more people merely preparing work for machines. "But who will want to perform those monotonous and uninteresting operations tomorrow?" asks **L'Express**, adding: "Mostly immigrants" (April 16-22, 1973, p. 20).

Foreign workers are discriminated against in pay. In France their wages are 20 to 30 per cent lower on the average than those of French workers, and in the building industry the difference is 40 per cent (**Rabochiy klass i sovremenny mir**, No. 2, 1975, p. 64). Statistics show that migrants supply the greater part of capitalist profit. The rate of industrial accidents is highest among them. In big industrial countries of Europe, the number of industrial accidents among foreign workers, including fatal cases, is twice as great on the average as among nationals.

Brutal exploitation in industry is matched by harsh living conditions. Cut off from their families, migrants live in shanty towns and the slum neighbourhoods of industrial cities. Numerous foreign workers are cooped up in crude hostels lacking elementary facilities, in incredibly crowded quarters and unsanitary conditions. Often one hostel room is occupied by eight people working in three shifts. A. Vieuguet, Secretary of the French Communist Party estimates that in the case of foreign workers in France, the lack of proper housing is three times as great as in the case of French workers (A.Vieuguet, **Francais et immigres**, Paris, Editions Sociales, 1975, p. 30).

With the crisis still on, foreign workers are becoming a burden

for monopolies and states and are summarily dismissed and sent out of the country. Between September 1973 to March 1975, their number diminished by 500,000, according to **Frankfurter Allgemeine** (6 January 1976, p. 9).

The crisis was seized on as a signal to adopt a series of discriminatory measures aimed at reducing the number of foreign workers, such as limiting work contracts to one year, barring migrants' families from the host country, curbs on social rights, a constant threat of deportation, difficulties in receiving an education or improving one's skills.

Monopolies take advantage of government restrictions of migrants' rights to step up exploitation. Much as the economic situation in industrial countries of Western Europe is deteriorating, it is even worse in countries where the migrants come from, This is why many of the deported return clandestinely to the countries where they had looked for jobs. Unlike their officially recruited compatriots, most of them have neither permission to work, nor a residence permit. Fearing exposure, they place their trust in go-betweens, to whom trade in "living merchandise" is a highly profitable business. In West Germany's extractive industries alone, 400 such "businessmen" have been exposed in the past four years. Their annual dealings totalled 10 million marks (**Der Spiegel**, No. 23, 1975, p. 45).

Illegal migrants are more brutally exploited. Employers save by paying them less and refusing to spend money on social insurance or to pay established taxes. The massive import of illegal migrants would have been impossible had it not been profitable to both the employers concerned and the frontier and immigration officials connected with them.

Migrant workers have lately been intensifying the fight for their rights. It is backed by the trade-union movement, and communists are the staunchest defenders of their interests There is a growing conviction in the workingclass movement that the migrants' demands can be met only if all that isolates migrants from their class brothers is removed .Foreign workers have common interests with other workers in the struggle against monopoly capital, their common enemy.

— M. Schneider

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION

Notes on International Organisations

The development of the mass women's movement after the Second World War has been inseparably linked with the activity of the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), founded in December 1945 at the International Women's Congress in Paris by representatives of the national organisations of 41 countries. By 1975 its membership included national organisations of 106 countries.

The principal aims of the WIDF are the struggle for women's equality, protection of the rights of mother and child, and defence of the right of all children to life, welfare and education. The Federation unites women regardless of nationality, social standing, political, ideological or religious views. It takes an active part in the movement for peace, national independence and democratic freedoms.

The WIDF leading bodies are the congress, and in the interim between congresses, the council and bureau. The day-to-day leadership is exercised by the secretariat composed of the general secretary, secretaries and the treasurer with headquarters in Berlin. The WIDF has consultative status at the UN Economic and Social Council and UNESCO.

Throughout the 30 years of its existence the federation has been fighting against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism. On its initiative an international committee of solidarity with the people of Vietnam was established in 1964. The Federation actively campaigns against Israel's aggressive policy in the Middle East, against repressions in Spain, the atrocities of the fascist junta in Chile, against reactionary attempts to block detente and whip up anti-communism.

The WIDF was a co-sponsor of International Women's Year in 197[5] under the motto: Equality—Development—Peace! The World Congr[ess] held in Berlin on the occasion of International Women's Year was an im[-] portant event of 1975. In addition to the WIDF, dozens of other inter-national associations and groups took part in convening this forum, attended by 2,000 delegates, observers and guests from 140 countries. Seven hund[red]

of them delivered reports and speeches stressing the close connection of the struggle for women's equality with the fight for progress, peace, detente, international security and disarmament. It was proposed at the congress to launch a worldwide campaign to wipe out illiteracy. The WIDF has actively joined this campaign, coordinating its activities with other public organisations, as well as with specialised agencies of the United Nations.

The WIDF's Seventh Congress (Berlin 1975) adopted an extensive programme of the federation's activity for the next five years. Its man aim is to impart still greater scope and effectiveness to the worldwide democratic women's movement. The federation renders every support to the strengthening of national organisations. Centres for coordinating WIDF activities in different regions and courses to train cadres for the women's movement will be established in a number of countries.

The federation strives to take a deeper approach to the problems of the women's movement. This is evidenced, among other things, by the subjects of the international conferences and seminars planned by it: the specific condition of women in the rural areas of Asia; the influence of the policy of multinational monopolies on the condition of the Latin American family; the problem of enlisting women into the development process in African countries; the scientific and technological revolution and the conditions of women's work in industrially developed capitalist countries; the position of immigrant women workers and their families; the education of children and youth in the spirit of international solidarity and understanding among peoples.

The fight for peace and disarmament is a matter of special attention. The WIDF has called on all women's organisations to organise a broad campaign to collect signatures to the 1975 Stockholm Appeal, and for the earliest convocation of a world disarmament conference.

The implementation of the plan of actions will contribute to the further progress of the women's movement. The WIDF's contribution to the struggle for peace, national independence and social progress will become still more weighty and effective.

—FANNY EDELMAN
General Secretary, WIDF

POLITICAL POSTERS AND VISUAL PROPAGANDA OF THE CPUSA

In its ideological activities the Communist Party of the United States of America makes use of various kinds of visual information methods. These include posters and placards which illustrate party positions on topical issues and which notify the public of party events and also of events sponsored by democratic and progressive movements in which the party participates. Posters and placards are also used in mass meetings and marches to demonstrate party participation and underscore the issues and demands which the party considers significant. Experience has proved their usefulness in projecting the party's ideas and in building the party press. They are an important tool for mobilising and organising popular support of party campaigns.

The press of the CPUSA has always made use of the work of artists. The *Daily Worker* and its weekend edition, *The Worker,* regularly exhibited political art and cartoons of some of the most gifted progressive artists in this field—Clive Ward, Art Young, William Gropper, Robert Minor and Fred Ellis Hugo Gellert, Anton Refregier and Tecla. This tradition is continued today by the *Daily World, World Magazine* and the *People's World,* which regularly feature work by Oliver Harrington, Bill Andrews, Pele DeLappe, Seymour Joseph and others.

Their work portrays the party's emphasis on the struggle against the monopolies and the aggressive tendency of US imperialism, against the ever-growing military expenditures and their effect on the people's living conditions, and against the racist oppression of Afro-Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, native American Indians and Asian-Americans.

—John Pittman

DIARY

A *WMR* delegation attended the 11th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party at the invitation of its Central Committee. It comprised Konstantin Zarodov, alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee and Editor-in-Chief of the journal, Jeronimo Carrera, Central Committee member of the Communist Party of Venezuela and its representative on the journal, and Karoly Lipkovics, representative of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party on the journal.

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At the Bonn Congress of the German Commusist Party *WMR* was represented by Rudolf Wettengel, member of the Editorial Board and representative of the Socialist Unity Party of German on the journal.

* * *

Hamid Safari, member of the *WMR* Editorial Council and of the Executive Bureau of the People's Party of Iran, and Alexander Didusenko, a member of the *WMR* staff, visited Greece at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece. They met with leaders of local party organisations, the trade-union anti-dictatorship movement (ESAK) and the Young Communist League, and attended a conference of the journal's readers in Athens. The group was received by Charilaos Florakis, First Secretary of the Communist Party.

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A report on the situation in Spain was delivered at an Editorial Council meeting by Santiago Alvarez, member of the Executive Committee and secretary of the Communist Party of Spain.

* * *

Georges Christodoulis, member of the Political Bureau, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, visited our editorial offices. In a talk he noted the important role played by *WMR* in popularising and disseminating the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in Cyprus. Further extension of cooperation was also discussed.

CONFIDENTLY AND CREATIVELY ALONG THE LENINIST ROAD

GUSTAV HUSAK
General Secretary, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

I

The 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, held on April 12-16 1976, summed up the results of the enormous work done by the party and the people in implementing the plans for the years 1971-75 drawn up by the 14th congress. It elaborated and endorsed party policy for the coming period and set guidelines for the further development of socialism in Czechoslovakia.

The congress, which took place on the eve of the 55th anniversary of the founding of our party, performed a job of great importance. A meeting of dedicated builders of socialism, masters of their country with a keen sense of their responsibility and tested in work, its deliberations were permeated with well-justified pride for the successes achieved, realism, creativity, critical exactingness, and determination to cope with new and greater tasks. We can say with full justification that the supreme forum of Czechoslovakia's communists has performed its duty to the party and the people, to the whole international communist and working-class movement.

In assessing our gains and discussing new objectives and the ways of achieving them in the coming years, the 15th Congress provided graphic illustration of the scope, attractive force and practical implementation of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, of the steady advance in building a developed socialist society in Czechoslovakia and its impressive prospects. The congress expressed the party's resolve to continue unswervingly along the Leninist road, expand its 55-year revolutionary heritage, multiply the achievements of more than 30 years of socialist construction. We are proud that our party is true to its role of vanguard of the working class and leading political force in building socialism, that it is acquitting itself with distinction in the great struggles of the international working class, contri-

buting to the realisation of the noble ideas for which generations of revolutionaries had fought.

At their congress Czechoslovak communists spoke highly of the historic significance of the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The results of that forum are a decisive contribution towards the strengthening of revolutionary, progressive, peace-loving forces all over the world, and they met with the broad response and support of the Czechoslovak people.

The whole work of the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was dominated by the spirit of proletarian and socialist internationalism. The congress reaffirmed that Czechoslovakia is an inalienable member of the socialist community, it reaffirmed our resolve to spare no effort to strengthen its unity and expand mutual cooperation. The congress offered vivid manifestation of the spirit of profound fraternal relations between our party and people and the Soviet Union, its Leninist Communist Party, whose tremendous experience is a rich source of ideas and inspiration in our life and further work.

We highly appreciate the fact that our congress was attended by 88 delegations and representatives of communist and workers' parties and progressive movements from all over the world. Their interest in our experience and their speeches at the congress and numerous worker meetings once again demonstrated that the bonds of class and international solidarity are multiplying and growing stronger, that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is closely linked with the broad world front of fighters for peace, social progress, socialism and communism. This found expression in the congress declaration "For Solidarity with the Fighters Against Imperialism, Fascism and Reaction".

II

The congress noted that in the past five years we accomplished much in developing socialism in Czechoslovakia. It also noted that the going was neither simple nor easy. Many obstacles had to be surmounted, a number of serious problems had to be resolved, we had to overcome the consequences of the crisis development, deep political, economic and spiritual deformations caused in the latter sixties by right-wing opportunist and anti-socialist forces.

It was also necessary to tackle problems that had accumulated in the party and society long before 1968. That is why, in defining our general approach to assuring the further development of our socialist society, we could declare at the Congress that "January 1968, as stressed in the Lessons of the Crisis Development in the Party and Society after the 13th Congress of the CPCz', was an expression of the need to resolve the crisis

that had developed in our party and society. Our positive work to implement the policy of the 14th congress, our consistent adherence to the Leninist principles of leadership of the party and the society, enabled us to overcome all that had weakened the party prior to January and in 1968-69 and jeopardised the healthy development of our society."

The implementation of the 14th Congress programme confirmed that that approach was right and that the conclusions on our experience formulated in the document "The Crisis Development in the Party and Society after the 13th CPCz Congress" and in the resolution on party unity were correct.

While fighting against right-wing opportunism as the main danger, and against all other deformations inherited from the preceding period, we never lost sight of new tasks. We concentrated our efforts on them, on carrying out the constructive programme of building a developed socialist society.

The scope and complexity of the problems tackled after the 14th Congress imposed high demands on the research, leading, political, organisational and educational work of the whole party, and especially its leading bodies. At their meetings the Central Committee and its Presidium and Secretariat creatively elaborated and specified congress instructions, reacted to new conditions and requirements, kept close check of the fulfilment of assignments, summed up experience and oriented the party and society on the implementation of decisive tasks.

Despite its constant preoccupation with all the main questions of developing socialism in our country and with foreign policy issues, the Central Committee also attended to the further development of the party itself. Those efforts bore fruit, and the 15th Congress was a manifestation of the inviolable unity, political maturity and revolutionary strength of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

Developments after the 14th Congress reaffirmed our conviction that the party can perform its historic role only when all its work is consistently based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, when it is closely linked with the people, when it is headed by a firm, united, determined leadership. This is one of the most important conclusions we drew in summing up our work: it is of great importance for our continued advance.

The party's well-thought-out realistic policies based on consistent and creative application of Marxism-Leninism were actively and consciously supported by the working class, cooperative farmers, intellectuals, youth, all nations and nationalities of our country. The working people could see for themselves that the programme of the 14th Congress was an expression of their vital interests and the development requirements of our socialist society. That has been and is the source of our people's

confidence in the party, the source of their activity, dedication, inspiration and creative effort. It was once again reaffirmed that when a policy line is correctly defined its success depends in the first place on mass support for the Marxist-Leninist Party, on its ability to mobilise the people for the implementation of its plans.

We approached the implementation of the programme drawn up by the 14th Congress fully awareness of our responsibility not only to our socialist motherland, but to the international revolutionary movement as well. Accordingly, we proceeded from the principle that the comprehensive development of socialist Czechoslovakia is inseparably linked with promoting the strength and unity of the socialist community and friendship and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, our most loyal friend and reliable ally, guarantee of our security and our people's peaceful labours.

Our experience has reaffirmed that socialism can be successfully built and developed only in close collaboration with the other countries of the socialist community, with due account, and creative utilisation, of the general laws and Leninist principles tested in practice by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with its wealth of experience, and by our and other fraternal parties.

In close contact with the people and with the support of our socialist allies, we worked consistently and unswervingly to carry out the programme of the 14th Congress. At the 15th Congress we could proudly report that the programme had been implemented. We are convinced that the period following the 14th Congress will occupy a worthy place in the history of our party, in the history of socialist construction in Czechoslovakia.

III

In the years ahead Czechoslovakia will continue to build a developed socialist society. We see this work as a lengthy process embracing a whole historic stage. In this sense the results of the 15th Congress represent a continuation of the 14th Congress line in present-day domestic and international conditions and at a higher level.

We know from our experience the harm of proclaiming unrealistic goals and attempting to skip necessary stages of social development. We realise with equal clarity the dangers of marking time, since ultimately such delays can lead to backward movement. As socialism progresses people's requirements and demands increase and, in line with changing conditions, the problems we face grow in complexity and importance. Only by resolving them can we add to our achievements to date and forge ahead.

That is why the 15th Congress warned so emphatically against self-satisfaction and complacency. The method of critical exactingness which characterised our congress is fundamental also to the work of all party, government and public bodies and organisations. It implies stricter demands on political maturity and professional knowledge, on selflessness and discipline, on the creative talents of people and their ability to support the new and progressive. It is in keeping with the requirement that life itself brings ever more imperatively to the fore—that of raising the quality and efficiency of our work.

From the rostrum of our congress were echoed the always pertinent and relevant words of V. I. Lenin: "The whole point is not to rest content with the skill we have acquired by previous experience, but *under all circumstances to go on, under all circumstances to strive for something bigger,* under all circumstances to proceed from simpler to more difficult tasks. Otherwise, no progress whatever is possible and in particular no progress is possible in socialist construction" (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 28, p. 192).

The party's political guidelines for the coming period and the programme of further economic and social development approved by the congress envisage great and serious tasks and objectives: ensuring the further flourishing of our socialist motherland and a still fuller and richer life for the Czechoslovak people. That is the fundamental content of our policy, the prime meaning of all our efforts.

The guidelines for the sixth five-year plan approved by the congress specify and expand the principles of the party's economic policy in the coming period. That policy also continues the line of the 14th Congress, the correctness and realism of which was fully confirmed in the past period. In 1971-75 Czechoslovakia's economy developed continuously, dynamically and proportionally. Industrial output increased by 38 per cent, construction by one-half, agricultural output by 14 per cent. More than 90 per cent of the increase in production was achieved through higher labour productivity, which has become the principal factor of economic advance. The country's material and technical base and general economic potential increased by approximately one-third.

Our economic achievements made it possible to meet, and in some cases surpass, the living-standard targets we had set ourselves. They made possible the implementation of an extensive social programme, strengthening and consolidating the people's sense of social security. Personal consumption increased by almost one-quarter, and public consumption by 33 per cent. Substantial progress was made in resolving the housing problem, with 614,000 new modern flats built for roughly two million of our citizens. We have perfected the whole system guaranteeing people's confidence in the future and sense of social security.

We have substantially increased social help for families with children and expanded concern for our youth. Together with the favourable political and economic development of our society, these new measures contributed to a substantial rise in population growth, and now Czechoslovakia occupies a leading place in Europe in this respect. In our efforts to ensure everyone a peaceful old age we have substantially increased pensions. Great attention was given to health protection and raising educational and cultural standards. By maintaining the stability of retail prices we contributed in considerable measure to strengthening our people's confidence in the future. It was once again convincingly demonstrated that in socialist society the fruits of honest labour revert to the people, finding expression in the ever fuller satisfaction of their material and cultural requirements.

In accordance with the decisions of the 15th Congress, the question now is of consolidating and further promoting all positive tendencies and achivements while consistently carrying out the charted economic and social policies.

We know that in launching our sixth five-year plan we are embarking on a new stage, when our economy will be developing in more complex internal and external economic conditions. Successful solution of the tasks facing it calls for much better utilisation of intensive growth factors. It is necessary to perfect the structure and raise the standards of production, increase the volume and effectiveness of exports. make better use of natural resources, including fuller satisfaction of food requirements through domestic production. This is an active policy which will require sustained efforts to implement it, but it will serve to shield our economy from the effects of rising world raw material prices.

Efficiency and quality are the hallmarks of the sixth five-year plan. the prime condition of its implementation and of assuring the further growth of the people's living standards.

We estimate that in the course of this quinquennium personal consumption will increase by one-quarter, primarily as a result of higher earnings. By 1980 average monthly wages will rise to about 2,700 crowns. In accordance with our policy of fostering confidence in the future. we shall continue our line of maintaining the stability of retail prices of prime necessities. Allocations for public consumption—primarily schools, public health, social security, child benefits, care for the younger and elder generations, promotion of spiritual and physical culture and sports—will be 38 per cent higher than in the preceding quinquennium. We shall continue extensive housing construction and tackle vital problems of protecting and improving the environment.

The planned rise in living standards imposes high demands on work efficiency. Under the sixth five-year plan industrial output and construction are to increase by more than one-third, and agriculture by 14-15 per cent

We shall carry out an extensive investment programme designed to strengthen our country's entire material and technical base and raise it to a higher level. To this end we have set our sights on substantially accelerating scientific and technological progress in our continued economic and social development. We shall extend the involvement of our economy in international division of labour, in the first place through closer cooperation with the Soviet Union and other CMEA member-countries. We also consider it necessary to continue to improve the system of planned management with the aim of making fuller use of the advantages of socialism. We shall expand worker participation in management, encourage advanced training and promote creative activity and initiative among the workers.

The tasks we set ourselves at the 15th Congress in the economic and social spheres are great indeed. However, our possibilities and capabilities have also increased and we have gained much experience. We are confident that we possess everything necessary to ensure the continued all-round development of the economy and, on this basis, the continued growth of living standards.

IV

Due to the need to solve social, economic, cultural and ideological problems on a comprehensive basis, the 15th Congress stressed, the role of the subjective factor logically increases. Our experience shows that it is the role of the Marxist-Leninist party that increases in the first place, its importance as the leading, guiding and integrating factor in social development. At the same time, greater demands are imposed on the efficiency and quality of work of government and public bodies and organisations, and the political consciousness and organised activity of the masses gain in importance.

We proceed from the fact that in this past period the growth of our country's economic strength and the consolidation of socialist production relations have been accompanied by favourable changes in the social structure of our society. The leading role and ideological maturity of the working class have increased and the workers' educational and cultural standards have improved. The all-round development of society has brought the workers, cooperative farmers and intellectuals closer together and made for progress in gradually eliminating distinctions between town and countryside and in achieving the stronger moral and political unity of our people led by the Communist Party.

The development level attained affords new opportunities for these important social and political processes to go deeper. The 15th Congress therefore called for continued effort to strengthen the leading role of the

working class, use its creative energies as widely as possible, raise the level of its activity and political consciousness, extend its participation and influence in politics and other public spheres and improve its working and living conditions. Bringing the workers, cooperative farmers and intellectuals still closer together in the years ahead will be the main line of perfecting the structure of our socialist society.

The congress set important tasks with a view to building up the unity and fraternal cooperation of the Czechs, Slovaks, and other peoples of Czechoslovakia. Relations between them are based on the principles of equality, equal rights and proletarian internationalism. It is fair to say that the settlement of the nationality question on the Leninist principle of socialist federation, the correctness of which has been fully demonstrated in practice, is one of the most important results of our socialist construction. The Congress had every reason to put on record that the major differences in the economic, political and cultural conditions of our nations and the population of various regions of the country had been overcome. This is a great achievement of our Party.

In accordance with congress guidelines, we shall continue to provide conditions for the all-round development of our socialist nations and nationalities, for the development of their progressive traditions and national cultures. While fully respecting national distinctions, we consider that the decisive thing is what unites us and enables us to use the advantages of the socialist system for making overall progress and building up the might of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

One of the main features of our social development since the 14th Party Congress is further consolidation of the socialist character of our system, the expansion and improvement of the economic organisational work and cultural and educational efforts of our state at all levels, the expansion of socialist democracy. The ramified system of political parties and mass organisations affiliated to the National Front and of democratically elected representative bodies ranging from the national committees to the Czech and Slovak national councils and the Federal Assembly, enables millions to participate in the management of public affairs, in decision-making on political, economic and cultural problems of our life. The 15th Congress expressed its appreciation of the growing activity of all the National Front parties and organisations, the improved work of national committees, other representative bodies and the state apparatus as a whole, and their contribution to the implementation of party policy.

We will continue to regard the National Front, an embodiment of the class alliance of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, of all working people, of all the nations and nationalities of our country, as a tried and tested form of our political system. Through its numerous organisations, the

front helps to meet the interests of diverse social strata and population groups and ensure people's active and creative participation in leadership and management. It also coordinates the people's efforts in building socialism. In this connection, the congress emphasises the particularly important role of the revolutionary trade-union movement.

Our state, an instrument of the working class and other working people, is genuinely democratic. The roots of its democratic system, which is unmatched in any bourgeois state, lie in a broad class, social basis.

Large sections of our people not only participate through democratic institutions and organisations in exploring and charting of the surest paths for the further development of society but are the main force carrying out the goals set. They take an active part in the framing, implementation and verification of our policy. It is in this way, by using diverse forms, that our people fully exercise their rights and freedoms and that the results of their labour and revolutionary gains are preserved.

In keeping with congress decisions, we will abide by the principle that the processes of strengthening the socialist state and deepening socialist democracy are interconnected. Socialist democracy connotes both enjoyment of rights and conscious fulfilment of duties. The more actively people participate in management and leadership and in the realisation of the tasks and objectives of society, the stronger the socialist state becomes. This is a conclusion we have repeatedly found to be correct, especially of late.

The 15th Congress had every reason to state that education, science, culture and art have been making progress in the past years. We have registered notable advances in fostering socialist consciousness. The ideas of socialism and Marxist-Leninist ideology have won greater influence in our society, and the various aspects of the socialist way of life manifest themselves ever more forcefully. People are becoming more strongly aware of their responsibility to the collective and to society as a whole and show a growing desire to raise their educational and cultural standards and acquire socialist ideological and moral qualities.

In the period ahead the party will continue to encourage people to master the scientific world outlook, so that it could help them understand the laws of social development and they could contribute their work and public activity to the historic cause of building socialism with deep inner conviction.

V

The tasks which our further development faces us will make it necessary to be more exacting primarily towards the party itself, its unity, its leading role, its efficiency. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is a big political force. It has 1,382,860 full and candidate members belonging to

43,506 branches. Since its 14th Congress, it has admitted 333,952 candidate members. Over 62 per cent of them are workers. We see a noteworthy political gain in the fact that for the first time in 23 years, the proportion of workers in the party has stopped decreasing and, moreover, is growing again. It is also very important that a turn for the better has occurred in the age composition of the party. Over 90 per cent of the candidate members admitted since the 14th Congress are under 35 years of age, and more than 50 per cent, under 25. Young party members and candidates now make up one-fourth of the membership.

In this connection, the 15th Congress also defined its attitude to those citizens with whom the party had to part in overcoming the crisis because they had made mistakes. Since the 14th Congress, we have taken a differentiated approach to those expelled from the party or struck off the list of members. Those who were not issued with a new party card enjoy all civil rights and have every opportunity to take part in politics within National-Front organisations. A substantial majority of them have realised their mistakes and errors and contribute their labour to the progress of our society. Rightist spokesmen find themselves in absolute political isolation and their political ambitions and concepts have failed completely.

The congress stressed that there is no need to change anything in the policy of differentiated approach. On the other hand, taking account of the experience gained, the congress came to the following conclusion: "Those who were not active exponents of right-wing opportunism, who work well now, proving through deeds that they adhere firmly and sincerely to a socialist position and to our stand for friendship with the Soviet Union, and who actively support the policy of our party can be readmitted to its ranks, provided each particular case is considered separately."

In the past period we have seen to it that party committees and organisations steadfastly applied the principle of democratic centralism, approached problems in principled fashion and creatively, and allowed no discrepancies between words and deeds, no subjectivism or formalism. We have regarded qualitative improvements in internal life and the use of better work methods as the main prerequisite of strengthening and deepening the party's leading role in every public sphere. These problems of party work were first examined as a complex at the November 1974 plenum of the CC CPCz.

The 15th Congress stressed the need for continued close attention to all aspects of party life; its composition, the education of communists, especially young party members, unfailing application of the Leninist standards of party life and the principles of democratic centralism. The congress defined it as a standing task to strengthen party unity and the cohesion of the party with the people, encourage the initiative of the masses and generalise their experience.

An important requisite of improving the work of party committees and organisations is for more and more communists to master the Leninist style of work, to tackle problems from the sandpoint of principle and in creative fashion. In this connection, the congress stressed the need for a scientific and comprehensive approach to social processes, for deepening the principles of collective leadership, exercising steadfast and systematic control as an inseparable component of management, and fostering criticism and self-criticism, those tried and tested methods of educating people and removing shortcomings.

The party's personnel policy is a decisive instrument of influencing social development. The congress noted with satisfaction the activity of people promoted to leading posts after the crisis and the period following the 14th Congress. We will continue to strive for healthy stability of our cadres. However, taking account of current and future tasks, the Congress pointed to the need to make higher demands, especially of leading personnel, in regard to political maturity, professional competence, moral and human qualities, the ability to work with people, and to promote more boldly eligible young men and women to key positions.

VI

The 15th Congress defined the foreign policy of our party and state. It was well aware that the progress of socialism depends on providing peaceful conditions for the labour of all our people.

The congress re-emphasised that deepening our friendship and alliance and promoting all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community remains a fundamental and invariable principle of our foreign policy.

We think highly of the successful materialisation of the Peace Programme adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress. It has led to a healthier international climate and created the prerequisites of making detente irreversible. Achieving durable world peace has become a realistic objective and no effort should be spared for it.

We gave credit for these noteworthy gains, first of all, to the persevering peace policy of the Soviet Union, the CPSU and the General Secretary of its Central Committee, L. I. Brezhnev. The socialist community fully supports this policy, which also owes its success to the growing activity of progressive, anti-imperialist, democratic forces all over the world. Socialist Czechoslovakia, too, has contributed to it.

The 15th CPCz Congress unanimously voiced its endorsement of the Programme of Further Struggle for Peace, International Cooperation, and the Freedom and Independence of Peoples approved by the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We regard it as our own

programme in the full meaning of the world, for it meets the vital interests of our people and the requirements of the peaceful socialist development of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Czechoslovakia's communists see the unity, efficiency and further development of the international communist and working-class movement as a cherished cause. This is why they are taking an active part in preparations for the conference of European communist and workers' parties, which they hope will live up to the expectations of the world communist and working-class movement, of all revolutionary and democratic forces. Our party is convinced that the document approved by the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties has greatly benefited the international communist and working-class movement as a whole. The programme adopted at the time has in the main been carried out and has proved correct. We believe it would be useful to hold a new international meeting of communist and workers' parties.

At the 15th Congress, we reaffirmed our unqualified solidarity with the liberation struggle of peoples against imperialist domination and voiced our resolve to help in strengthening the vast front of the progressive, anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces of the world. We continue to regard it as our internationalist duty to fight unrelentingly against Maoism, which links up with extreme reaction in pursuing its chauvinist aims.

The communists and people of Czechoslovakia sincerely appreciate the achievements of the socialist community which have produced a fundamental change in the balance of forces in favour of socialism. Due to the activity of all progressive and peace-loving forces, the peoples of Europe have entered their fourth decade of peace. We will therefore continue doing all in our power to help provide conditions for the creative labour and peaceful life of the peoples of the globe.

The results achieved over the past five years and the full acceptance of the decisions of our party's 15th Congress by the whole party and the Czechoslovak people, show our home and foreign policy to be correct. We are moving on to a new stage of our work with well-founded confidence and optimism. We will do everything for the programme of the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to be carried out because it is a programme for the further advancement of our socialist country, for our people's growing prosperity and happiness.

DEVELOPED SOCIALISM: THE IMMEDIATE TASK

TODOR ZHIVKOV

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Congresses have always been landmarks in our party's life and have invariably had a tremendous impact on the destiny of our people and on the social, political, economic and cultural development of our country. This is why all Bulgarian communists and the people as a whole followed the deliberations of the 11th BCP congress (March 29-April 2, 1976) with keen attention. Congress sessions were carried live on radio and television and given wide coverage in the press. As a result, virtually all Bulgarians, communists as well as non-communists, as it were became participants in it. The party's truthful and inspired message was carried to every corner of our country and found response in the working people's hearts and minds. One can say the congress reached every Bulgarian home.

Furthermore, friends and comrades from countries far and near, all who are interested in the Bulgarian communists' activities, in our people's life, had the opportunity to follow congress deliberations. The Congress was attended by 105 delegations from communist and workers' parties and from socialist and national-democratic parties, organisations and movements

A most important result of the 11th Congress is that, proceeding from the BCP Programme adopted by the 10th Congress (1971), it formulated with due regard to present-day realities the country's specific tasks in completing the construction of a developed socialist society and in effecting the transition to communism. "The immediate historic task of the Bulgarian Communist Party", the CC BCP Report says, "is to build a developed socialist society and prepare for the gradual transition to communism."

In drafting the Party Programme adopted by the previous congress, we held that, given favourable international conditions, our people would build a developed socialist society in roughly twenty years and would then set

about gradually effecting the transition to communism. When the programme was being discussed and endorsed this time limit was just a forecast. Having assessed the progress made and looking ahead to the not-to-distant future, we are certain it is realistic. The period between now and 1990 will, in the opinion of the congress, see now, far-reaching qualitative and impressive quantitative achievements in every sphere of our society. These achievements will gradually lead to fully building the material and technical basis for socialism, perfecting social relations still further and harmoniously developing the individual. The People's Republic of Bulgaria will become a country of mature socialism.

It goes without saying that none of us imagines that a developed socialist society will be built and the gradual transition to communism begun as a consequence of the automatic operation of objective social laws. The pact of this process and the choice of the most effective ways and means depends to a decisive extent on the ability to make maximum use of the advantages of the socialist system, direct social processes and mobilise the people's experience and creative effort.

The party has never concealed it from the people that building a mature socialist society will not be easy and will meet with difficulties and obstacles. Now as in the past, the new develops and gains strength in struggle against the old, the obsolete. No big task, especially a task so important to our people, can be accomplished without overcoming difficulties. The effort to surmount them increases still further the party's responsibility to the people.

The 11th Congress devoted special attention to a number of key problems of building a developed socialist society. First among them is that of completing the material and technical base of socialism.

The CC report stresses that since the 10th Congress Bulgaria has made considerable headway in building and strengthening the material and technical basis for a developed socialist society. Suffice it to say that our country holds one of the first places in the world in economic growth rate. In the previous five-year period the national income increased by 46 per cent. labour productivity went up by more than 44 per cent. It is important to note that we owe 98.6 per cent of the increase in the national income to higher productivity.

There is qualitative progress in production structures. The ratio between industrial and agricultural production has changed from 77.1 : 22.9 to 81.2:18.8. The share of industry in the national income is up from 49 to 54.6 per cent.

Development is particularly dynamic in those industries on which technological progress and economic efficiency primarily depend: power, including nuclear power, the chemical and petrochemical industries and

electronics. The 11th Congress stated explicitly that we can only build and expand the material and technical basis of socialism by using the latest and most promising achievements of the scientific and technological revolution.

These achievements make it possible to reach the main social and economic target of the seventh five-year plan: steadily implementing the party line of meeting the people's material and spiritual requirements more and more fully by assuring the dynamic and proportional development of the economy, rapidly increasing labour productivity and the efficiency and quality of production through the prompt use of scientific and technological achievements, heightening the people's socialist awareness and firmly establishing the socialist way of life. Higher efficiency and higher quality for higher living standards is, thus, the strategic target of the five-year plan.

Man, the builder of the material and technical basis, without whose efforts technology, however perfect, would be dead, is the main productive force. Accordingly the congress has special attention to the problem of ensuring his further development. The party has always paid the closest attention to changes in the nature of work and in the social consciousness, mentality and behaviour of the working man. It strives to provide conditions for the proper regulation of social and class relations, for the formation and development of new relations between people based on comradeship, cooperation, collectivism and mutual assistance. Such relations are not only an important distinguishing feature of socialism but a powerful factor for its rapid progress.

As our country makes further headway it will work for the solution of the complicated historic problem of removing essential distinctions between town and countryside, between physical and mental labour. Eliminating social and class distinctions and fostering the community of interests of all members of society are two aspects of the process of moulding a harmoniously developed individual.

It is safe to say that while we still come across people lacking socialist consciousness to one extent or another, the socialist individual has, nevertheless, become predominant due to objective changes in society and under the impact of the party's educational work. On the other hand, people's culture, behaviour and morality are not always in keeping with socialist standards. That is why our task is to involve all people in our efforts to foster and ensure the harmonious development of the socialist individual. This will continue to be a key concern of the party and the society.

The important thing in this process is to enhance people's public activity, first of all their creative participation in labour, achieve a correct attitude to socialist property, the mainstay of the socialist system, and assure application of the socialist principle of distribution according to quantity and quality of work. This principle will also play a key role under mature

socialism, during the transition to communism, that is, until the objective and subjective conditions are provided for introducing the communist principle, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs".

The 11th Congress expressed its appreciation of the party's effort to foster a socialist attitude to labour in people. However, it also spoke of shortcomings in this field. For instance, we have no reason to be satisfied with the present state of discipline. People continue to infringe discipline in regard to labour, planning, contracts and finance, and yet those who do so are shown undue leniency. Discipline in production is not only an economic matter but an indicator of the development level of the individual, of his social awareness, his sense of responsibility to himself and society and, in the final analysis, his attitude to the socialist system.

Man in developed socialist society was the central theme of the congress. The harmonious development of the individual is unthinkable without continued effort to establish the new, socialist way of life. The party has concerned itself with this problem especially since the December 1972 plenum of its Central Committee. The congress gave it the closest attention.

It is well known that at every stage of social development the way of life is conditioned by the mode of production and the character of the given socio-economic formation. In *The German Ideology*, Marx and Engels stressed that the mode of production should not be regarded as a mere reproduction of the physical existence of individuals. "Rather", they wrote, "it is a definite form of activity of these individuals, a definite form of expressing their life, a definite *mode of life* on their part. As individuals express their life, so they are" (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology*, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1968, p. 32).

The socialist way of life is a result of deep changes in every sphere of human activity. Exploitation is abolished and so are unfair distribution of material and spiritual riches and anti-humane relations. Conditions are created for steadily improving the people's material and cultural standards. Even in underdeveloped countries, victorious socialism does more than the most developed capitalist countries to meet such vital requirements of the people as full employment, social protection of labour, organised rest and recreation, care of children, health services, social security and maternity protection. It gives the people free access to every form of education and unprecedented opportunities to share in national and world culture and take part in public life.

Thus, the socialist way of life is a comprehensive, many-sided concept born of the socialist revolution and encompassing virtually every aspect of social development. Its material basis is the degree to which man's requirements are met. The December plenum of the Central Committee

approved a programme of higher living standards—a forceful indication of the party's concern for the people. It sets as the principal and immediate task of social production and a guideline in drafting the country's social and economic development plans the attainment of specific targets in satisfying the people's material and cultural requirements. The basic principle is that comprehensive satisfaction of the working people's material and spiritual needs should be in accordance with scientifically-based standards of consumption and make at the same time for the harmonious development of the individual.

The decisions of the December plenum are being steadfastly carried out. In the sixth five-year period, the working people's real income increased by 32.4 per cent, against 25-30 per cent envisaged by the guidelines. Minimum pay went up from 65 leva in 1970 to 80 leva in 1973, against 70 leva planned for the end of the period; average monthly pay rose from 124 to 146 leva. Nominal incomes of cooperative farmers have almost drawn level with those of wage and salary earners.

Remuneration according to the quantity and quality of work will also remain the principal source and basic form of growing incomes in the seventh five-year period. Average monthly pay is to be increased to nearly 170 leva and minimum pay, to 90 leva by 1980.

An important part in raising the standard of life will also be played by public funds spent on education, health care, culture and social security. They are to be used for carrying out a series of important social measures to stimulate the efforts of the best workers in industry and agriculture and of salary earners and for improving the living conditions of big families, low-income families, working women, pensioners, solitary elderly people and students.

The following figures give an idea of advances in meeting the working people's material requirements. In 1975, per capita consumption of meat and meat products increased in comparison with 1970 from 41.4 to 57 kg, of milk and dairy products from 152.1 to 174 litres, fresh and canned vegetables from 88.9 to 94 kg, and eggs from 122 to 145. More textiles, clothing, footwear and durables were sold. According to the guidelines approved by the congress, overall consumption in the seventh five-year period should increase by almost one-half.

To continue perfecting the socialist way of life, it is essential to improve the environment. The party approaches this problem as a complex task which includes measures to modernise residential communities, improve housing and working conditions and recreational facilities and protect the natural environment. One of the tasks we have set ourselves is to work out a precise conception of territorial development. Urban development will proceed on the basis of communities linked together to form a single system incorporating both industries and services.

Housing conditions have improved. Over 240,000 flats were built under the sixth five-year plan and per capita dwelling space today averages 13.3 sq. m. We consider, however, that in spite of the progress made the housing problem has not yet been solved, especially in big cities and industrial areas. The party regards it as a strategic problem of our social policy and intends to seek an early and comprehensive solution to it. The 11th Congress resolved that another 400,000 flats would be built in the seventh five-year period.

The effort to improve the standard of living, meet the growing demand for goods and services in increasing measure and improve the environment has nothing to do with the "consumer approach". We see this as the basis for qualitative changes in the moral make-up and way of life.

The people's active participation in the management of socialist society is part of the socialist way of life. The growing scale of social changes and the scientific and technological revolution are leading to a high degree of socialisation, concentration and intensification of production and to strengthening centralised management of major territorial units. All this is fraught with the danger of setting economic management at a distance from the people, from their problems and concerns. This is why the party has lately been taking steps to improve social management, use new forms of extending people's participation in social decision-making and carry forward socialist democracy.

The party has done much to introduce a uniform system of social management in line with the present development level of society and with scientific and technological achievements. Experience shows that an inflated system inevitably becomes bureaucratised and cannot provide efficient management. This prompts us to take steps to simplify management, cut its costs and raise its competence and efficiency.

Application of the state-public and public-state principles has become one of the main lines of perfecting social management. Further progress has been made in using various forms of direct and representative participation in the management of economic organisations by workers and cooperative farmers. General meetings, delegates' meetings, economic committees and councils afford real opportunities for the constant and active participation of workers and cooperative farmers in management and make them more keenly aware of their responsibility for carrying out decisions. After the 10th Congress, a new, original form of direct democracy known as counter-plan was devised in line with Lenin's ideas. It enables millions of working people to contribute to the better organisation of production and reveal further possibilities of raising the productivity of social labour and rapidly improving the standard of living.

We see an important line of developing democracy in increasing the role of the Fatherland Front, the trade unions, the Dimitrov Young Com-

munist League, the committee and councils of Bulgarian women and numerous other cultural, scientific and sports organisations.

The Fatherland Front, the broadest socio-political organisation and nation-wide movement, plays an important part in the political system of our society. Its activity helps to strengthen links between government agencies, especially people's councils, and the population. The front educates the population from the point of view of class commitment, patriotism and internationalism and strives to create a healthy social and psychological climate in communities and increase the role of the family and of public opinion in the communist education of the rising generation.

A very definite role—one that has taken shape in the course of history—is played in the development of Bulgarian society and in the country's life generally by the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union (BAPU). The alliance of two parties became indispensable in the struggle to overthrow bourgeois rule and grew stronger after the socialist revolution. Although radical changes have occurred in the social structure of our society in the course of building socialism, the BAPU does much to mobilise the working people, especially in rural areas, even now that a developed socialist society is being built. The communists' attitude to their allies is seen in the fact that the new Bulgarian Constitution says: "The Bulgarian Communist Party guides the construction of a developed socialist society in the People's Republic of Bulgaria in close fraternal cooperation with the Bulgarian Agricultural People's Union."

At the 11th Congress we reaffirmed our loyalty to the fraternal friendship and cooperation of communists and BAPU members and hailed the BAPU's comprehensive activity both at home—in building socialism in the countryside—and on the international scene—in promoting the unity of peasant and democratic parties and movements in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress. The congress demonstrated both the unity of party ranks and the firmness of the worker-peasant alliance.

In our trade unions, attention focuses on the public activity and labour of workers and employees, on their participation in economic management and in government. The socialist emulation movement is better organised, and so is ideological, political and cultural work among the masses.

The party devotes special attention to the youth, to their ideological, patriotic and internationalist education. Our people are rightly proud of the Dimitrov Young Communist League, of our young men and women devoted to communism. However, we had to point out at the congress that the organising work of YCL committees and organisations shows serious weaknesses and shortcomings which tell on their activity. Specifically, we are concerned about the fact that some of our young people adopt a consumer attitude to life, seek a petty-bourgeois kind of prosperity and shun work. To be sure, the overwhelming majority of our youth are

worthy sons and daughters of their socialist epoch with bright minds and pure hearts, with sound ideas and moral principles. Nevertheless, YCL leaders do not always rely on them to create an atmosphere of public intolerance of attitudes virtually expressive of bourgeois views and morals.

Young people are more sensitive to injustice, indifference, or self-seeking than adults. They find it hard to distinguish between things of secondary importance and things that really matter, between the typical and the accidental and transient, between the new, which is gaining the upper hand, and that which is doomed to disappear as our social progress goes on. If left to their own resources, they are likely to form incorrect notions of life, society or human nature. That is why the Young Communist League, to which great credit is due for communist education, should work harder to impart a scientific world outlook and moral integrity to young people. It should teach them never to tolerate violations of the moral and human standards of the socialist way of life and inspire them with the desire to join in building the new, just, socialist society.

One of the league's key tasks is to help young people to make the best use of their free time and provide suitable recreational facilities. Undoubtedly, this is also a task of party, government and non-governmental bodies and organisations, of economic and administrative executives.

In speaking of socialist democracy, of providing the most extensive rights and freedoms, we must also bear in mind the other aspect of the matter, the fact that these rights are inseparable from one's duties and obligations to the state. Socialist democracy implies that all citizens equally fulfil their duties to society. This is a requisite of carrying forward democracy itself.

The arts, culture, and the mass information and propaganda media play a big role in establishing the socialist way of life in people's Bulgaria. Our finest writers and artists have created works which truthfully and impressively represent the main aspects of life in our country, the problems of the new man's growth. These valuable manifestations of our socialist culture confirm the fruitfulness of the method of socialist realism and the correctness of the decisions of the CC BCP plenum in April 1956, which fully restored the Leninist standards of party life and the Leninist principles of leadership, including guidance of the arts and letters.

We must stress, however, that the apparent shift towards contemporary problems has yet to produce a corresponding shift in mastering contemporary themes in all their historic magnitude and significance. There is an obvious desire to develop truthful, communist, partisan art. There is also a desire to create ideologically and artistically significant works dealing with our epoch. And there is no dearth of talent among creative artists of all generations. The main obstacles to materialising lofty aspirations and

designs seem to lie in an inadequate knowledge of life and in underestimation of the need to achieve high standards of artistic skill.

It is gratifying to note that the artists themselves, as well as unions of creative workers and the Committee on Art and Culture, a public-state body, are becoming increasingly aware of these weaknesses. In recent years, district party committees and government bodies, for their part, have been giving art workers serious help in studying problems of life. This is a new development showing how deeply our society is interested in the appearance of noteworthy works of art on contemporary themes.

Creating national artistic values and acquainting oneself with the artistic achievements of other peoples should not be an end in itself. These values and achievements should be made available to as many people as possible. This is why we are working on a programme of nationwide aesthetic education.

The Party's efforts to mould the socialist individual and promote the socialist way of life would be inconceivable without active participation of the mass media. The press, television, radio, news agencies and publishing houses are the main channels for dissemination of socialist spiritual values and political education of the masses. They do not merely supply information on events at home and abroad or report the people's efforts but take a direct part in organising those efforts. Our country has 85 national and district newspapers published in a total of over five million copies, and 207 periodicals brought out in 3,200,000 copies. In 1975, we published 19,900 books in a total of 230 million copies. There are more than 1.5 million T.V. sets and around 2.7 million wireless receivers, transistors and plug-in radios. The television and radio network has an audience ranging between five and six million. The task now is to raise the ideological and, above all, professional standards of the mass media.

The party considers that in building a developed socialist society, it is necessary, as well as perfecting socialist democracy, to promote criticism and self-criticism. In a society which is free from antagonistic contradictions and has achieved unity of the fundamental interests of all classes and groups on the basis of the historic goals of the working class, criticism and self-criticism are an indispensable and effective means of promptly revealing new problems, reappraising outdated social forms and mechanisms, eliminating the old and encouraging the new, and preventing departures from socialist standards. Unlike all previous revolutions, Marx pointed out, proletarian revolutions "constantly criticise themselves". Socialist society cannot renovate itself without constantly exposing and removing shortcomings. This is why the extent of criticism and self-criticism is a measure of the maturity of socialist society.

In stressing the importance of this objective law, which will play a still greater part during the transition to communism, the party knows that the

state of criticism and self-criticism in party organisations has a decisive impact on the attitude to them in all other spheres of public life. Obviouly, criticism and self-criticism would not be possible without the initiative, example and support of leading bodies.

The Bulgarian people's growing material and spiritual standards of life and their advance to developed socialism have lately been going on in a climate of detente and assertion of the Leninist principles of peaceful co-existence. This process is due primarily to the change in the alignment of forces between the two opposed systems in favour of socialism, a result of the socialist community's consistent peace policy.

The trend towards detente has been politically and legally recognised in a system of treaties and agreements signed by socialist and capitalist countries. Of particular importance are the agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States—they constitute a real step towards eliminating the threat of nuclear war. The successful outcome of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was a historic event in international relations.

However, we realise that lately the enemies of détente have stepped up their intrigues in an effort to halt or even turn back the process of creating a healthier international climate. This makes it incumbent on all champions of peace and international security to intensify their activity. It means that the peoples themselves must influence foreign policy more strongly than ever. There can be no doubt that dissemination of the ideas set forth in the foreign policy programme of the 25th CPSU Congress will lead to an uptrend in the struggle for these noble goals, which meet the interests of all mankind.

We have stressed more than once, and we said again at the 11th Party Congress, that credit for the success of the policy of detente is due to hundreds of millions of people all over the world, diverse democratic forces and movements and the ruling quarters of those capitalist countries which took a realistic stand on the issue of war and peace in the world of today. The socialist community, which put forward the idea of the Helsinki Conference and worked hard for its success, plays a role of the first importance. But we have no doubt that the Soviet Union and the CPSU made the decisive contribution to the effort to create and establish a new climate on earth.

The ideological struggle is particularly important today. The 11th Congress stressed that a key task of central ideological bodies and every party branch is to carry on an uncompromising ideological offensive against every manifestation of bourgeois ideology, against right and "left"-wing revisionism, Maoism and anti-Sovietism, bar them from our country and cooperate on a growing scale and ever more fruitfully with

the CPSU and the communist parties of other fraternal socialist countries in the field of ideology.

A most important feature of the present stage of building socialism is the growing integration of fraternal socialist countries and the fact ever closer relations are developing between Bulgaria and other members of the socialist community, especially the Soviet Union. The more headway the brother countries make in developing their productive forces and the greater their scientific and technological progress, the stronger the natural need for their integration. At the same time conditions are more and more favourable for steadily translating integration into reality. Meaningful effort by the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties must play a highly important part in this. We consider that at this stage it is most essential to work out and agree a long-range strategy for the social and economic policies of the CMEA countries, a strategy reflecting the main development trends of each country and the community as a whole.

Closer relations in every field and integration with the Soviet Union and deepening cooperation and integrational links with other socialist countries play a big role in raising productivity of social labour and economic efficiency as a whole. They confront us with major theoretical and practical problems of economic management, the elaboration of synchronised normative systems, and the content of educational work.

We are particularly happy that since the 10th Congress we have reached a new stage in developing our friendship with the Soviet Union, a stage characterised by a qualitatively new content of all-round cooperation and closer bonds between our countries and peoples. From the platform of the 11th Congress we said once again that we Bulgarian communists, the working men and women of our country, the Bulgarian people as a whole, cannot conceive of building a developed socialist society and then communism in Bulgaria other than shoulder to shoulder with our Soviet brothers and sisters, by closely cooperating in every field with Lenin's Party, in conditions of increasingly organic relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

We take a new approach to the problem of the internationalist and patriotic education of the Bulgarian people. In our view, patriotism today is not merely love of one's country but love of one's socialist country and is therefore socialist patriotism in which loyalty to communist ideas and the internationalism prompted by it are inseparable.

The content and forms of internationalism continuously undergo qualitative changes. With the rise of the revolutionary working-class movement, internationalism assumed a definite class character clearly formulated by

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in that magnificent slogan of the *Communist Manifesto*, "Workers of all lands, unite!". We consider that after the victory of the October Revolution it was fraternal solidarity with the Soviet Union, the first state of workers and peasants, that became a characteristic of proletarian internationalism. Georgi Dimitrov defined the attitude to Lenin's great country—the hope of working mankind and the bulwark of the world revolutionary process—as "the touchstone of internationalism".

World War II made a further breach in the capitalist world. As pointed out at the congress on the basis of proletarian internationalism there developed socialist internationalism—an expression of the common interests of the working class and the peoples of countries following a socialist path. Progress in socialist construction and integration processes in the spheres of defence, the economy, science, culture, ideology and politics carried forward the unity and cohesion of the countries of the CMEA and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation. With the transition to the stage of building a developed socialist society in our country, especially after the adoption of the new BCP Programme, socialist patriotism and socialist internationalism began to merge and to enrich one another. To our country and people, this is by no means a matter of theoretical research but a living reality, part of our very existence. We have reason to say, for example, that in the sphere of Bulgarian-Soviet relations, the Bulgarian people are developing a new patriotic and internationalist consciousness and that a new type of patriotism is developing and asserting itself in which love of Bulgaria and love of the Soviet Union complement and enrich each other and fuse into one sentiment and one consciousness.

This is why the BCP will continue steadfastly to promote fraternal Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, friendship and cooperation with the peoples of the socialist community, with communists and progressives throughout the world, and will work to ensure that every Bulgarian develops a high degree of class, party, patriotic and internationalist consciousness.

These are some of the fundamental problems raised by the 11th BCP Congress and dominating the life of every Bulgarian today.

On the 20th anniversary of the April plenum of the CC, which was of historic significance to the party and country, we look back with deep satisfaction at the results achieved. Gains in every social, political, economic and cultural sphere have confirmed beyond doubt the correctness and vitality of the party's April line. A Leninist, creative line, it was carried forward and found expression in both the Party Programme and new party documents, the decisions of the 11th Congress. All these decisions will unquestionably be put into effect, for the congress, in turn, showed that the Bulgarian Communist Party is the real vanguard of the working class and the recognised leader of the people and is closely

united. As our advance continues elements typical of the communist phase will gain ground in our socialist society, as well the prerequisites of the gradual transition to building communism. There is no insurmountable wall or historical vacuum between the further progress of socialism and the construction of communism. The two make up one continuous process—a law-governed transition from the lower to the higher phase of communist society.

FRANCE'S FUTURE : SOCIALISM

PAUL COURTIEU
French CP Representative on WMR

The 22nd Congress of the French Communist Party will remain an important event in the history of the party and in national political life. The preparations for it and its proceedings vividly demonstrated the party's growing unity. The draft document drawn up for the congress by the Central Committee sparked an unprecedented extensive, lively, and serious debate. Out of 22,705 delegates who took part in federation conferences only 12 voted against it, and 85 abstained. At the congress all 1,522 delegates unanimously endorsed the document with amendments.

The congress had the task of reaffirming, enriching and particularising the party's political strategy of many years. It had to answer questions concerning the nation's future and outline a correct political perspective.

France's social, economic and political realities have placed the question of radical change on the order of the day. French society is in the grip of a deep, protracted global crisis affecting all spheres: economic, social, cultural, political, ideological and moral. Its sources must be sought in the fact that the big bourgeoisie has appropriated the nation's resources and the fruits of the people's labour, sacrificing them to the profit interests of economic and industrial magnates. Today, 25 financial and industrial groups dominate French society. They are effectively directed by no more than 250 persons; some thirty of these hold directorships in one or more of the most powerful groups.

The Giscard government's internal policies, placed wholly in the service of big capital, draw the country deeper and deeper into the throes of the crisis. Those policies, which benefit several major capitalist companies, compel the masses to tighten their belts still more: prices, rent and taxes keep rising, the purchasing ability of wages and social security payments is declining, unemployment and semi-employment are up, farmers' income are down, more artisans and shopkeepers face ruin.

Giscard d'Estaing's foreign policy, which places France's independence and sovereignty in mortal jeopardy, also contributes to the deepening of the crisis and to deteriorating living standards. It is fully in line with the global strategy pursued and inspired by the United States. As Georges Marchais said in his report at the congress, that policy "represents a new type of Atlantism".

The crisis gripping France calls in question the functioning and very survival of the capitalist system characterised by the domination of a small but all-powerful caste of billionaires over the economy and the state. It is indicative of a *profound discrepancy between society's economic, social and political structures and the exigencies of economic progress and national development, the vital needs of the working people and the nation.*

The communists are conducting a ceaseless struggle in all spheres against the consequences of those policies, to limit their baneful effects, and achieve the maximum possible in present conditions. What is needed to take the country out of the crisis, tangibly improve the conditions of everyone and assure a new national revival is **real** and **profound** change, a change in **policy**, a change in **power**, a change in **society.**

This demand has been at the hub of the political and ideological struggle in France for the last few years. That struggle sharpened considerably following the 1974 presidential elections, when the popular movement embraced about 50 per cent of all French men and women. More and more people are joining the drive for change. The March 1976 cantonal elections further weakened the government's position.

Working people, all democrats increasingly seek economic and social transformations. The bulk of the French people ask: What kind of society does France need? How can the needed transformations be effected? Our answer is: The new society France needs is a socialist society; we offer our people a democratic road to socialism under the colours of France.

To build socialism as proposed by our party, one essential condition must be met: usher in a new era of democracy and freedom. A small bunch of private multinational industrial and financial groups holds the main economic levers in its hands. It seeks to deprive the people of any opportunity to intervene in, or control, economic life, systematically reduces their rights and liberties to provide conditions for merciless exploitation of the working people and plundering the nation. The working people, the masses are barred from decision-making on issues concerning their daily life and the destinies of the nation. The Giscard administration is steadily building

up authoritarianism. This is a situation fraught with grave consequences from every point of view. "Today democracy is on the order of the day of the national struggle", said Georges Marchais.

Economic democracy requires that the banking groups and industrial monopolies dominating economic activity be transformed from the private property of a small egoistic caste into national poverty. It is also necessary to assure worker participation in economic decision-making, in particular in running nationalised enterprises and in planning.

Social democracy requires that all working people genuinely enjoy the fruits of their labour and stop being subjected to injustice and discrimination, that income of every citizen make it possible for him to enjoy a worthy life in keeping with the quantity and quality of the work performed, that every personal has access to positions of responsibility; to this end the right to advanced general and professional education must be guaranteed.

Political democracy should assure all citizens the possibility to choose, decide, control, manage. It is necessary for the working people to be able to take part in the direction and management of national affairs on all levels—enterprise, community, region, and the government itself.

Naturally, this new modern democracy—simultaneously economic, social, and political—which alone is capable of making the economy dynamic and effective, assuring the well-being of worker families, and giving back the country its freedom of initiative in international affairs, cannot be achieved by the big bourgeoisie, which is the enemy of democracy and liberty and strives to restrict them, insofar as they threaten the very system.

The working class, a class which more than anyone else is interested in doing away with exploitation and oppression, is in the vanguard of the struggle for democracy and freedom. This is a class struggle. The party of the working class, which marches in the front ranks of that struggle, is wresting from the hands of the bourgeoisie the banner of freedom it still attempts to wave about to camouflage the profound injustices of its system. By rallying the broad masses of the people to the democratic struggle the party helps isolate big capital and its government and create the conditions needed to do away with the domination of big capital over the economy and the state, without which no progress along the road of democracy can be achieved. "Democracy and freedom", said Georges Marchais, "have become the main sector of the class struggle, the revolutionary struggle."

Implementation of the Common Programme of the left will mean a great step forward along the road of democracy and fundamental reconstruction of national life. Communists view the programme not as a marriage of convenience, not as a means of improving the existing system, but as a complex of reforms aimed at profoundly altering the country's economic, social and political structures. Implementation of the Common Programme will allow France to achieve advanced economic and political democracy—a democracy the country has never known before. The position of working people will improve considerably. They will receive greater opportunities for effective participation in national affairs. The positions of big monopoly companies will be weakened. All of which will assure more favourable conditions for continued advance. Communists are convinced that this experience will enable the French people to proceed still farther along the road of economic and political democracy and embark on a more profound, socialist transformation of society.

Communists do not regard the Common Programme as an ultimate objective, they struggle and will continue to struggle for "democracy to the end", for socialism. But only the people themselves can freely and sovereignly decide by popular vote whether or not they wish to proceed from advanced democracy to socialism.

Public ownership of all the main means of production and exchange and representative political power of the working people are the two basic characteristics of the new society—socialism—the FCP offers the French people.

There can be no socialism if the principal means of production and exchange are not made public property. This is indicated by the practice of social democratic parties which, having retreated from the principle that an end must be put to the control of big capital over the country's main resources, have never succeeded in building socialism in the countries where they have been or still are in power. The socialism we propose has nothing in common with what reactionary propaganda calls "collectivism", by which it means universal expropriation, uniformity and constraint. Nothing could be more alien to our notion of socialism than so-called "barrack-room communism", implying total uniformity and conformity.

The radical transformations in economic and social life, without which socialism cannot be built, require **changing the nature of power.** The key issue in the struggle for socialism is the participation of the working people and their representatives in running the affairs of the country, assuring them access to the management of

society. Defining this new political power, which in the view of the FCP is essential to assure the construction of socialism in France, Georges Marchais stated: "The power that will head the socialist transformation of the society will be **the power of the working class and other categories of the working people**—manual labourers and intellectuals of town and country, that is, the overwhelming majority of the people.

"This power will be constituted and will operate on the basis of free choice expressed by popular vote; its task will be to assure the broadest democracy in national economic, social and political life.

"Its duty will be to respect and compel respect for the democratic choice of the people."

The document adopted by the congress makes no mention of dictatorship of the proletariat. The congress decided that dictatorship of the proletariat should not figure among the party's objectives and accordingly instructed the Central Committee to submit ammendments to the preamble of the Party Statutes to the 23rd Congress.

The congress considered it necessary not to define by this term the political power in socialist France insofar as it does not correspond to what the FCP offers the country. As Georges Marchais pointed out, "the word 'dictatorship' automatically evokes memories of the fascist regimes of Hitler, Mussolini, Salazar and Franco. i.e. the very anti-thesis of democracy. That is not what we want.

"As for the proletariat, today the term denotes the nucleus, the core of the working class. Although it plays an important part it does not represent the whole of the working class, still less all working people for whom the socialist power we envisage will speak."

In defining our stand on this issue we proceed from the principles of scientific socialism elaborated by Marx, Engels and Lenin, who set two essential conditions for the victory of socialism:

1. The need for the working class to play a leading political role in the struggle for the socialist transformation of society.

2. The need for the revolutionary struggle of the masses to foil the manoeuvres of the big bourgeoisie.

The document adopted by the congress states that the working class—the leading force in the struggle for a new society—should occupy an appropriate place in the socialist state and play a determining part in it.

The big bourgeoisie has never voluntarily renounced its rule or privileges. Along with democratic traditions there is in France the tradition of the Versaillaise. The FCP harbours no illusions concerning the stand of the big bourgeoisie or its readiness to respect the

results of a popular vote. Accordingly, the congress document emphasises that the working people, the masses as a whole, should pool their efforts at every stage of the road to deep democratic transformations and socialism and expand the struggle aimed at preventing reactionary attempts of resorting to lawlessness, subversion and violence.

At the same time we proceed on this question from the consideration that new historical realities in our country justify the conclusion that it is possible for the working class and people of France to advance towards socialism in a democratic way in conditions of civil peace and liberty. Never before have the peoples possessed such great opportunities to decide their own fate. This is a consequence of the change in the world balance of forces, of the continued progress of the socialist countries, whose existence is of decisive significance; it is a consequence of development of the struggle of the working class and popular masses in capitalist countries, of the rise and qualitative transformation of the national-liberation movement.

Events in Chile and Portugal go to show that the reactionaries readily resort to violence, a factor which should not be forgotten or underestimated. But they also show that the reactionaries can only resort to violence if the correlation of forces favours them. The main lesson we have drawn from those events and take into consideration in our struggle is that the decisive prerequisite of success in carrying out democratic and socialist transformations in the best conditions is **the existence and consolidation of a sufficiently broad popular movement encompassing a large majority of the people and firmly committed to the objectives of those transformations.** We can say that there are favourable conditions in our country for the creation of such an alignment. The crisis strikes at the interests of the bulk of wage and salary earners and other sections of the working population. Unprecedented possibilities exist for attracting the majority of the people to the cause of transforming society, for forging a broad movement of the majority around the working class, which would be capable of carrying out democratic and socialist transformations and ensuring that they are respected. We consider that these opportunities must be utilised.

We reject the idea that at some moment or other the political will expressed by the majority of the people might be usurped by "especially active groups" or repressive measures. In the struggle for socialism, in our time, in a country such as ours, nothing can replace the will of the majority democratically expressed through popular vote and through the struggle for the triumph of democratic and socialist transformations.

The democratic way to socialism proposed by the FCP envisages the creation of the best conditions for the development of that indispensable movement of the majority and giving it the scope, power and effectiveness necessary to overcome all obstacles. Here is what Georges Marchais in his report: "By fighting today for the democratic transformations envisaged in the Common Programme we are creating the best basis for a union of the broad masses of the people capable of replacing monopoly power by a new, democratic power. Tomorrow the implementation of democratic reforms will weaken the positions and possibilities of the big bourgeoisie and at the same time strengthen the positions, and accordingly the possibilities of the struggle, of the working class and the people. Subsequently, as economic, social and political democracy advances and individual and collective liberties expand, the popular movement will consolidate and the socialist power will ensure itself support and necessary participation. At the same time the mass struggle will change the correlation of social and political forces in favour of the working people, all popular strata.

"...The question is not to deprive the minority reactionary forces of freedoms but to provide them for the working people constituting the great majority of the nation...

"...Drawing on these liberties, the working people will expand the struggle, force the big bourgeoisie to retreat and defeat it. This broad struggle will make it possible for the socialist power to compel the reactionaries to respect the choice freely expressed by the great majority of the people.

"What all this means is that, without renouncing socialism or putting off its construction, we offer the best and shortest way towards its realisation."

The 22nd Congress defined an original way to socialism. There is, after all, no universal model of socialism. Socialism is born in the real movement of history, in the real struggle of the people, in the context of their traditions and aspirations. Socialism emerges and develops in response to the objective, concrete, specific requirements of the country. Consequently, the response should be concrete, taking into account those specifics.

Socialism in France will be based on the realities of France, it will mean the preservation and enrichment of democratic gains, rights and liberties won by our people in the course of stubborn struggles.

As we see it, socialism and democracy, socialism and individual and collective freedoms, are inseparable. Economic and political

democracy is a prerequisite of advance towards socialism, its consolidation and development. In practice, the general laws and universal principles of socialism inevitably acquire specific forms. The conditions and traditions of every country inevitably give socialism specific traits in every sphere, whether in respect of political institutes and political life, economic structures and economic organisation, or public and cultural life. The same can be said of the ways leading to socialism and the methods of struggle. Insofar as the national and historic conditions of class struggle are different in different countries, each country inevitably follows its own course of struggle for socialism.

While advocating the French way to socialism and French socialism we remain loyal to the creative spirit of Marxism-Leninism. The affirmation of an original, independent way to socialism in no way contradicts the fulfilment of our internationalist duty. As in the past we shall maintain solidarity with all peoples, democratic and revolutionary forces fighting against imperialism, for independence and peace, for democracy, socialism and communism. Fraternal bonds link us in the first place with communist parties, many of which have successfully led their countries to socialism. We are in solidarity with the parties pursuing that great undertaking. We are aware that it is thanks to the existence, development and influence of the socialist countries that we can elaborate our advance to socialism in France along the democratic way. We shall strive to develop that solidarity and resolutely oppose anti-Sovietism and the lies and slanders to which the socialist countries are constantly subjected.

We realise that the influence of every communist party "is indisputably enhanced by the militant solidarity displayed by the vanguard parties of the working class of all countries", as Georges Marchais declared "...This reciprocal solidarity is a reflection of the proletarian internationalism that equally unites all communist parties. Proletarian internationalism is by its very nature indivisible. We know of no superior from of internationalism and we shall never accept regional divisions of internationalism. It is the reciprocal character of that solidarity, the universal character of our internationalism that makes it possible for us to speak of the international communist movement." Differences arising between communist parties on certain issues should not prevent dialogues or joint actions against imperialism in pursuance of common goals. In the present situation the FCP holds that joint action for achieving the principal common objectives in such spheres as peace, collective security, disarmament, international cooperation, or solidarity

with the victims of repression and imperialist aggression is of primary importance for the cohesion of the world communist movement.

The union of left forces occupies a constant and important place in our policy. Without the unity of the great majority the democratic forces cannot win. That is why our party is working to establish a union of the people of France, an alliance of all victims of monopoly against the small caste that dominates our country.

This union can be formed, naturally, only on the basis of objectives diametrically opposed to those of big capital, in other words, on the basis of the Common Programme. It can resolve the tasks facing it only in the course of stubborn class struggles against the oligarchy occupying dominant positions in the economy and the state.

As we see it, the union of the people of France should incorporate different social classes and sections, with all their diversity: the working class, the bulk of salary earners (employees, technicians, engineers, civil servants), peasants, intellectuals in various spheres, artisans, small traders, small and medium businessmen, who share in common essential interests, as well as various philosophical and spiritual trends that reflect the history and realities of the French nation and contribute to its progress.

The congress gave special attention to the rapprochement between communists and christians. This question has acquired new significance insofar as the economic and social consequences of the crisis draw all working people, believers as well as atheists, into the daily struggle. A great number of christians would like to see their faith translated into policies, which brings them into the struggle for democratic changes, for a socialist society.

The diversity, independence and identity of all the forces in the union of the people of France, far from being an obstacle to success, is a factor contributing to its strength, scope and victory, provided, of course, that these forces act together for common objectives. The working class plays a special part in the struggle for democracy and socialism, that of its vanguard. That role of the motive force of social development is reaffirmed today in France in the struggle against the big bourgeoisie and its reactionary policy, for the victory of the Common Programme. That is the role the working class will have to perform tomorrow in the course of implementing the Common Programme and building socialism.

Experience shows that when the working class is barred from the direction of national affairs the losers are France and its people. The time has come for it to occupy the place it deserves in running

the country. There can be no democracy, no socialism in France, there can be no liberation of the working class or other social groups that have become the victims of the rule of big capital, if the working class does not perform its vanguard political role. The decisive condition for the triumph of our strategy is for the working class to occupy the place that belongs to it by right. It is important for working people to be able to participate in the political life and struggle at the places where they work. That is why the congress emphasised that at the present stage party activity and organisation on the factory floor is one of the prime requirements of the struggle.

The agreement reached between the parties of the left on the basis of the Common Programme is the pivot for uniting the majority for which we are fighting. In our country cooperation between democratic parties is one of the prerequisites for successfully changing society. That is why the bourgeoisie has no intention of meekly submitting to the alliance of the working class and democratic forces and is sparing no effort to split it. The pressure from the bourgeoisie, international pressure, has not gone without response in the Socialist Party. It is a reformist party, and its history, the absence of a coherent theory, the social composition of its leadership and its lengthy practice of collaboration with the right continue to influence its behaviour. The experience of France, the experience of countries where social-democratic parties are influential and communist parties are weak invites the conclusion that the Socialist Party will revert to class collaboration if the balance of forces within the left shifts in its favour and it manages to win dominant positions.

Consequently, the union is a scene of constant struggle. It cannot be realised, maintained or advanced if the working people and democrats are not givilant and do not help it by their participation. A strong union capable of carrying out its commitments to the people needs a stronger and more influential Communist Party. The expansion of that influence will depend on whom the working people and democrats will favour in comparing the farsightedness and devotion of different parties of the left, their resolve to fight against the Giscard administration, for the realisation of the transformation provided for in the Common Programme. The communists strive to be in the forefront of that battle. They resolutely head the struggle of the working class and popular masses, they are most active in defending their interests and do everything to assure the best possible solutions. In taking the necessary initiatives they strive to promote the joint struggle and oppose reformist ideas and practices.

The communists call for long-term and equitable cooperation between democratic parties, with equal rights and commitments for every partner. This in no way clashes with their desire to exert a decisive influence on the struggle for the transformation of society. The possibility of building socialism in France depends on the ability of the Communist Party, the party of the working class, to head the popular movement.

The Communist Party is the motive force of change, it is the prime guarantee that the changes will be of the kind the majority of the French people desire. A stronger party is needed to achieve the unity of the broad majority, just as the union of the peoples of France is indispensable for victory. Only such a party can strengthen the union of the left and turn it into a dedicated, militant alliance.

The working people and France now have a strong communist party. But to open the door into the future the party must be still stronger and still more influential. This idea is taking root among the masses.

The 22nd Congress evoked unprecedented response throughout the country. That is because it offered our people a great perspective: unity in the name of building a society in which life will be more affluent, more just and free, in the name of the struggle to open up the democratic way to socialism under the colours of France. The congress opened up new possibilities before the democratic movement. It was not only an outstanding event of national life but also a mighty demonstration of international solidarity, as testified by the presence of representatives of 88 communist parties and national movements. Rallying to the call of the new Central Committee elected at the congress (of its 121 members 24 are new members and 23 are women) the whole party has launched a struggle for the implementation of its bold new policy.

Equipped with the ideas of the congress, winning over the masses the communists are sparing no effort to ensure that the seeds they have sown yield a good harvest. Thus the party expands its influence among the masses, consolidates its own forces, and contributes to the formation of the conscious, fighting alliance of the majority indispensable for victory.

THE ECONOMIC FRONT OF THE REVOLUTION

CARLOS COSTA

Member of Political Commission, Portuguese Communist Party

Early in April our correspondent met with Comrade Carlos Costa and put a number of questions to him. Below is the transcript of the interview.

The new life in Portugal is being built in difficult conditions. The country faces grave problems awaiting urgent solution. Some were inherited from the former, fascist regime, some are due to the breakdown of old order, some to mistakes made in the charged atmosphere of the revolutionary process.

The abolition of the fascist state, an offspring of monopoly capitalism, is an historic gain of the Portuguese revolution which, at its first stage, gave rise to a political authority independent of the economic power of the monopolies. At its second stage, following the abortive counter-revolutionary coup of 11 March 1975, it mounted an offensive against the economic power of monopoly groups, nationalising banks and big companies in the main branches of the economy and launching an agrarian reform.

Among the deep-going positive changes mention should also be made of decolonisation and the swift growth of the democratic movement

This radical breakage is taking place in a country which has just begun to drag itself out of the morass of backwardness and stagnation formed during the half-century of fascist tyranny, in a country where hostility not only to communism, but to everything new and progressive in general, was hammered into people's heads for years.

Small wonder therefore that in two years the young Portuguese democracy has suffered more than one crisis and had to contend with many acute problems, threats and risks.

To this day direct and indirect economic, political and ideological consequences of the past weigh heavily upon the country. The following are some of the socio-economic characteristics of Portugal prior to 25 April 1974: nearly two million migrant workers out of a total population of slightly over nine million; a gaping foreign trade deficit caused, among other things, by the fact that, besides many raw materials, the country had to import half its food supplies; a primitive structure of exports and heavy economic dependence on developed capitalist countries; fabulous profits for a dozen financial-industrial groups which controlled the country, and poverty of the exploited sections of the population; a monstrous apparatus of repression; the burdensome and costly colonial wars.

One can easily imagine the problems that confronted the country with its nascent political, economic and social democracy. They could only be solved through radically rebuilding the old socio-economic structures and effecting profound changes which would destroy the system of exploitation and oppression formed over the ages. But this met with frenzied resistance from the reactionaries—capitalists whose factories were nationalised, bankers who lost their banks, latifundia-owners whose lands, quite often abandoned by them, were taken over by cooperatives. Their resistance takes different forms: attempts to block the "battle for production" and dislocate the economy with the complicity of international imperialism, notably, through the "fleeing of capital"; blocking credits to farm cooperatives by banks and curtailing output of farm machinery at a time when the Portuguese countryside badly needs it; sowing discord among the left parties, in the Armed Forces Movement, etc.

Last summer reaction had recourse to "armed criticism" especially in some regions of the centre, north and north-west where, along with small holdings, structures of the old system assuring the rule of big landowners and clericals predominate. Some 50 premises of progressive organisations were besieged, looted and set on fire.

Developments have clearly demonstrated that the waves of violence are part of an overall plan of reaction drawn up with the assistance of external forces. Hence, defence of the revolution implies struggle on two closely interrelated fronts—internal and external—and includes the struggle for national indepedence.

Although the governments that held office after April 25 conducted a moderate policy, although they respected the interests of citizens of other countries and did not infringe foreign interests in carrying out nationalisation, the imperialist forces immediately took a hostile stand vis-a-vis Portugal. NATO strategists dreaded the prospect of weakening the south-western flank in the system of

"defence of the free world". Reactionary propaganda spared no efforts to present a distorted picture of the revolution. It depicted the socio-economic changes in the country in negative terms, as a consequence of evil communist influence, and relations between the AFM and the Communist Party as relations between a political party and its "military apparatus". The nature of the AFM as a political movement within the armed forces was thus distorted, while the old Portuguese army, the traditional stronghold of fascism and colonialism, was depicted by the bourgeois press as having turned into a "revolutionary" army overnight. Persistent attempts were made to bring diplomatic and political pressure to bear on the revolution. And needless to say, economic levers of pressure were set in motion too. Some West European concerns reneged in fact on their plans of making investments into Portuguese industry, which caused serious economic difficulties as industrialisation was financed mainly by foreign capital. These acts of sabotage and boycott were justified by reference to the "economic chaos" allegedly caused by "socialist experiments". This tactic, it will be recalled, had been earlier applied by the multinational corporations in Chile.

In the specific historical conditions that took shape in Portugal and around it, the deepening and extension of the process of social change resulted in the speeding up of the class polarisation of society and, as a consequence, in a sharp aggravation of the political situation. The deep and protracted crisis besetting the country has not been overcome to this day. The sharp class confrontation currently under way may produce unexpected twists and turns. The intensity and outcome of the struggle depend in many respects on how economic problems will be solved.

The country faces a dilemma—either build a new, socialist-oriented economy or give the capitalists their property back and lose the main socio-economic gains of the revolution, which inevitably entails the aggravation of the working people's conditions and abolition of democratic freedoms. The working people realise more and more clearly which of the two roads meets their interests. It has been amply demonstrated that the people have no intention of allowing themselves to be robbed of their victory, that the working class and labouring peasantry realise their strength and role and are becoming increasingly more active in the search for cardinal solutions. This is borne out by the emergence of worker and neighbourhood commissions, consumers committees and residential area councils which defend the interests of the common people. The work of these organisations, born of the working people's initiative to combat reactionary attempts to dislocate the economy, bears witness to the

fact that the revolution has released enormous forces latent in the people.

Even without going into details of the economic situation in conditions of the zigzag development of the Portuguese revolution, it is safe to say that the policy pursued by the provisional governments after 25 April 1974, and especially after 11 March 1975, has been marked by signal achievements. An end was put to the galloping inflation inherited from the fascist regime, and prices were stabilised. The working people's living standards rose appreciably with the establishment of a minimum wage and its general growth. The resultant expansion of the home market, state control over many enterprises, nationalisation, workers' administration, the dedicated efforts of hundreds of thousands of people, financial aid to the factories from nationalised banks, the correct policy of the labour ministry—all this, despite adverse conditions, made it possible to prevent the closure of hundreds of factories and contain the growth of unemployment. The fact that Portugal's industrial output in 1974 dropped much less than in the Common Market countries (by 3-4 per cent according to figures available to us) should, beyond doubt, be seen as a major success. As to agricultural production, it increased substantially last year in areas where the agrarian reform had been carried out. For the first time in many years we did not have to import wheat. The foreign trade deficit decreased by eight million contos in 1975 compared with the previous year.

Thus, the allegations about "economic chaos" spread by Spinola and the popular-democrat leader Sa Carneiro, and later taken up by the Socialist Party leadership in its attacks against the fourth and fifth provisional governments, have in fact proved a clumsy propaganda figment. One can say without sinning against the truth that before the resignation of the fifth government, conditions had been created for genuine restructuring of the national economy and embarking on the road to socialism.

The events of November 25, 1975,[1] however, were followed by a shift to the right. Progressives are being removed from the state apparatus, both at top and local levels. Positive structures are being abolished. Democrats on local authorities are being retired. All this strengthens the positions, in the state apparatus, of the bureaucracy

[1] The separate uncoordinated actions undertaken on that day by some military units influenced by leftist pseudo-revolutionaries, were used by definite military circles to remove from command posts in the armed forces not only leftists, but also those who fought consistently for the further advance of the revolutionary process. —*Ed.*

severed from life and far from understanding the working people's interests.

All bodies which ensured the normal supply of the market and kept prices down have been either abolished or doomed to inaction by the popular-democrat minister. Progressive and competent managers have been dismissed. Prices have soared, the market is being depleted. Products are being requisitioned from the peasants. The country is returning to the times when big capitalist middlemen were flourishing. Wages have been frozen, which, coupled with growing prices, leads to a sharp decline in of living standards. The number of jobless is rapidly growing: there are about 300,000 today, including 70,000 repatriates from the former Portuguese colonies.

Banks are being turned over to minions of their former owners, and the same is happening with nationalised enterprises. Attempts are made to return enterprises controlled by the state or run by the workers to their former owners who had brought these businesses to the verge of bankruptcy—averted only by the actions of the previous government and the dedicated efforts of the working people. If, on the other hand, this transfer does not come about because of the working people's resistance (and this is universal), administrative and financial difficulties are artificially created for such enterprises. The policy of returning property to the capitalists will, in the present conditions, inevitably lead to the closure of many factories, unrestrained inflation, still greater unemployment and economic collapse.

There is a mounting campaign backed by big landowners and their underlings against the agrarian reform, although it is perfectly clear that in the few months since the inauguration of the reform the working people in Alentejo Province did much more for agriculture and the country as a whole than the landowners throughout their entire life as exploiters and parasites. In the past agricultural production in the province declined from year to year. Now areas under crops are being steadily expanded and output is growing—a result of the abolition of big landed estates and the establishment of cooperatives and other farms in their place, a result of the creative efforts of people who have rid themselves of exploitation.

An agrarian reform worthy of this name is a revolution. It is carried out not by a bureaucracy but by the working people. And that is why it cannot be halted. It will be carried on, the latifundia will be completely abolished, and their lands, up to the very last square metre, passed over to the tillers.

In foreign economic relations the policy of subservience to imperialism is being revived, its grave consequences being felt already

now. Short-term loans are granted by our imperialist "benefactors" with security in gold—this the country had not known even under fascism. As a result, it has already virtually lost one-third of its gold reserves (as of 30 September 1975, the state still possessed foreign exchange reserves rated at 12.5 million contos and an unexpended gold reserve of 860 tons; bearing in mind the real cost of gold, these reserves would make it possible to hold out for four years in an unstable situation even if the balance of payments deficit remain at the 1975 level of 26 million contos). Specialists maintain that if it continues along the present road Portugal will have neither gold nor foreign currency by the end of 1976. With an enormous balance-of-trade deficit, this is bound to result in extreme starvation. Such are the fruits of the "remarkable competence" of the present finance minister from the Socialist Party and of the "aid" from its friends who are so willing to give us loans.

To resist this policy means to fight for national independence. The Communist Party does not want Portugal to be isolated from capitalist countries. It favours cooperation with the Common Market countries and the USA, as well as foreign credits and investments needed to overcome our difficulties. But it opposes credits on shackling terms, endangering the country's sovereignty. Our people will not sell their revolution for marks or dollars, however great the sums offered in exchange. For Portugal independence means that the people, and the people alone, will formulate the policy of their country and will themselves decide their future.

The imperative need today is a swift reorganisation of all banking and nationalised industries to make them more productive and efficient. The state-controlled enterprises, nationalised enterprises and enterprises run by the working people must define their legal status more clearly so as not to fall back into capitalist hands. It is imperative to strengthen worker control at factories as a means of combating economic sabotage, and as a form of training managerial personnel. It is necessary urgently to solve the problems of credits and technical aid to agricultural production units so as to enable them to produce as much as possible. And it is necessary to enforce the laws on land tenure and fallow lands, to take steps for buying the peasants' products at prices fixed in advance.

Drawing on their organisations and with the connivance of provocative groups composed of Portuguese Maoists—the so-called movement for the reorganisation of the proletarian party, the worker-peasant alliance and the sham Communist ("Marxist-Leninist") Party of Portugal—the reactionaries are trying to infiltrate the ranks of the working people and subordinate the popular struggle

for better conditions to their own interests. It should be perfectly clear that these manoeuvres pursue exceedingly dangerous political objectives. The nurses' strike, which lasted several days and during which patients were refused help in medical institutions, affords an example of how the reactionaries are trying to capitalise on existing difficulties in pursuance of their ends. That strike was provoked by both the adventurist attitude of the nurses' union leadership and the as switching off electricity or water supplies, work stoppages on the part of the Social-security ministry controlled by the bourgeois Popular Democratic Party. While supporting the just demands of the working people, the PCP tells them that such forms of struggle as switching off electricity or water supplies, work stoppages on the city transport, or strikes of civil servants, cause a feeling of insecurity and frustration among the population. In the present conditions strikes of this nature only play into the hands of reaction.

It is in the best interests of the working people and the nation as a whole to support and consolidate order and revolutionary discipline everywhere, in all areas of public life, in production and, first and foremost, in the armed forces. The question is, of course, not of the discipline of the old type, but of a conscious discipline, a discipline serving the interests of the people and revolution. The formation of repressive forces from among reactionary elements will not ease but, on the contrary, aggravate the situation still more, imperil democratic freedoms and the very revolutionary process.

The danger of fascism remains. It is necessary to face this menace squarely and take steps prompted by the situation. The reactionary forces overthrown by the revolution have not laid down their arms. The terrorists from the clandestine fascist "army of Portuguese liberation" are raising their heads more and more openly. The danger is all the greater in view of the fact that certain parties and circles are trying to buttress their positions by acting not for the revolution but against it.

At the same time virtually nothing is being done to implement the government programme for combating counter-revolutionary activity. More, all sorts of measures are undertaking against the progressive forces. As before, attempts are made to reduce communist participation in government to the minimum or force them out altogether. And yet the communists remain in the government—not because they support the policy of the socialist-popular democrat coalition, a policy of turning to the right, but to fight attempts to call in question the important gains of the revolution—nationalisation, agrarian reform and the social gains of the working people.

The alliance of the socialist and popular-democratic parties in the present government has exacerbated and deepened the crisis in the country. The desire of these parties to dictate their will has aroused profound indignation and an intensification of the people's struggle. It was the PDP in alliance with the Social Democratic Centre Party and other avowedly reactionary groups that was the initiator of violence and terror against the communists. It was that party that demanded that communists be expelled from the government. The PDP actions leave no doubt as to its reactionary nature. This is why we continue to say: there is no place for this party in the government, its participation means that the revolution has an enemy in the government itself.

One cannot but regret the attitude of the Socialist Party leadership, which has allied itself with rightist and reactionary forces. The PSP leaders, who mounted an anti-communist campaign under the pretext of defending democracy, bear a large measure of the responsibility for the counter-revolutionary situation in the country, for the split in the Armed Forces Movement and the democratic movement generally. Whereas the communists have repeatedly called upon all forces with a stake in furthering the revolutionary process for a dialogue and negotiations, the SP leaders invariably advance preliminary conditions for such negotiations and are trying to impose their terms on other parties. But today more and more rank-and-file socialists and local branches are coming to the conclusion that there is an imperative need for unity with the communists, that the future of democracy in Portugal largely depends on the understanding and cooperation between both these parties. Every day witnesses pronouncements by Socialist Party members in support of united action. Both party and youth organisations of the PCP and PSP adopt numerous joint resolutions. There is no need to stress the significance of this tendency. In the conditions of our country communist-socialist unity is an historic necessity and it must force its way through. History knows many examples of repressive regimes coming to power because of divisions and differences among the left. The Portuguese revolution must draw a lesson from the reactionary onslaught of recent months.

The Communist Party takes a stand against the threat of civil war and for the political settlement of problems. As before, it maintains that this calls for unity of all political and social forces interested in defending the democratic freedoms and other gains of the revolution. The party wants the AFM again to join hands with the progressive political forces and the people's movement. Participation of the Armed Forces Movement and all democratically- and patrio-

tically-minded servicemen in the country's political life is, along with the struggle of the popular masses, one of the surest guarantees against a fascist comeback.

A major contribution to the consolidation and defence of the democratic regime was made by the adoption of the new Constitution by the Constituent Assembly. It guarantees extensive democratic freedoms and basic rights for the working people, legally formalises the abolition of monopoly, the agrarian reform institutionalises (albeit not always consistently) nationalisation, worker control at factories, and local organisation of the masses and directs the country's development along the road to socialist society. Although it has not fully reflected the revolutionary dynamism of the popular masses, we salute the Constitution, pledge to respect it ourselves and insist that others do likewise. The adoption of the Constitution was the result of the struggle of the working people and all popular masses, the result of the alliance between the people and the Armed Forces Movement.

However, it would be a dangerous mistake to believe that the proclamation of the Constitution alone is enough to defend freedom and democracy and guarantee the socialist perspective. Strengthening the foundation of democracy and consolidating the revolutionary gains depend in many ways on the results of elections to the republic's Assembly.[2] The communists have called for the establishment of a left bloc in the assembly, inasmuch as dominance of the Social Democratic Centre Party and the Popular Democratic Party in it would mean the installation, in no time, of a reactionary dictatorship. Although the communist and socialist parties have, through the fault of the latter, not formed an alliance and not secured united action in the elections, they are both in favour of defending the Constitution. the political and socio-economic gains of the April 1974 anti-fascist revolution. The immediate future will show what Portugal's political course will be tomorrow and how the revolution will progress further.

[2] Almost 15 per cent of the popular vote and 40 deputies. 10 more than in the Constituent Assembly—these are concrete indicators of communist gains in the 25 April parliamentary elections. The Communist Party not only held its positions but improved them, especially in proletarian districts and provinces where the agrarian reform is being carried out. The Socialist Party received 35.01 per cent of the ballot, losing several seats, the Popular Democratic Party won 24.01 per cent, and the Social Democratic Centre Party, 15.87 per cent—*Ed.*

AN ALLIANCE OF LIKE-MINDED COMMUNISTS

Rula Kukulu
Political Bureau member, CC Communist Party of Greece

We continue publication of the series on problems of building a mass Marxist-Leninist party begun in issue No. 4 of our journal.[1]

Our correspondents asked Rula Kukulu, Political Bureau member, CC CP of Greece, about the experience in building a mass Marxist-Leninist party in Greece, particularly in regard to solving this task when going over from illegal to legal activity, about the replenishments of the party and how the admittance of new members is organised, as well as work among them. Below we print the interview with Comrade Kukulu.

Building a mass Marxist-Leninist party is a matter of urgency for us Greek communists. It is directly linked with our present practice, the tasks of reorganising and reactivating the party after 27 years of clandestinity. That is why we closely follow articles in **World Marxist Review** devoted to the questions of building a mass party. We want a militant mass party strong both in numbers and in its political, ideological and organisational unity based on the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the revolutionary transformation of society.

That is how the question was posed at the Ninth Congress of our party (February 1974). Though the congress was held in conditions of clandestinity, it was clear that the junta's days were numbered and that problems linked with enlisting new members would shortly acquire prime importance. On the one hand, the long years of clandestinity had taken a heavy toll. Our losses were particularly high during the past seven years of military-fascist dictatorship. They had to be made up for. After winning legality, we had to prepare for a rapid growth of the party and its organisations. On the

[1] A series on this theme was introduced by Atos Fava's article, "The Class Character of a Marxist Party", see *WMR*, April 1976.

other hand, we knew from experience that in the maturing revolutionary situation the struggle between the communists' line—a line of revolutionary action—and that of the reformists and opportunists, would flare up with new force. The opportunists attempted to divert the working-class movement from revolutionary action onto the path of reformism. Therefore the further growth and strengthening of the party posed a double-pronged task—that of a correct relation between the quantitative and qualitative growth of our ranks.

We need, congress declared, "a well-organised and strong communist party with deep roots in the working class, the working peasantry and all working people, a party capable of leading the Greek people to victory". It was stressed that we would build the party as a Leninist type party, as a militant alliance of like-minded communists. Its ultimate aim is the revolutionary transformation of Greek society by abolishing capitalism and building socialism and communism. The Communist Party, congress emphasised, is an internationalist party, inspired by the principles of proletarian solidarity proclaimed by Marx and Engels in the **Communist Manifesto**, which are the source of strength and earnest of victory of the working class. A contingent of the world communist movement, our party is firmly linked with all revolutionary forces of our epoch and holds that its national-patriotic tasks should not be divorced from its internationalist tasks.

It is not by chance that the important propositions of Lenin, fundamental to building a party of a new type, were cited in congress documents. The Greek communists knew them well. But a critical examination of our experience showed that the party could have been much more successful had it not at certain periods departed from these principles. History teaches us that such a departure is impermissible, even though at a definite moment it may seem justified by the specific situation or the struggle for an important tactical objective.

Shortly before the end of World War II, for instance, when victory over fascism was a matter of days and many thought that the communists would soon participate in government, the standards for admittance of new party members were lowered. In a country with a population of less than eight million, party membership reached 400,000. People came to the party, seeing it as the initiator and main organiser and leader of the national resistance, the most influential force in the country. Many of these people fought agaist the fascist invaders and against the internal reaction in the postwar period. They fought against the military intervention of the British, and later US, imperialists against turning our country into

a bridgehead of US imperialism and NATO, for democracy and progress. In this struggle, in which tens of thousands of communists died the death of heroes, the Communist Party demonstrated its profoundly popular and patriotic character. At the same time, by far not all of those who had joined the party at the surge of the revolutionary struggle were capable of standing the test of defeat, retreat and clandestinity. As is known, open intervention by British troops interrupted democratic development in the country, resulting in civil war in 1946. The party was declared illegal and thousands of communists were jailed and executed. At this time, those who were unable to withstand the class enemy's attacks, left the party. It can also be said that the lowered standards in admitting new members after the defeat in the civil war (1949) negatively affected the work of building and strengthening the party in conditions of clandestinity.

Working underground, the party directed its efforts at organising the economic and political actions of the working people, at uniting the democratic forces. However, in 1958-68, when many in the Central Committee and in the leadership adhered to right-opportunist views, the party leadership decided not to pose the task of increasing membership, or of setting up new party organisations and committees and strengthening the existing ones. Party organisations were dissolved, and it was proposed that the communists join the coalition of left forces (EDA), in the belief that they would influence it, win it over to the political platform of the working class and transform it increasingly into a pro-communist and communist organisation.

This policy greatly harmed the Party, resulting in its virtual self-dissolution. It harmed the EDA as well, which had done much that was positive and could have done more. But after the dissolution of the party organisations, the communists lost the opportunity of purposefully influencing the EDA by relying on the strength, experience and prestige of their party. Moreover, some of them were influenced by the alien ideology and evolved from militant communists into well-intentioned philistines; this created favourable grounds for the emergence and growth of opportunist trends. As a result, the working class and other working people were disarmed in face of reaction's onslaught. The lack of party organisations was one of the main reasons why the party was unable to organise popular resistance to the 1967 fascist coup.

This bitter experience convinced us of the futility and danger in mastering the science of revolution, of disregarding experience, of ignoring the international achievements of Marxist-Leninist

thought, the lessons of our own history. An analysis of the party's past experience, including its mistakes, a study of the experience of the fraternal parties made it possible, immediately after the fall of the junta, to begin vigorously reactivating and reorganising the party, a task set by the Ninth Congress and specified, in the light of the new conditions, at the Second Central Committee Plenum in January 1975.

The sharpening class struggle and surge of the strike movement in Greece created new opportunities for drawing forward-looking workers and other working people into the party. Party ranks are replenished from among those who, together with the communists, are fighting for the working-class cause, against imperialism and the monopolies, for a better life, for the right to work, against growing prices and worsening living standards. We concentrate on enlisting workers, primarily from the work-bench and young workers and women. We direct our efforts at increasing the share of industrial workers among the party membership. Practice has shown that the more active our party organisations, the closer their links with the masses, and the more effective the communist led struggle of the working people, the more successfully will this serious task be carried out. It is in the course of this everyday struggle for the working people's interests that the Communist Party is winning new members.

But we are also mindful of the other side of the matter. Efforts to replenish our ranks do not imply that the doors to the CPG are open to all and sundry. No, everyone without exception who applies for party membership must be screened to ascertain whether the person is ready, whether he is worthy of becoming a member of the Communist Party.

How do we go about this? I will tell you about a woman worker, the wife of a communist. After the overthrow of the junta, she first helped her husband's comrades by canvassing for the communists candidate to Parliament. Later she herself was nominated as a candidate to the local council. She was elected, coped with the job well, and comrades recommended her for party membership. At the meeting where she was admitted as a candidate member, she was assigned the task of organising the local housewives in the Democratic Women's League. Having fulfilled this as well as other tasks, and proved that she is joining the party consciously and through conviction, that she wants to seriously study Marxism-Leninism, she was admitted to the Communist Party.

That is a typical example. However, not all new members come to the party in this way. Many come to us from the Communist

Youth Organisation. In its ranks thousands of young people learn the ABC of political struggle and communist ideology. Many fine people come to the party from the trade unions and other mass organisations, where they pass the test of serious class battles. But in this case, too, an individual approach, recommendations and a probationary period are imperative.

These statutory requirements are stringently followed in all party organisations. Communists are exacting towards newcomers. The majority of party cadres and activists have gone through a hard school of struggle, have been subjected to arrests, spending 15-20 years in prisons, concentration camps and in exile. These are steeled communists. They upheld the party in the difficult struggles against opportunism. During the period of the split they fought in concentration camps and prisons and in the trying conditions of clandestinity for the purity of Marxist-Leninist principles, to preserve the Communist Party as a party of the new type. Their own experience, as we have earlier mentioned, convinces them of the need to defend the ideological and organisational cohesion of the party, to see that its quantitative growth accords with the task of its qualitative strengthening.

The existence and practice of a group calling itself the "CPG-internal" is a constant reminder of the consequences of departing from the Leninist principles of a new type of party. Its divisive practice is used by the government and the bourgeois parties in their struggle against the Communist Party of Greece. This group is now preparing to hold its congress. The theses note that its delegates will be elected not only from the "CPG-internal", but also from among supporters who agree at least in the main with its minimum programme. One of its leaders writes in this connection that in the conditions of Greece the "CPG-internal" must include all left forces of Marxist orientation who followed the old EDA in the period of its legal existence. Its amorphous ideological and organisational structure suits the group because it corresponds to its tactics and itself gives rise to such tactics, which is expressed, in particular, in the nationalistic, anti-socialist, anti-Soviet activities of the leaders of the "CPG-internal" and in their attacks against Marxism-Leninism.

One thing is clear: our views are diametrically opposed to the group. But it still retains some influence over the trade union among the youth, etc. By exposing the essence of this trend, we help those who have been deceived by its revolutionary phraseology to break with the ideology and practice of the "CPG-internal".

In our efforts to build a new mass party we, naturally, come up

against difficulties. And not only the objective ones faced by every communist party in a capitalist country, but also subjective ones. Twenty-seven years of clandestinity could not but be reflected in the established style and methods of party work. We, for instance, are not used to holding meetings: in illegality everything was built on the personal contacts of the clandestine members. So currently meetings are often dull. The fact that many communists were active for years in the old EDA, whose style of work differed sharply from the style of a Leninist type party, has also made its imprint on party work. We must overcome all these negative tendencies inherited from the past.

The third plenum of our Central Committee held last November summed up the first stage of reactivating and reorganising the Communist Party, which was largely successful, and posed the task of overcoming existing shortcomings. At the new development stage, it is important, while not slackening efforts aimed at increasing party membership, to improve the work of the primary organisations set up after attaining legality, because that is where the communists, the new members and the youth in particular, are educated. The primary organisation is for them the first party school of class struggle, where vital questions are discussed, objectives are posed and where criticism and self-criticism are practised. That is where the first lessons of Marxism-Leninism are learned. That is where, in the process of practical ideological struggle, communists become ideologically steeled.

We want to make our primary organisations the living cells of our party. The primary organisation should do more than just carry out the tasks set by a higher body or committee, it is called upon to study and solve topical issues, which concern not only its own inner life. We want our branches always to have a clear idea of problems of concern to working people, to lead and coordinate their struggle, while seeking satisfaction of their demands and furthering the unity of the democratic and anti-imperialist forces.

An important feature of a mass party of the Leninist type is the creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory, the capacity for scientific foresight. In our work we are always mindful of the fact that a good knowledge of theory makes it possible for the party correctly to combine the struggle for the long-range aim—the revolutionary transformation of society—with the struggle for intermediate goals at various stages of the revolutionary process. The study of Marxism-Leninism, raising the ideological and theoretical standards of the membership, is the foundation of the communists'

ideological unity. In organising Marxist-Leninist studies we often have to begin from scratch. During the years of illegality these studies were conducted in rather peculiar conditions. Jails and concentration camps were then the universities of Marxism-Leninism for revolutionaries. That was where the best educated party members passed on their knowledge to the young comrades. However, carrying on their everyday revolutionary work when at large, the communists often lacked the time and conditions for further study.

Now we have been able to arrange that in towns the communists gather once a week at their locals for lessons on Marxism. At these lessons, which are conducted by senior, theoretically well-grounded comrades, ideological questions are discussed. So far, we have not been able to organise such lessons regularly in the provinces. But with the training of new cadres and when the necessary conditions have been provided, this work will be expanded.

We are sometimes asked: Are we correct in insisting on the ideological unity of the party? It is suggested that by posing the question in this way we alienate those who are prepared to work together with the communists for the common political aim—for the extension of democracy and for socialism. To this we reply: One should not confuse the party, an alliance of the like-minded, the organised vanguard of the proletariat, with the broad alliance of forces which, while adhering to different ideologies, pursue a common political aim and participate in the common struggle.

Our party exerts great influence across the land. We have active supporters, with whom we have close ties. They take an active part in meetings organised by the party, in the everyday battles for the working people's interests, and participate in the mass organisations, trade unions, etc. They are no less active than the communists, though for various reasons they have not yet joined the party. We also have less active supporters, who participate only in various mass campaigns, particularly election campaigns. We are strengthening our ties with them as well.

Our aim is to become advanced fighters whose voice is heard in all mass organisations, the trade unions in particular. We are striving to win over the majority of workers and other working people. We want to instil the communist ideology in them and to draw them into the struggle for the immediate and long-range strategic aims of the party, for a new democracy, for socialism. In this way we are gradually creating an army of the revolution.

At the same time we propose active cooperation to all left democratic forces. Recently the Communist Party published a special

declaration in this connection. It calls for the cohesion and unity of the democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly forces in the struggle for consistent and broad democratic changes, to free Greece from dependence on imperialism, from the subjugation of its interests to the interests of multi-national monopolies. As the initiator of his cohesion, the Communist Party is aware of its historic responsibility for the destiny of its people, for the development of the revolutionary process in Greece.

In hard and intense struggle, we are building our party and its organisations on the basis of the tried and tested Leninist principles. We are confident that we are building the party in the correct way, and that it will be capable of bringing about a better future for its people.

WE ARE FOR THE UNITY OF ACTION OF ALL DEMOCRATS

Interview with BERNARDO LEIGHTON, *founder of the Christian Democratic Party of Chile*

The main problem which the democratic forces of Chile are tackling today is to achieve unity of action of all the parties and population groups opposed to the dictatorship. Isolated actions cannot lead the country out of the deep economic, social and political disarray it has been reduced to by fascism. This task can only be accomplished if the overwhelming majority of the people join in struggle to restore democracy and freedom. "What enables the military junta to stay in power is not so much armed force as anti-fascist disunity", says the Communist Party of Chile.[1] In view of the importance of the struggle for unity, WMR last year published a collective interview with leaders of the Popular Unity parties.[2] A growing body of Chilean public opinion is coming to the conclusion that efforts for unity should be carried on, along with Popular Unity parties, by other political and social forces, primarily by the Christian Democratic Party, which is very influential among christians, the middle strata and part of the working people. *WMR* believes the reader will be interested to know what that party's founder had to say about the matter in an interview with Hugo Fazio, representative of the Communist Party of Chile on the journal.

Of course, Bernardo Leighton's views do not entirely coincide with those of the Popular Unity. They show, however, that he is searching for effective means of fighting the dictatorship.

Following is a brief transcript of the interview.

How Is the Struggle for Unity Going On in Chile?

Those members of both the older and the younger generation who helped for years to establish a democratic regime must now contribute to the restoration of democracy, meaning, of course, a democracy perfected with due regard to the experience we have gained. The effort to achieve unity should be pressed forward on

[1] *Unidad Antifascista*, Edicion clandestina, December 1975.
[2] See *WMR*, October 1975.

the principle of mutual respect, with a view to working out coinciding criteria for the restoration of a democratic regime.

As for the organisational forms that the process of achieving unity could take, Leighton repeated the opinion he had expressed before, when he said: "It isn't easy for the christian democrats to sign an agreement on a pact or front. But I believe time will settle the issue. The important thing is concrete action. The task is not to fight against one another but against Pinochet. He is our enemy. However, he is a symbolic enemy, for actually it isn't he who is the enemy but the system set up by him and others."[3]

Therefore, Leighton said during the interview, it is not now a question of searching for the specific forms a pact or front (the names may differ) should take. The drive for unity requires that all Chileans living abroad (it is them I have in mind) should pool their efforts, as we are all agreed on the main thing, that the democracy which existed in Chile in the past must be restored. This is how the process of achieving unity can be furthered and it is what we have been working for—with some success—and will continue to strive for.

What Common Goal Makes for Mutual Understanding?

First of all we must be genuine democrats, i.e. conceive democracy according to the doctrines that have guided us for years and will continue to guide us. The common goal is to re-establish the foundations of democracy but, I repeat, of a renovated democracy, for the present usurpers of power, the so-called Chilean government, have destroyed it, in particular because it wasn't renovated in time (many didn't want it, either) This common goal will make for mutual understanding among democrats to the extent that every Chilean accepts the idea that every person is entitled to his opinion. The christian democrats' ideology is associated with Christ, whom we continue to see as the founder of the christian religion. But reality is changing and this means that we cannot always say, "You must do as Christ taught us" Christ spoke of man but mankind, undergoing evolutionary change, puts the christian doctrine. which came into being 2,000 years ago, in the service of the present day. Of course, this is the christian view. And being a christian doesn't at all mean possessing exclusive rights in regard to others. We merely want to express the profound idea of our spiritual world. the idea of serving man. I think the same is true of other doctrines, such as Marxism, which christians should treat in the

[3] *La Gazzetta del Popolo*, 11-12 September 1975.

same way as their own doctrine, that is, as a world outlook that has come into being in the course of history. Both christianity and Marxism recognise the value of the individual. Hence the common goal that will help democratic forces to achieve mutual understanding must proceed from the fact that the desire for democracy is a manifestation of human nature. In advocating our ideas, however, we shouldn't make a dogma of them.

What Prevents Unity of Action?

That is a timely question, for in the past unity of action for democracy encountered difficulties.

Even before the coup, many Chileans holding different views sought unity of action to preserve democracy but failed. The question at the time was not of seeking unity with the government or the opposition, but of attempts to achieve all-round mutual understanding on how democratic order should be maintained. Salvador Allende, whose death I deeply mourn to this day, declared, for his part, in favour of preserving democracy. Many of us who were not in the government respected his policies because we were a democratic opposition. But there were difficulties. Between us and government spokesmen and between them and opposition leaders. This is why the issue of united action is still relevant although I think that for those who are abroad, it is less pressing than before. Inside Chile, however, the problem is still complicated.

That is why Chilean living abroad should, first of all, take steps to come to terms on all the problems they can solve jointly. with due regard to Chilean conditions, for our compatriots there are exposed to much greater risks than many of the exiles. While today's difficulties are less serious than before, they raise obstacles to unity of action.

I think we should all be analysts. I've been in Europe for over two years and I know agreement can be reached with people holding different views—socialists, communists, radicals, members of various small groups (some of them include former christian democrats)—an agreement to the effect that all who championed democracy before 11 September 1973, are entitled to participate in the restoration of democracy in Chile.

Something most noteworthy is going on in Chile Indeed, the questions you've asked me and I've answered are also being discussed in Chile. That applies probably to the armed forces, the carabinero corps and all who cooperate with the dictatorship Many wonder what they are to do and what lies ahead, since they hav

so far proved unable to solve the problems and, indeed, the situation has worsened.

Many of those who welcomed the coup, wrongly believing they were serving democracy, have long since come to realise that the dictatorship must not be backed. They are now thinking of the need for unity, all the more because they don't have to renounce their views to that end but must merely respect the views of others, so that broad-based democracy can be restored in Chile by joint efforts, a democracy which existed before but whose shortcomings were not removed in time.[4]

There are ways and means of overcoming the difficulties on the road to united action—witness the experience of Chileans living abroad. In Chile, even those who supported the dictatorship at first realise, as the Chilean press indicates, that the path the junta is following will never lead to what they had hoped to achieve out of good intentions.

What Government Should Come After the Dictatorship?

The issue of the future government is very important and I will try to state my ideas about it in specific terms. I believe it should comprise those who adhered to democratic positions when, on 11 September democracy was abolished and the dictatorship took over. Why should they participate? So that the government might accomplish its tasks? I hope to god it will be so. I do hope it will. All who hold such views must make *tremendous efforts to put them* into effect. The government should comprise those who before the coup advocated democratic changes, that is, *members* of the opposition and cabinet members, people equal to the tasks they will be faced with.[5]

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[4] "Large social and political sectors that first backed the dictatorship for one
reason or another have changed their position and are now fighting openly against
the fascist junta's policies and methods", Leighton has said earlier. and the idea ran
through the interview. 'In the Christian Democratic Party, which is my principal
source of information, this trend is quite manifest. Some influential circles, which
had maintained that the dictatorship could not last and that a constitutional demo-
cratic regime would soon be re-established, now see that the situation is entirely
different. They take a resolute stand against the dictatorship's policy and the dic-
tatorship itself, for they consider that it is in the nation's interest to eliminate
the present regime as speedily as possible' (*La Gazzetta del Popolo*, September 11-12
1975).

[5] Last year Bernardo Leighton stated similar views in speaking of the political
forces that should join in the struggle for unity. "I think", he said at the time, "all
the political forces interested in restoring democracy will remain aloof of the strug-
gle, or join in it depending on the options they choose. ideology or allegiance to

We know very well who should **not** be included in the future government. Those who had helped the dictatorship and had remained loyal to it throughout. The government should include people who had never collaborated with the dictatorship and were opposed to it. It is they who will have to assume the responsibility for building a new democratic order in Chile.

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doctrine has nothing to do with this. Everything depends on concerted action. No one should have a feeling that he is admitted to the struggle or barred from it beforehand. We must all take part in the struggle for a common goal. We must join efforts, showing loyalty to one another, respecting one another's points of view and seeking a broad firm and just agreement. The point is that no force should impose its will and that if it tries to do so, it should be firmly resisted by other forces - those opposed to hegemonism, sectarianism and dogmatism. This broad agreement must become today's goal" (*Chile-America*, 10-11, 1975).

A LIFE GIVEN FOR THE PEOPLE'S CAUSE

In September 1975 the working people of El Salvador lost their true friend and leader—Rafael Aguinada Carranza, General Secretary of the United Trade Union Federation of El Salvador, a genuine representative of the people in the country's Legislative Assembly, a worker, a communist.

He was assassinated in the evening of 26 September in the very centre of San Salvador, four blocks away from the police headquarters, at a crossing which is always crowded at that time of day. The assassins following Rafael Aguinada caught up with the car he was driving and opened fire with sub-machineguns. They fired from such close range that the coroner found traces of gunpowder on the dead man's body. The killers committed the assassination with impunity: after firing their sub-machineguns one of them came out of the car to finish off their victim with a pistol in full sight of the customers of nearby cafes.

The funeral of Rafael Aguinada Carranza became a mighty demonstration of *solidarity of the trade-union, public, democratic organisations of El Salvador and other countries with the struggle he had led. For three days there was an endless stream of workers, students, office employees and peasants marching to the building of the Trade Union Federation to pay their last tribute to their leader* and express indignation at the atrocious murder. The workers of various enterprises in San Salvador and Santa Ana declared Saturday the 27th and Monday the 29th of September non-working days Most of the country's trade-union federations condemned the foul murder of the revolutionary worker.

All this was the Salvadorian people's convincing reply to their enemies and butchers. During those mournful days the masses demonstrated their readiness to continue their struggle and reaffirmed their determination not to be intimidated by the terrorism unleashed by the fascists in the government and security agencies. The actions of the Salvadorian people in those days showed their deep gratitude to the man who wanted to free their country of the exploiters—the cause for which he gave his life.

Our correspondent managed to convey to Carranza's widow, Zoila Bertha Deras, the editors' request to say a few words about the life and struggle of her husband Below we print the story she sent us. We also give excerpts from the speech made at the funeral ceremony by Shafik Jorge Handal, General Secretary of the Communist Party of El Salvador. We hope these will supplement the story about the slain hero and give an idea of the courageous struggle of the Salvadorian communists.

WHY THEY KILLED MY HUSBAND

ZOILA BERTHA DERAS

My husband, Rafael Aguinada Carranza, with whom I lived for twenty years, was born in the town of Sonsonate. He was the sixth child in the family of Mariano Aguinada and Antonia Carranza, who had twelve sons. Rafael became a carpenter's apprentice at the age of 13, immediately after finishing primary school. In 1945 he took a job at the carpentry shop of the Western Railway owned by a British company. The following year the railwaymen of the company struck for higher wages and better working conditions, and fifteen-year-old Rafael distinguished himself in collecting funds for the strikers.

In those days it was very difficult for those in the provinces who, like Rafael, had to start work early because of material difficulties, to continue studies, all the more so as there were no evening schools. So Rafael went to the capital, San Salvador, where he worked as carpenter in the building industry and attended the National School of Fine Arts in the evening. In that school he and his friends set up in 1952 a draughtsmen's organisation, which united both the school students and graduates. On finishing the school he reeeived a draughtsman's diploma. In 1956 Rafael participated in establishing the Lamatepec Youth Association, and in 1959—the 5 November Youth Organisation, which he represented at the World Youth and Students' Festival in Vienna.

Eager to learn, Rafael entered secondary school, but soon left it to devote himself entirely to revolutionary work. For some time he engaged in the activity of the April and May revolutionary party uniting representatives of left forces. The party was subjected to constant repression, so Rafael was forced to go underground.

In March 1960 Rafael joined the Communist Party of El Salvador. He had long considered himself a communist, having been convinced that that party, during its four decades of struggle, expressed the aspirations of those who wanted to build a better life for their people.

At the party's Fifth Congress held in February 1964 Rafael was elected member of the Central Committee. Thanks to the participation of the Communist Party and the Left forces in the 1967 presidential election campaign, it became possible for the first time to carry on a broad discussion of demands for radical changes of an anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist nature. In that period Rafael was arrested but soon released due to the strong political ferment

As a delegate of the building workers' union Rafael attended the Seventh Congress of the United Trade Union Federation of El Salvador—one of the country's most powerful trade-union confederations. At that congress he was elected the federation's secretary for education, the press and propaganda, and was subsequently re-elected three times to that post. Rafael performed his work energetically, organising courses, seminars and lectures for workers. The Federation's newspaper **Unidad** (Unity) began to come out again.

On 14 September 1972, National Guard agents in mufti broke into our house and took my husband to jail. The National Guardsmen had long been notorious for their brutal cruelty. For eight days they kept him in a toilet of 70 by 90 centimetres, handcuffed, naked, blindfolded with plaster and cotton wool, his head enclosed in a plastic bag. From there he was led away only to be interrogated and tortured. On the ninth day of imprisonment Rafael and eight other prisoners were sent by plane to Nicaragua and handed over to the army. To this day I cannot forget the outrageously cynical statement made by the President of the republic to journalists who asked about the fate of the arrested. He told them: "They are not being exiled, but just having a change of residence in our vast Central American homeland."

Rafael always held that a revolutionary's place is in his own country. Since childhood he had been stubborn and persevering; his mother told me this many a time. After forty days of exile in Nicaragua he illegally returned to El Salvador to join in the struggle again and continue his work in the trade-union movement and in the party. On 10 May 1973, six months after his return, he was re-arrested and again exiled to Nicaragua, this time to the town of Esteli far in the north. As before the Salvadorian communist found solidarity and support among his Nicaraguan brothers-in-arms. Twenty days later he returned home to carry on the fight.

In November 1973 a campaign began for the forthcoming elections to the Legislative Assembly and municipal councils. Rafael participated in it as a candidate from the National Opposition Union (NOU)[1]. Of the 52 deputies elected to the Legislative Assembly in March 1974, fifteen, including Rafael, represented the NOU. Obviously, work in the Assembly was not easy. The Right-wing deputies, who formed the majority, rejected all proposals coming from the opposition and refused to let its members take the floor. And when

[1]The NOU includes the Christian Democratic Party, the National Democratic Union (a left-wing party), and the National Revolutionary Movement—a party which, though small, enjoys quite a high prestige among intellectuals.

the opposition did manage to speak out, the yellow press glossed over its speeches. Nevertheless, it succeeded in presenting several bills, including one on higher pay for factory and office workers and higher pensions.

Rafael addressed the Assembly more than once. He came out against the export law, which enabled foreign capital to penetrate the country, against the shackling credits granted by the United States, against repressions and restriction of freedoms. The working people saw a defender of their interests in Rafael, the deputy and trade union leader.

In September 1974 Rafael was elected General Secretary of the United Trade Union Federation of El Salvador. The year 1975, the last in his life, was one of intensive work to strengthen the unity of the trade-union movement, especially that of the three biggest federations.[2] Nation-wide meetings of trade unions were held, which also included some controlled by the government.[3] At these meetings common demands which might serve as a platform for joint action were formulated. When a united confederation of Salvadorian working people was about to be set up, the government, alarmed by the growing unity of the working people, did all it could to split the trade-union movement.

The reactionaries struck on 26 September when the struggle to set up the confederation was at its height. Thirteen large-calibre bullets riddled the man who had devoted his life to the revolution, to his party. Rafael was one of many who gave their lives for the victory of our people.

Rafael was the second son in his family to fall in the battle for the cause of the revolution. The other, Rafael's brother Oscar Gilberto Martinez Carranza, was killed earlier by National Guardsmen during a strike in support of the teachers' demands for higher pay; he, too, was a communist and trade-union leader.

Our children, Rafael, Dinora, Tania and Galia have lost their father. But they know that he died fighting for a just cause.

He was murdered for his tireless efforts for working-class unity. His murderers hoped his death would prevent the working people from achieving unity. But they miscalculated. Our people are increasingly realising the urgent need to fight for their full emancipation.

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[2] The Federation of Trade Unions of Workers in the Food, Clothing, Textile and Related Industries, the National Federation of Salvadorian Workers, and the United Trade Union Federation of El Salvador.

[3] Belong to the General Confederation of Trade Unions—*Ed.*

HE DIED FOR A NOBLE CAUSE

SHAFIC GORGE HANDEL

General Secretary, Communist Party of El Salvador

Rafael Aguinada Carranza, our dear **Chele,** was shot dead by base assassins while he was hurrying to fulfil his duties as leader of the workers.

Chele Aguinada was an ardent and devout champion of trade-union unity. The organised workers of the country are well aware that the unity of their movement was the chief goal towards which he aspired, and of his deep conviction that only unity would make it possible to defend their vital interests, secure better living conditions, and make the decisive contribution to the Salvadorian people's historic battle for a truly popular government.

We vow to continue our comrade's struggle to unite the working-class movement and join it in an inviolable fraternal alliance with the peasant movement...

We are living through hard times. But the struggle must go on in spite of the fact that assassins are lying in ambush. And it will continue despite the endless threats of repressions against the people's organisations and despite the danger of fascist encroachment upon the country's constitutional laws and our already meagre democratic liberties. In our fight today we must learn to be as courageous, persevering and staunch as Comrade Rafael Aguinada was. This is the best way of paying homage to him, because his murderers want to intimidate and demoralise the whole working-class and popular movement.

We vow that we shall not allow ourselves to be intimidated, that we shall be unyielding and merciless in the struggle against the fascists, that we shall step up our discipline, our work, our militancy

In March 1974 Rafael Aguinada Carranza was elected deputy to the Legislative Assembly, where he fulfilled with honour his duty as an incorruptible revolutionary, a worker-politician. Many a time working people came from towns and villages to the Legislative Assembly, requesting it to resolve their vital problems and seeking protection from employer or government harassment. And they always found Rafael Aguinada to be one of the most resolute defenders of their interests and felt that his voice was their own voice.

The fact that he was elected deputy for the National Opposition

Union (NOU), the biggest alliance of popular forces in the country's history, from the outset showed him to be a convinced advocate of unity of all progressive forces in a common front—which is indispensable for achieving the democratic, national-liberation revolutionary goals of the present stage in El Salvador's history.

During his work in the Legislative Assembly, Comrade Rafael proved his loyalty to the cause. He was always able to distinguish, even among deputies representing the government, between the watchdogs of the fascists and other reactionaries, and those who voted for the worst things against their will, because of their political affiliation; between those who were blinded by hatred and flagrantly trampled on the working people's interests, and those who were willing to hear them out and reach agreement with them; between those who acted from selfishness or under somebody's orders as arch reactionaries and rogues, and those who are to a certain degree able to consider new ideas, which are sweeping our planet today.

Rafael Aguinada Carranza insisted that the Legislative Assembly should distinguish between the handful of reactionary and pro-imperialist officers performing traitorous and repressive functions from honest military men who opposed using the army as a gendarme against their own people and endeavoured, together with them, to liberate and reorganise the country.

We vow to continue to be faithful to the cause of further strengthening our unity and turning it into a broad front that would include all the forces, organisations, groups and individuals, whether civilian or military, whether of the opposition parties or the ruling party, whether religious or secular, and regardless of their philosophical views—all those who are convinced of the necessity to defend freedom, the political, trade union and human rights and bar the way to fascism.

We believe, as Rafael Aguinada did, that this broad democratic front should be centred on the unity of the working-class movement, on its alliance with the peasants and the more active and organised middle strata.

This vile crime was committed by members of gangs organised by the fascists with the direct support and participation of the security forces. These gangs are directed by an organisation comprising big capitalists and military men in the employ of the CIA. It is the big business sector (which preaches extremist policies), the CIA and its foreign and local agents in our country who inspire these gangs to terrorist activities. It is they who engineered the predatory and foul murder of Rafael Aguinada.

The lamentations of Colonel Molina[4] and his condemnation of violence "wherever it may come from" have not been confirmed by punishment of the assassins "whoever they may be". When Jorge Alberto Moran Cornejo, another trade-union leader, was assassinated last year, Molina made a similar statement: he promised that a serious investigation would be carried out and the assassins would be punished. Today, a year later, it is obvious that the murderers were not exposed, much less penalised. Colonel Molina knows full well that they do not have to be looked for because they are inside the security service itself, and that one cannot assign the investigation of a crime to the very people who have committed it.

The whole people of El Salvador know who the murderers are: they are the same ones who killed peasants in cold blood in La Cayetana and Tres Calles, and shot students on 30 July; and they are still at large...

El Salvador is experiencing grim days, and it must realise that the fascists responsible for this situation will pay no heed to protests or appeals to reason, that they will not give up their criminal designs of their own free will. The only way to restrain the fascists is to crush them and form a truly democratic and popular government.

Deliberately but firmly we shall carry on the struggle against fascism; we shall defend the people's organisations, their leaders and activists; we shall defend our meagre liberties and constitutional rights, and pave the way for the establishment of a government that is acceptable to the people.

We shall fight for the noble cause for which Rafael Aguinada, the peasants of La Cayetana and Tres Calles, and the students shot on 30 July laid down their lives

Among the many thousands of people who came to bid farewell to Carranza in the evening of 27 September 1975 was Jesus Miguel Angel Hernandez Rogel, a worker in the Capri factory, former General Secretary of the factory section of the furniture industry's trade union. Soon after leaving the building of the United Trade Union Federation of El Salvador, where the body of his comrade-in-arms lay in state, he was seized and after several hours killed.

On 1 October Jose Ernesto Sorto Argueta, a poultry-farm labourer, and General Secretary of the Federation of Trade Unions of Workers in the Food, Clothing, Textile and Related Industries, was seized by National Guard agents at the request of the farm's owner. There has been no trace of him ever since. His enemies could not

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[4] Arturo Armando Molina—President of El Salvador, assumed office in 1972—*Ed.*

forgive him for defending the interests of the workers and resisting employers' attempts to break up the class-based organisations of the working people.

These are but a few examples of the reactionary terror campaign against trade unions and their leaders.

At the funeral of Rafael Aguinada Corranza, the participants in the procession carried posters with the words: "When a person is murdered because of his ideas, it means that his ideas have begun to threaten the murderers." This pronouncement is a verdict on fascism and reaction, which resort to bloody terror to postpone the hour of their doom.

CMEA AND EEC: OPPORTUNITIES FOR COOPERATION

WIESLAW ISKRA
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The internationalisation of economic life is one of the most characteristic features of the world today. The deepening of the process, especially apparent in the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution, has led to the emergence of international integration groups based on close ties between the national economies of their participants. Integration processes have advanced farthest in Europe. More than 80 per cent of the trade between the socialist and capitalist worlds is between European socialist and West-European countries.

Internationalisation of the economy is a universal development, though its rate, forms, and social consequences differ substantially in conditions of socialism and capitalism. This is also true of the formation and functioning of integration groups. To the two opposing social systems correspond two types of international economic integration. From the class point of view West-European integration is a process of internationalisation of capital with the purpose of increasing profits, strengthening the positions of the big bourgeoisie and aligning its combined strength against the working class, the international communist movement and the socialist world system.

As opposed to this, the supreme purpose of socialist economic integration is faster growth of national living standards and satisfaction of the people's material and cultural requirements. Socialist economic integration helps strengthen the positions of the socialist community in the world economy and favourably affects economic competition with capitalism.

The point of departure and basis of West-European integration is

a merging of national markets. The market mechanism is the mainspring of integration processes, though it should also be borne in mind that the spontaneous character of economic processes in the capitalist world is today restricted by the growing regulating role of the state. This is of course true not only of internal economic life in the developed capitalist countries but of the totality of their foreign relations as well.

The contradictions inherent in the capitalist system are equally apparent in economic integration. Its mechanism is burdened down by them. Attempts to stabilise Western Europe's economic situation with the help of the European Economic Community (EEC) are of no avail. The crisis now affecting the economic foundations of West European countries and other developed capitalist states is so deep that it is compared with the greatest economic crisis of the capitalist world in 1929-33.

The socialist countries present an entirely different picture. Recently tallied results of their five-year plans show convincingly that the socialist economy is characterised by high and stable rates of development, that the mechanism of planned management, both on the internal and the international scale, offers a decisive advantage over market mechanisms, even those in which the capitalist state intervenes. In contradistinction to economic integration in the EEC framework, the centre of gravity of socialist economic integration lies, from the outset, in the sphere of material production. Trade between CMEA member-states and the corresponding commodity-financial categories are subordinate to production integration. Co-ordination of economic plans and joint planning of economic measures are fundamental to the mechanism of socialist integration.

Five years ago the CMEA countries adopted their long-term Comprehensive Programme of Socialist Economic Integration, which heralded a new stage in the development of cooperation between the fraternal nations, its rise to a higher level providing for joint development of natural resources, joint construction of industrial complexes to meet the needs of all the partners, and long-term co-operation between enterprises and whole industries. Successful implementation of the Comprehensive Programme has significantly deepened the interaction of national economies and made them mutually complementary; it paved the way for the next step forward notably in the implementation of joint long-term programmes for specific objectives. The coordinated plan of multilateral integration measures first adopted at last summer's session of the CMEA and the state economic plans for 1976-80 drawn up on its basis indicate that the CMEA countries are embarking on a period that has rightly been

called the "first quinquennium of integration" designed to enhance the strength and cohesion of the countries of the socialist community. "Deeper economic integration of CMEA member-countries", Edward Gierek said in his report to the 7th PUWP Congress, "is an objective development at the present stage of socialist and communist construction. Poland favours the expansion of that process and the introduction of higher forms of cooperation on an ever broader scale."

The opposite nature of social systems and the consequent differences between integration processes in the two parts of Europe should not, however, prevent the development of mutually beneficial economic relations.

Expansion of business contacts is favoured primarily by the fact that the socialist community does not seek economic autarky. Socialist economic integration is by its very nature open, it does not fence itself off from the rest of the world. The socialist countries' foreign policies are, as is known, peace-loving and permeated with the desire to consolidate and expand international detente. Thanks to this, growing economic cooperation between states with different social systems is a powerful factor in the continued promotion of positive processes in world affairs.

"Struggle to consolidate the principles of peaceful coexistence, to assure lasting peace, to reduce, and in a longer term to eliminate, the danger of another world war", L. I. Brezhnev noted in his report at the 25th CPSU Congress, "has been and remains, the main element of our policy towards the capitalist states. It may be noted that considerable progress has been achieved in this area in the past five years."

Of major importance in addition to political factors are the reciprocal economic interests of socialist and capitalist countries. Business relations between them derive from the expediency and benefits of international division of labour; they facilitate the formation of economic structures providing a stable base for long-term mutually beneficial trade and production cooperation.

The socialist countries possess rich reserves of raw materials and fuel and an expanding assortment of manufactured goods, as well as a well-developed scientific and technological potential. West-European experts realise that wider use of the scientific and technological achievements of the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, could in many ways help close the technological gap between Western Europe and the United States.

The socialist countries are in turn interested in purchasing West-

European machinery and technology, primary and semi-finished products, consumer goods and some types of raw materials in exchange for their exports. At the same time, thanks to the scope of economic construction and the high growth rates of national income and consumption, they possess exceptionally large and stable markets attractive to West-European countries, not least because of marketing difficulties, which have been, and remain, one of the main headaches of the capitalist economy.

Finally, the continent of Europe is an indivisible geographic entity. Economic development today confronts the opposing social systems with a number of common problems, notably such as environmental protection, joint sponsorship of large-scale and costly research programmes (space and deep-sea research, the study of geological processes, health and longevity problems, etc.), joining of waterways and power systems, construction of oil and gas pipelines. In short, there are ample opportunities for economic cooperation.

Considerable progress has been achieved in economic ties between European countries in the last few years. Trade and credit relations have expanded substantially, further steps have been taken towards industrial cooperation.

The rate of growth of trade between CMEA and capitalist countries should, of course, be viewed in close connection with trade among member-states within the CMEA. Generally speaking, it can increase faster, or slower, or in proportion to, the expansion of their trade with developed capitalist countries.

Short-term comparisons reveal all three trends. Most recently, for example, trade between Eastern and Western Europe grew some what faster than among CMEA countries. The reason was an effort to make use of formerly unavailable opportunities and of the better international climate. However, long-term observations of the process, which alone can reveal general trends, indicate that the latter two of the above-mentioned relationships are more typical. It does not, of course, follow that the volume of trade between Eastern and Western Europe must necessarily decline. The socialist countries seek to maintain and expand trade as far as possible. The point is that the development of trade among CMEA countries should not in the long term lag behind the growth of trade between them and developed capitalist countries.

The dynamic growth in trade among CMEA countries is explicitly stipulated in the programme of socialist economic integration. It promotes the division of labour among them and greater specialisation of national economies. Speaking of such specialisation, we pr

marily have in mind intra-industrial specialisation involving the manufacture of finished items and their components. At the same time, the CMEA countries also favour inter-industrial specialisation necessitated, among other things, by the geography of power and raw-material reserves, farmlands and whole countries.

The deepening of planned, regulated international socialist division of labour and specialisation of production implies an accelerated growth of trade between CMEA countries. Such trade promotes production, its concentration and centralisation, its scale, better quality, lower costs and, in the final analysis, better satisfaction of public demand. The growing flow between CMEA countries can be fully in harmony with growing trade in commodities and services between the East and West of Europe. The CMEA countries coordinate their economic relations with Western Europe and, in a sense, subordinate them to their overall economic strategy, including the purposes and tasks of socialist integration.

In programming the relationship between the growth rates of trade between East and West, on the one hand, and among CMEA countries, on the other, it should be borne in mind that at least one-quarter of the total trade of CMEA member-states is with EEC countries; the share of CMEA countries in the latter's total is at best one-third that amount. The gap cannot be overcome quickly, but in future the socialist countries will doubtlessly strive to close it and increase mutual trade as compared with trade with developed capitalist states.

There are still difficulties and problems in international economic relations between European countries that require solution. Key among them, as I see it, are structural barriers in trade and the difficulty of institutionalising economic relations between the EEC and CMEA.

One of the structural barriers is that exports from CMEA countries to Western Europe do not correctly reflect national industrial structures or economic development. Since the war the CMEA countries have increased their economic potential several times over, and their former lag behind West-European countries, especially in industry, has been largely overcome. Thus, taking per capita industrial output of EEC countries for 100, the index for CMEA countries rose from 50 in 1950 to 81 in 1970.[1] Changes in favour of the CMEA countries continued throughout the first half of the seventies. The socialist countries are advancing confidenly whereas West-European countries are gripped by an acute crisis.

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[1] See *25 Years of CMEA—Results, Tasks, Perspectives*, Moscow, 1974, p. 113.

Rapid economic growth in the European socialist countries was accompanied by changes in national economic structures. Relying on internal sources of development and mutual economic assistance—especially from the USSR—formerly backward countries carried out socialist industrialisation.

SHARE OF GNP (PER CENT)

Country	Industry		Agriculture and forestry	
	1950	*1974*	*1950*	*1974**
Bulgaria	36.8	52.3	42.5	20.7
Czechoslovakia	62.5	64.1	16.2*	9.8
GDR	47.0	61.7	28.4	10.6
Hungary	26.5	44.6	47.7	16.6
Mongolia	9.8	25.0	59.4	21.0
Poland	31.8	51.2	47.9*	14.5
Romania	43.4	57.3	27.6	16.4
USSR	57.5	52.7	22.2	18.3

* Only agriculture.

Sources: Narodnoye khozyaistvo stran-chlenov Soveta Ekonomicheskoy Vzaimopomoshchi, Statistichesky sbornik, Moscow, 1974, pp. 56, 57; Statistichesky yezhegodnik stran-chlenov Soveta Ekonomicheskogo Vzaimopomoshchi, Moscow, 1975, p. 42.

The socialist countries' industry is expanding and modernising. Industries decisive for technological progress (engineering, chemicals, power) occupy almost as prominent a place in the economy as in West-European countries. Thus, in 1974, the share of the three industries named above in gross industrial output was 35.3 per cent in Bulgaria, 42.2 in Czechoslovakia, 47.7 in the GDR, 44.4 in Hungary, 39.6 in Poland, and 43.3 in Romania.

The changes taking place in the industrial structures of a country should, naturally be adequately reflected in its exports. In the socialist countries synchronisation of structural changes in production and export was effected smoothly, according to plan, without difficulty. The share of industry in exports increased together with its share of the GNP. Similarly, the proportion of machinery and plant on the world socialist market increased together with their share in total industrial output. Thus, the proportion of machinery and equipment exported by Poland to other CMEA countries increased from 13.6 per cent in 1950 to 53.4 per cent in 1973.

Such synchronisation of changes in the structure of production and exports takes place naturally in other CMEA member-countries. Trade relations with developed capitalist countries, however, present a different picture.

STRUCTURE OF EXPORTS FROM CMEA COUNTRIES TO DEVELOPED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES (PER CENT)

	Machinery and equipment		*Raw materials, fuel, primary products*		*Farm products and foodstuffs*		*Manufactured consumer goods*	
	1950	*1973*	*1950*	*1973*	*1950*	*1973*	*1950*	*1973*
CMEA	5.3	8.9	60.7	59.9	24.1	18.7	9.9	12.5
Bulgaria	0.2	8.9	20.8	39.7	73.9	41.9	5.1	9.5
Czechoslovakia	14.9	16.2	46.8	46.7	15.7	12.4	22.6	24.7
GDR	12.8	16.3	49.3	41.4	13.6	19.6	24.3	22.7
Hungary	3.7	4.4	30.9	38.2	48.2	37.7	17.2	19.7
Poland	1.9	12.8	43.5	42.4	47.5	32.5	7.1	12.3

Source: Sprawy Miedzynarodowe, 1975, No. 9, p. 59.

It will be observed that the structure of exports from CMEA countries to developed capitalist states is changing extremely slowly and continues to be typical of suppliers of farm produce and raw materials despite the fact that the industries manufacturing machinery and equipment obviously predominate in their economies. It is indicative that in 1973, for example, the proportion of raw materials and primary products, as well as farm produce and foodstuffs, in the exports of CMEA countries to developed capitalist states was almost 80 per cent, as against less than 10 per cent for machinery and equipment. For comparison, the share of the latter in trade among CMEA countries was almost 50 per cent in 1973, an increase of almost 2.5 times over 1950.

Raw materials, farm produce and food industry products continue to occupy an important place in the exports of CMEA countries to West-European markets. But the development of other exports to bring them into alignment with the structure of production in our countries is an objective necessity. The overall expansion of trade between Eastern and Western Europe, in which all parties are interested, depends in large measure on the solution of that important problem. It can best be resolved by promoting industrial cooperation, credit relations and eliminating the survivals of discriminatory

trade policies of West-European countries against CMEA member-states. Last but not least, we must see to the quality of our products.

While planning and coordinating their economic policies within the CMEA framework the member-states cannot, of course, neglect coordinating relations with EEC countries. It is noteworthy that in promoting trade relations with individual CMEA countries the latter tend to ignore the imporant fact that they are not isolated entities, that their economies are drawing closer, that they are involved in the process of socialist integration. Some EEC leaders perhaps hope that CMEA countries will fail to grasp the economic and political meaning of their ideas of cooperation. But the problem is obvious. It is an attempt to weaken the unity of the CMEA countries and align the combined economic strength of the EEC against individual CMEA countries in the expectation of economic and political benefits. Such an approach would enable economic groups in West-European countries to maximise their profits, influence the formation of unbalanced industrial structures in CMEA countries, hold back their economic integration, and differentiate between them economically, politically and ideologically. Such expectations, however, are doomed. The CMEA is here to stay, and it is hard to imagine the further expansion of equitable economic relations between the East and West of Europe without recognition of that objective fact; failure to do so would, of course, also run contrary to the Final Act of the European Security and Cooperation Conference, as well as to the objective demands of internationalisation of economic life.

With that in mind, in February 1976, the Chairman of the CMEA Executive Committee, on behalf of the governments of all member-states, forwarded a proposal to the EEC chairman suggesting that the CMEA and its member-states, on the one hand, and the EEC and its member-states, on the other, should sign an agreement governing relations between them; he also submitted a draft of such an agreement.

Among prime measures it was suggested that both sides do everything possible to expand trade on the basis of mostfavoured nation treatment. The general accord could provide for special bilateral or multilateral agreements between CMEA member-states and EEC bodies, and between EEC member-states and CMEA bodies, as well as between their respective economic organisations.

The proposal stipulates that the CMEA and EEC, acting in the spirit of the Final Act of the European Security and Cooperation Conference, will maintain contacts with a view to improving condi-

ons of trade, promoting cooperation in environmental protection, tandardisation and statistics. The CMEA has expressed readiness to liscuss outstanding problems of economic cooperation, exchanges of nformation on the activities of both organisations, etc.

An agreement between the CMEA and EEC would be their joint contribution to the expansion and consolidation of equitable, mutually beneficial economic relations. It would also promote the materialisation of detente, the consolidation of European peace, and the mplementation of broad, equitable all-European cooperation. Recent events give hope that realism will prevail in all-European cooperation, that unrealistic notions and schemes will be abandoned, and he ideas of the Final Act of the European Security and Cooperation Conference will gain the upper hand.

SPAIN AT A HISTORIC CROSSROAD

SANTIAGO ALVAREZ
Member of the Executive Committee and Secretariat, CC
Communist Party of Spain

Santiago Alvarez, as previously reported, spoke to a meeting of the *WMR* Editorial Council about the situation in Spain. Following is an abridged transcript of his remarks.

Government Policy Failures

The present government of Spain is a product of compromise between two alignments that fought for power after Franco's death. One of them, closely linked with extreme rightists, is made up of Francoist conservatives. Its key figure, now heading the government, is Arias Navarro, who held the post under Franco. The other group comprises so-called reformers, or people who would like to adapt the regime to the new situation. Its leaders include Fraga Iribarne, minister of the interior, and Jose Maria de Areilza, foreign minister.

Several months have passed since the government was formed and it is safe to say that it cannot solve any of the problems facing Spanish society. Experience has proved the communists' right in saying that there is no going over from fascism to democracy without breaking with the past, that is, without a political revolution that would sweep away the institutions of the Franco system and make it possible to set up new, democratic institutions. Yet the government has not ventured to effect even the most elementary reforms meeting the people's aspirations for democracy, if only to some extent. It refuses to amnesty political prisoners or allow political exiles to return, which is one of the prime demands of the democratic forces.

The domestic political crisis interlocks with a deepening eco-

nomic crisis. Inflation is growing and the unemployment rate is close to a million. In view of the general insecurity, the employers are reluctant to make new investments, and this tends to aggravate the situation. The government has devalued the peseta and imposed a wage freeze, sparking an unprecedented strike wave.

The official political strategy, too, has miscarried. It was intended to win over certain opposition forces—the socialists, social-democrats and christian democrats—by promising reforms, and to isolate the Communist Party as a result. The communists are the most active participants in the struggle going on throughout the country and no big national problem can be solved without them. This is why the opposition, including people far removed from the communist ideology, insist that the CPS be legalised along with other parties.

The government also suffers setbacks in trying to expand its international relations. One of the Spanish bourgeoisie's main objectives is to join the Common Market. But the EEC countries refuse to consider the matter until democratic freedoms are re-established in Spain.

Deepening Crisis of the Regime

More and more, Spanish public opinion realises the total inability of a government entirely made up of men who served Francoism to carry out the most pressing reforms. The political situation is tense.

The growing working-class and general democratic movement is probably the most typical aspect of the situation. In the past two years, Spain has come to the fore in capitalist Europe in the number of strikes. Last January alone strikes caused the loss of twice as many work-days as in all of last year, and in February there were even more strikes[1] Many strikes begin with a demand for higher wages, better working conditions, an end to dismissals and other economic demands. But as strikes are banned and the authorities often try to crush them by force, they inevitably become political actions against the regime.

Early in March, the events in Vitoria, capital of the Basque

[1] The strike wave did not subside in later months. Early in April, telephone employees went on strike all over the country and won all their demands. Workers at Michelin's have been on strike for over two months new. On the eve of May Day building workers called a general strike. Over 20,000 metal-workers walked out in Barcelona—*Ed*.

province of Alava, drew universal attention. A metal-workers' strike there was backed by a demonstration of 30,000 people. After the demonstration, 5,000 strikers assembled in a church. Police first used tear gas against them and then opened fire, killing five workers and injuring over a hundred. The opposition called for a general protest strike, which involved the whole Basque Country and the neighbouring province of Navarre. Over 700,000 people joined the strike, and moreover, hundreds of thousands struck in solidarity in Madrid, Barcelona, Galicia, Andalusia and elsewhere. As a result, what was an ordinary economic strike took on the dimension of a major political struggle involving, in one way or another, virtually the whole of Spanish society.

In addition to the workers, who have always fought for their rights, the strike movement has now spread to social strata that had shrunk from this form of protest. Special mention should be made of the strike of postal employees and municipal guards in Barcelona. Dissatisfaction with, and opposition to, the regime is on the rise among civil servants. Some time ago over 2,500 officials, including many high-ranking ones, demanded amnesty for all political prisoners and declared for a democratic state. Several years ago, lawyers opposed to Franco founded Democratic Justice, an organisation forming part of the opposition to the regime.

All this is evidence of erosion of the state machinery, one of the regime's main pillars. It also affects the armed forces.

A group of army officers charged with membership of a clandestine military organisation was put on trial recently. A major and eight captains were sentenced to terms of up to eight years in prison. The trial had widespread repercussions at home and abroad. It showed how deep-rooted opposition has become in the armed forces. The Democratic Military Union, the organisation to which the convicted officers belonged, was founded about two years ago, shortly after fascism in neighbouring Portugal had been overthrown. It comprises about a thousand officers belonging to the military elite. Most of them are commanders of army, naval or air force units.

After the trial, the Democratic Military Union stated that it did not intend to carry out a military coup in order to take power. But, it added, if the opposition forces reached agreement among themselves, formed a provisional government and then appealed to the armed forces on the people's behalf to overthrow the dictatorship, the union would undertake to accomplish the task.

Of course, the officer corps is not composed to democratically

minded military men alone but is divided into numerous political currents. A group of extreme right-wing generals longs to carry out a coup of the Chilean type. But the democratically-minded military are a serious obstacle to plans of this nature.

Lastly, very many military men believe that the present system may gradually evolve into a Western-type parliamentary democracy.

Anti-fascist Unity

The growing popular movement, on the one hand, and the decay of the fascist system of power, on the other, make the issue of democratic unity highly relevant. Evidently, no real changes can be brought about in the absence of such unity, without agreement on a political alternative to the existing regime.

The Communist Party seeks the broadest possible alliance of all forces opposed to fascism and championing democratisation of the country. Two years ago, its efforts led to the formation of the Democratic Junta, an alliance comprising, an addition to the Communist Party, the workers' commissions and a number of parties and political alignments. But the Democratic Junta did not succeed in uniting all opposition forces and several months later another coalition, Democratic Convergence, came into being and was joined by the Spanish Socialist Labour Party, christian democrats and some other opponents of the regime. Besides, there are opposition forces, organised on country wide or national-region level, which do not belong to any of these associations.

The communists saw their task in helping to adopt a programme of social and political changes acceptable to the entire opposition. The matter was discussed by spokesmen of the Democratic Junta and Democratic Convergence, who as a first step agreed on coordinating the actions of the two coalitions and set up a committee to that end. Late in March the organisations belonging to the two blocs decided to form an opposition alignment which they called Democratic Coordination.

The new broad-based coalition has a common programme containing the following basic demands: immediate release of all people jailed or detained for political or trade-union activities; the right of all exiles to return; restoration of the rights of all people deprived of them for political reasons; recognition and respect of human rights laid down in international legal documents; legalisation of all political parties without exception; recognition of trade-union rights and dissolution of the present official trade unions; recognition and

respect of the rights and freedoms of different nationalities and regions of Spain; a uniform and independent judiciary.

As for the armed forces, the Communist Party and some other opposition forces call for their neutrality. The armed forces should respect the people's will. Their mission is to defend the country against foreign aggression.

The participants in the coalition have decided that their alliance should operate until a democratic break with the present system is effected and a general election announced. The Democratic Co-ordination leadership has appealed to all opposition parties and groups outside the coalition to support its programme and join efforts in order to put it into practice.

The authorities took a stand on the new organisation by banning a press conference at which Spanish and foreign journalists were to have been acquainted with the organisation's programme, objectives and tasks. The organisers of the conference, including Marcelino Camacho, the trade union leader, were arrested and are threatened with long terms of imprisonment.

But police repression cannot stop the unification of opposition forces.[2] Anti-fascist unity, which the Communist Party has championed for years, is becoming a reality in today's Spain.

The Communist Party considers that the united democratic opposition could, on the basis of the programme it has adopted, start talks with certain groups in the armed forces, the church and in business circles with a view to bringing about a democratic change that would lead the country out of its impasse. We are in favour of enabling government officials who call themselves "reformists" but are under the pressure of extreme right-wing and conservative elements to join in the tasks. This would confront them with the alternative either support the programme of the democratic forces, or completely expose themselves in the people's eyes as defenders of the regime.

The plan proposed by our party might have seemed utopian a few months ago but it is perfectly realistic now that the mass struggle is on the rise and the regime is disintegrating.

For a Mass Communist Party

Thus, the party's line at the moment is to contribute fully to the struggle of the working class and other working people and seek a

[2] The merger of the opposition forces of Catalonia, Galicia and Valencia was announced recently—*Ed.*

broader alliance of opposition forces on the basis of the approved programme. But there is also the need to strengthen the party and make it a really mass party.

The government tolerates some political opposition organisations by allowing them to hold meetings, rallies and congresses. These organisations, needless to say, take advantage of the situation to build up their strength and assert themselves on the political scene. As for us communists, we are prohibited from engaging in any activity. But we refuse to wait until the government legalises our party by decree. Ignoring bans, communists state their views at mass rallies, students' meetings, meetings of professional societies, in the press and wherever else they can.

Equipped with the Marxist-Leninist theory, we communists have greater opportunities than any other working-class party to lead the struggle of the working class and its allies. We realise that to use these opportunities effectively and be the centre of the democratic coalition, the Communist Party must be a mass party. We aim at increasing our membership to 300,000 in the immediate future. If we succeed we will become a major party in terms of both political prestige and numerical strength, which are indispensable if we are to cope with our tasks.

Our Goal : Socialism

Our party believes that when freedoms have been won and the fascist dictatorship has given way to democracy Spain will be able to take one of two roads.

One road is neo-capitalist. It is sought by forces that are opposed to the regime but socially conservative none the less. They are, first of all, the so-called new bourgeoisie, which looks to Western Europe for guidance. It hopes that it can stave off a socialist revolution by developing modern capitalism in Spain.

The other road, which the Communist Party advocates, is that of social and political democracy, which implies far-reaching anti-monopoly changes. The Programme Manifesto of our party says that on the road to the socialist revolution there objectively exists an intermediate phase which enables the working class to assume the leadership of the people and form an alliance with the broadest anti-monopoly social strata in order to overthrow the political and economic power of monopoly groups and thereby take a decisive step towards its emancipation. We define this phase as one of

political and social, or anti-monopoly and anti-latifundium, democracy.

Which of the two roads Spain takes will ultimately depend on the ability of the progressive forces to unite and to win the people's support.

Santiago Alvarez also answered questions by *WMR* Editorial Council members.

Betty Sinclair, member of the National Executive, Communist Party of Ireland, and CPI representative on the journal: How far is Spain industrialised? How widely are the peasants involved in the struggle going on in the country?

S. Alvarez: Spain is an industrial-agrarian country. The bulk of its economically active population, or over 70 per cent, is engaged in industry, including the service industry.

After 1960, modern industries sprang up, such as automobiles, chemicals, metalworking and electronics. Spain leads Europe in tourism—it is visited by 25 to 30 million foreigners annually. This stimulates the growth of the service industry and the infrastructure.

We still have backward regions, of course, but then, many others have reached a fairly high economic level. They are Catalonia, the Basque Country, Madrid and vicinity. Once towns like Vitoria or Valladolid were capitals of agricultural areas but now they are major industrial centres. The number of workers has trebled in comparison with the period before the civil war. They are concentrated where social battles may be of decisive importance In Madrid, for example, there are 150,000 metalworkers and as many building workers. The working class is plainly the force destined to play the leading role in the country's development.

The rural population has diminished noticeably of late. However, even now there are about three million agricultural workers and small and medium peasants. The regime has been unable to "pacify" the countryside—rural Spain, too, has roused to action.

What the peasants demand first of all is higher prices for their produce. Aragon peasants staged massive protest actions last January. They blocked all roads in the province with their tractors to protest low prices for maize, which they cannot sell, while the government purchases up to three million tons from the United States every year. Characteristically, the action began on the initiative of peasant organisations set up by the regime itself, but the peasants went further than the leaders were willing to go. With the

help of comrades from our party they formed committees that contiued to lead their struggle.

Agricultural workers in southern Andalusia, where there are many latifundia, carry on a stubborn fight through strikes.

Communists are active in the peasant movement. On the one hand, we work in cooperatives, agrarian trade unions and other officially recognised organisations. On the other, we help to build up peasant associations formed against the will of the authorities. We strive to ensure that the peasant movement links up as closely as possible with the struggle of the working class.

In reply to a question by *Cohn Pittman*, Political Bureau member, CC CPUSA, and member of the *WMR* Editorial Board, about the reaction of Spanish public opinion to the recent treaty on US bases, *S. Alvarez* said that the US had always helped Franco and that after the dictator's death it had backed the establishment of the monarchy. Today the US helps the government but does not rule out the possibility of a turn towards democracy. This explains why the White House is in touch with certain opposition forces. It apparently feels that if Spain cannot avoid changes they should at least be effected under the control of the financial and landed oligarchy. One of America's admitted political objectives in regard to West-European countries is to bar communist parties from governments. That policy dovetails perfectly with the desire of the ruling quarters of Spain to isolate the CPS by confining it to a political ghetto.

As for the treaty on US bases, democrats criticise it primarily because it was concluded behind the people's back, at a time when the people could not express their opinion.

The desire to abolish the US bases is very strong and is eve. expressed among the bourgeoisie But it is not shared by all opposition forces. The demand to remove the bases could therefore not be included in the joint programme. From the practical point of view, the problem is rather secondary, for the main issue is that of abolishing the dictatorship. Its solution will become possible after a democratic regime has been set up.

J. Pittman also asked *S. Alvarez* about the CPS programme on the nationality question and on how national distinctions express themselves in the party's structure.

S. Alvarez: The Communist Party insists on recognising the

multinational character of the Spanish state and the right of Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia to self-determination. Our party's Programme Manifesto stresses that the communists favour a free union of all the peoples of Spain within a federal republic.

Under the republic, Catalonia and the Basque Country enjoyed autonomy. The people of Galicia, for their part, declared for autonomy in a plebiscite but the civil war prevented that solution.

As regards the Communist Party, it is a party of the whole Spanish people. Operating within its framework are two autonomous communist parties, those of the Basque Country and Galicia. Both parties have national leaderships and a press of their own. They adhere to the general line of the CPS, which they apply according to their conditions. Due to historical circumstances, Catalonia has an independent party, the Catalonian Socialist Party, which follows the same policy as the CPS.

Wilton Mkaba, representative of the South-African Communist Party on the journal: The CPS is fighting for extensive democratic freedoms. Does that mean that freedom of action will also be granted to fascist elements?

S. Alvarez: The Communist Party does not at the moment call for a ban on fascist organisations because that would be pointless. After all, Spain is still virtually ruled by a fascist dictatorship. The fascists act brazenly and hold their meetings and other actions openly. When the freedoms have been won the democratic forces will be in a position to expose the fascists' intentions and activities and to carry on antifascist propaganda. The communists will do everything to paralyse fascist influence. But if the fascists begin to conspire against the democratic regime, steps will naturally have to be taken against them, to the point of outlawing their organisations.

Hugo Capurro, representative of the Peruvian Communist Party on the journal: Is there no contradiction between the demand for the neutrality of the armed forces made by the opposition and the statement of the Democratic Military Union, which has offered to join in overthrowing the government?

S. Alvarez: There is no contradiction. Indeed, the opposition officers stressed that they would never take unilateral action of any kind without the consent of civilians. The demand for neutral armed forces implies that they should not prevent the people from freely expressing their will. It does not rule out the possibility of

the military helping to effect changes in the country. The important thing is for them to act with the people's consent and in accordance with their will.

We communists, said *S. Alvarez* in conclusion, do not conceal our goals from our allies in the democratic coalition. We consider that the perspective of developing the country presented in our party's programme documents also makes for the unity of the masses in struggle to solve the paramount problem, that of winning political freedoms. The workers, other working people and all democrats know that after the fascist dictatorship has been overthrown the Communist Party will respect the people's will by fighting for our country to advance to a socialist society.

REUNIFICATION OF A FREE PEOPLE

Fanny Edelman
General Secretary, Women's International Democratic Federation

A delegation of the Women's International Democratic Federation visited Vietnam in the second half of March. The trip coincided with an important period in the Vietnamese people's life—preparations for elections to the National Assembly of the whole country. The elections, held on 25 April, were the culmination of the people's courageous fight for independence and demonstrated their will for the reunification of North and South Vietnam on revolutionary and democratic principles. About 20 million Vietnamese voted for the unity of their country, peace and socialism.

WIDF General Secretary Fanny Edelman, who led the delegation, gave our correspondent her impressions of their stay in Vietnam.

We accepted with deep emotion an invitation of women's organisations of North and South Vietnam to acquaint ourselves with the Vietnamese people's life. The trip is over now and we are full of impressions, of course. No one who has been to that country can remain unmoved. Meetings with Vietnamese people showed us that mankind's advance to a radiant future is irreversible and that those who are guided by the tried and tested laws of revolutionary struggle are equal to overcoming any obstacle.

Only a short time ago Vietnam lay in ruins gutted by bombs and shells. Today its people are working to build up a prosperous socialist country. For the first time in years, they feel secure.

Peace was won at the cost of enormous sacrifices and suffering, through colossal physical and moral effort, and this makes it so much more precious, so much more valuable and wonderful.

It seems like a dream, Vietnamese mothers told us, that we must no longer part with our husbands, sons or brothers, never knowing for how long and fearing that it might be forever. We now know that our homes will not be bombed or shelled either today, tomorrow or the day after

that they will not be razed to the ground by a bulldozer of the invaders, that our children can sleep peacefully and smile.

True, not everyone in the south welcomes the new life. Those who made profit from the war and could not escape or who deliberately stayed behind after the neocolonialists and puppet authorities were thrown out are trying hard to prevent stabilisation. But they have no chance of succeeding. The liberation forces and the worker-peasant militia stand guard over the people's gains and fight against CIA agents to preserve the security and sovereignty of Vietnam.

To fully appreciate the impressive victory of a people who have added one of the most glorious chapters to the history of the national-liberation movement against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and internal reaction, it is necessary to have a clear idea of the trials Vietnam had to endure and the formidable problems facing it today.

Vietnam had to wage one of the longest wars in history. It went on from 1945 to 1975, dying down at times, only to flare up again. It may be described as the Thirty Years' War of our time. Millions were killed or starved to death, millions more were crippled, countless children were orphaned.

In the North, the war against the French colonialists and then against the US neocolonialists resulted in the destruction of five million square metres of dwelling space, 4,000 villages, 3,000 schools, 1,500 hospitals and all power stations, roads and bridges. No exact data are available at the moment about the devastation caused in the South. However, the aftermath of the war includes about three million jobless and almost four million illiterate people, half a million hectares of land and millions of hectares of forests damaged by defoliants.

The working class was the decisive force in that long struggle, the force that enabled the people to overcome all their trials and now leads Vietnamese society's advance to socialism.

We could see that for ourselves at a textile mill in Nam Dinh province in the North. The mill, one of the biggest in Southeast Asia, employs 10,000 workers, including 6,000 women. Over 1,500 bombs were dropped on it by US planes in 200 raids causing enormous destruction, yet production never stopped. The mill was reconstructed three years ago; it has three kindergartens, a health home and a medical centre.

The workers of Saigon, a city which now bears Ho Chi Minh's name, are known for their revolutionary traditions. They took an active part in the Resistance. And now they are carrying out new tasks.

Most of the city's plants were built by foreigners when neocolonialism felt strong in Indochina. An infrastructure was set up to cater for the half a million-strong US expeditionary corps, the huge puppet army and

police force and the comprador bourgeoisie. Labour power was cheap and was used at assembly plants supplied from abroad.

We visited the Sinco sewing-machine factory, where we could see the workers' genuinely creative approach to their jobs and their inventiveness. Like other factories it is now cut off from its sources of machine parts, spares and fuel. But the workers organised production of the needed parts, and fuel and other supplies were provided from the North and from other socialist countries. The factory owner had fled and the workers' council which took over organised a socialist emulation movement and raised output to the former level. The workers, mostly women, are proud of their achievement and are expanding production.

The desire to reorganise and improve production as soon as possible and to contribute to economic growth and the standard of living is also typical of other enterprises of Ho Chi Minh City, especially those managed by workers' councils and managers appointed from the more experienced and respected specialists. Productivity is growing in such enterprises and they exceed their assignments, which is also due to the fact that engineers, designers and other specialists are on the people's side.

It should be borne in mind, however, that many enterprises and shops are still owned by the national bourgeoisie. To rehabilitate and develop the economy as rapidly as possible, the new authorities allow private enterprise and the formation of mixed enterprises. In the rural areas of the South, collective labour on farms is only just beginning in the form of mutual aid teams operating in communes.

The economic structure of the now united country is differentiated inasmuch as in the North industries are owned by the state and agriculture is based on cooperative ownership while the South is still characterised by capitalist production relations. This, of course, gives rise to both theoretical and practical problems. The Working People's Party of Vietnam (WPPV) tackles them with due regard to the interests of all, with characteristic loyalty to principle, wisdom, prudence and flexibility.

The Vietnamese people realise the advantages of the reunification of their country.[1] They know that they cannot achieve rapid and steady social and economic progress without making planned use of the resources and potentialities of every region of the country.

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[1] The temporary demarcation line between North and South was drawn along the 17th parallel in 1954 under the Geneva agreements on Indochina. They provided tor elections to be held throughout the country within two years. They were torpedo-ed by the puppet authorities of the South, who took their que from US reaction and wanted to perpetuate the partitioning of the country so as to stem the national-liberation movement in both South Vietnam and other countries of Southeast Asia. The US imperialists were set on turning South Vietnam into a bridgehead against socialism in Asia, into a new type of colony.

The two parts of Vietnam cover an area of more than 320,000 square iometres. They have over five million hectares of cultivated and several illion hectares of uncultivated fertile land and a 3,200-kilometre coast-ie with numerous harbours and with favourable conditions for fishing. ie North is rich in minerals. The South has a tremendous agricultural tential and can produce large quantities of rice, rubber and other indus-al crops. Geological surveys have revealed appreciable oil deposits. say nothing of the substantial opportunities for economic and cultural ogress that reunification affords, the situation itself necessitates accelera-n of the process. Moreover, it is primarily the South that needs it. The mmentators of some bourgeois newspapers, who invent stories about the bsorption of the South by the North", do not trouble to consider the ite in which imperialism and neocolonialism left their former domain, the condition to which they reduced it through their administration. t me cite a few examples.

Before 1954, the South produced four million tons of rice a year. That as enough to meet the needs of the South and supply a number of rthern provinces; moreover, some of it was exported. Under the rule the US imperialists and their puppets, peasants were evicted from the ıd and forcibly settled in "strategic hamlets" or made to migrate to the wns.[2] The sole aim was to create a vacuum around the Liberation Army d the guerrillas and deprive them of their natural base. Rice produc-n declined steadily, and rice was shipped from the United States and stributed as a hand-out.

In response to the party's call, the population of the North gave fraternal lp to the South. In the first eight months after liberation, it rendered the utherners aid worth 100 million dongs[3], sending them thousands of tons food, fuels, chemical fertilisers and other essential goods. The South ts substantial aid from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Steps are being taken to restore rice-growing in the Southern provinces. rst of all, it is necessary to rid the soil of defoliants which the invaders rayed to destroy all useful plants. Secondly, thousands of peasants must turn to those areas.

This process has begun. Over 300,000 people from the towns are settling ıds which the Liberation Army, having become a real army of labour, lps them to rehabilitate. In the first six months, these people are sup-ed with free food by the revolutionary authorities, which also help them build houses and supply them with farm implements and tools. In is way, new economic areas are brought into being that will expand more people whom the war forced to leave the countryside come back.

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[2] We were told that this policy resulted in the urban population of South Vietnam owing in the neocolonial period from three to nine million.

[3] 100 DRV dongs = about $40—*Ed.*

Former Saigon is a city of stark contrasts, with sumptuous villas in one part and slums in others. The city is short of hospitals, maternity homes, schools, kindergartens, housing. These and other problems can only be solved through the efforts of the whole nation and with international aid, first of all from socialist countries. The working people of the South know this well.

When we told our Vietnamese friends how nice it was to see the clean streets and squares of Ho Chi Minh City, they smiled. "We wonder", they replied, "what you would have said if you'd found yourselves in Saigon, say, two years ago. It was one of the world's filthiest cities in both the literal and figurative meaning of the word." The US neo-colonialists and the politicians of some other capitalist countries making common cause with them had wanted to make Saigon a showcase of the "free world" in Southeast Asia. What they achieved was to turn it into a showcase of corruption, vice and moral degradation. The invaders left behind over half a million prostitutes, hundreds of thousands of drug addicts and homeless children and over 100,000 small profiteers known as "air peddlers".

Norma Spector, a member of our delegation, said she always felt ashamed in Vietnam because she was an American. All that her country had brought those people was suffering and corruption, she added, all in the guise of defending democracy and freedom.

But the Vietnamese, as if in reply to Norma Spector, a representative of the organisation Women for Racial and Economic Equality, a WIDF affiliate, always stressed that they saw very well the difference between the US imperialists and Americans like Angela Davis or Jane Fonda, who had campaigned for an end to that dirty, disgraceful war.

Libia de Moya, member of the Secretariat of the Federation of Cuban Women, said that US imperialism had tried to treat Cuba in the same way as South Vietnam, that is, to transform it into a recreation resort for people with fat pocket-books and without moral principles and, of course, to pump huge profits out of the country by every means. The Cuban revolution had upset those plans. Libia de Moya listened with keen attention to the story of how victims of neocolonialist "culture" are being re-educated. She found in this sphere and in others much that was similar to processes typical of Cuba in the early years after the revolution.

The education of a new man free from the moral standards and values propagated by messengers of the overseas "democracy" is a tremendous task. The ideological and cultural spheres are a matter of special concern for the revolutionary authorities, for it would be hard to advance along the chosen path without bringing about changes in these spheres.

The people, whose patriotism and revolutionary energy were devoted for decades to fighting the aggressors, are now concentrating on efforts to assure the progress and unity of the country. These are important factors for the entire process of change. The Vietnamese comrades we met stressed that they regarded unity as an earnest of the rapid development of modern industry, farming, culture, science and art. Besides, reunification is taking place on a qualitatively new basis, in the climate of freedom and independence, with friendly peoples helping generously.

Before liberation, the very concept of socialism was discredited and distorted in South Vietnam. Now, contrary to what had been said and written about socialism, the population of the South sees the disinterested attitude of the peoples of the DRV and other socialist countries, their readiness to give all the assistance needed to overcome difficulties.

During the war, national-liberation fighters taken prisoner were executed, jailed or sent to concentration camps, where they were brutally tortured. The revolutionary authorities' treatment of members of the former puppet army will surely be remembered by present and future generations. Only those who had committed serious crimes against the people were punished. As for the bulk of former soldiers, they are being patiently re-educated, are granted civil rights and enabled to return to their families and engage in peaceful labour. The moral power and humanity of socialism and the opportunities for social change it provides win the hearts and minds of the South Vietnamese.

I was asked by many on my return what had impressed me most of all. That is no easy question. I saw and experienced many things I will never forget. Still, the most impressive fact is, probably, the people's gratitude to the Soviet Union for its great solidarity with their struggle. All the party leaders, statesmen, leaders of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, plant managers, educators, leaders of local women's organisations and ordinary working men and women we met spoke with heartfelt gratitude of the Soviet Union's sincere fraternal aid during the war and now, in this period of post-war rehabilitation. Valentina Titova, a presidium member of the Committee of Soviet Women and a member of the WIDF delegation, remarked that she had never felt so proud of her country as in Vietnam. I can understand her.

During our stay in Vietnam we strove to grasp the elements that make up the people's achievements, to see what their great and promising plans of transforming their country into a prosperous socialist state are based on.

Summing up our impressions, I can say that the Vietnamese people owe their victories to patriotism political consciousness and international solidarity. These factors are inseparable They are the main sources of the strength of a people that fought for thirty years and are now, with

characteristic resolution, building a new life. In North and South alike, the people have become masters of their destiny. The party founded by Ho Chi Minh, which has now set the goal of building a peaceful, united, independent and socialist Vietnam, awakens and coordinates the energy of the people all over the country.

The Working People's Party of Vietnam is recognised by the people as the organiser, inspiror and leader of the splendid accomplishments initiated by the revolution of August 1945. It is now preparing for its Fourth Congress, which will approve a five-year plan (1976-80) one of the main targets of which is socialist industrialisation of the whole country.[4] Successful fulfilment of the plan will also depend on the extent and effectiveness of internationalist support for the cause of Vietnam.

As to the Women's International Democratic Federation, its secretariat resolved, on hearing the report of our delegation, to launch a new international campaign of solidarity with the Vietnamese people. In Hanoi we saw the fruits of previous efforts of the Federation's national organisations. A mother and child centre is being built with the funds collected by them. It will forever remain a symbol of the solidarity and friendship linking women all over the world with their Vietnamese sisters. But this is not enough. We must go on doing our utmost to make new contributions to the effort to heal the deep wounds inflicted on Vietnam by the war, to its people's effort to build a new life.

Vietnam has become nearer and dearer to us than ever. On the eve of the first anniversary of the complete liberation of the South, the people of Vietnam, by electing the country's National Assembly, took a most important step towards reunifying the country at state level. The terms "North" and "South", used for years as primarily political, social and ideological symbols, have regained their original, geographical meaning. President Ho Chi Minh's prophetic words—"There is one Vietnam and one Vietnamese nation"—are coming true.

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[4] Speaking to the 25th CPSU Congress, Le Duan, First Secretary of the C WPPV, said: "Creatively applying Marxist-Leninist teachings in Vietnamese co ditions, our party raised aloft two banners—the banner of the national-democra revolution and the banner of the socialist revolution—and combined the vast sco of the movement for national independence with the power of socialism... It link the forces of the nation with the revolutionary forces of today, internal with int nationalist forces..." (*Pravda*, 26 February 1976)—*Ed.*

FROM THE FIRST STOCKHOLM APPEAL TO THE SECOND

JOHN TAKMAN
Member of Parliament, Left Party—Communists of Sweden

The new Stockholm Appeal launched a year ago in the Swedish capital by the World Peace Council was widely supported by world opinion and has contributed to the struggle for deepening the positive changes in the world and complementing political detente with military detente.

The present campaign takes place in conditions which, by and large, differ from the time when the first Stockholm Appeal was launched more than twenty-five years ago. But the continuity of the ideals and methods of struggle is one of the specific features of the peace movement. That is why today, too, use is made of the traditions born in that period, of the experience and tempering we gradually acquired in the fight for the triumph of peace and democracy.

The world was entering the second half of the 20th century. The Second World War was still in agonising memory There were countries, especially the Soviet Union but also Poland and a few others, where virtually every family mourned their mother, their father, their wife, their husband, their children, victims of fascist warfare or fascist extermination policy.

People well remembered the indescribable destruction and suffering caused by the atomic bombs dropped over Hiroshima on 6 August 1945 and Nagasaki three days later These bombs were senseless from a military point of view, as imperialist Japan was already collapsing. In effect, they were not even the last military operation of the Second World War They were, as the famous British nuclear physicist P.M.S. Blackett put it, the first major operation of the cold war against the Soviet Union. Another famous British scientist, John D Bernal, stressed the fact that they "marked either the beginning of the end of war, or that of humanity".[1] The results of the atomic bombings showed what

[1] J. D. Bernal. *World Without War*. London, 1958 p. 7.

was in store for all mankind unless peace-loving peoples and governments joined forces to outlaw the new weapon.

In 1950, in the midst of the cold war, the Standing Committee of the World Congress of Peace Partisans (later to become the World Peace Council) held a session in Stockholm. The session, in which I happened to be a participant, ended with the adoption of the Stockholm Appeal on 19 March. It takes less space to reproduce this historic resolution than to describe it:

"We demand the absolute banning of the atomic bomb, weapon of terror and mass extermination of populations.

"We demand the establishment of strict international control to ensure the implementation of this ban.

"We consider that the first government to use the atomic weapon against any country whatsoever would be committing a crime against humanity and should be dealt with as a war criminal.

"We call on all men of goodwill throughout the world to sign this appeal."

I have a vivid memory of the furious propaganda campaign of the warmongers against us peace partisans but also, and above all, of the tremendous dedication and untiring efforts of people everywhere who collected signatures in the streets, in the factories, in universities and churches. In Sweden alone we collected 330,000 signatures, in spite of the fact that all big mass media were attacking and slandering our work. By 1 June 1950, one hundred million signatures had been collected around the world, and at the end of the year there were half a billion. This was an unprecedented mobilisation of international public opinion.

The world-wide mass movement for the Stockholm Appeal became an exceptionally effective factor for peace. Along with the growing might of world socialism, it contributed greatly to making the use of nuclear bombs in Korea and Vietnam into a politically impossible enterprise. And it formed the firm mass basis upon which the world peace movement could proceed to become the powerful force it is today.

Today the situation in the world has changed radically. The idea of peaceful coexistence, put forward by Lenin and the CPSU, has finally won the acceptance of nearly all governments. For decades this idea was combated and slandered by the imperialists and ultra-leftists. Now even those who belong to the most aggressive imperialist circles have to admit, however reluctantly, the necessity of peaceful coexistence, simply because there is, in the nuclear era, no alternative. Either peaceful coexistence or no existence at all, these are the alternatives.

And yet this seemingly indisputable truth has not been fully grasped

by some politicians. James Schlesinger, former US Secretary of Defence, tried to have recourse to nuclear blackmail. Senator Henry Jackson, notorious for his extreme line—nationalistic, anti-Soviet—on foreign policy, also engages in "sabre rattling".

These and similar examples might be called extreme ones, but they show, beyond doubt, that periods of heightened risk of nuclear war can still be produced. Moreover, not all countries have yet signed the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and this is fraught with the danger of their spread. All this adds credence to the comment of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) that there is always "the great and ever present danger that nuclear war will come about by accident, miscalculation or madness".[2]

To rule out any possibility of accident, so that this and coming generations should move as far as possible from the abyss of nuclear war, there must be continuous struggle to bring about a further limitation of arms and a final end to the arms race. From there, the world can proceed to attain the great aim of general and complete disarmament.

Throughout the years since the World Peace Council was founded, one of its basic contentions and convictions has been that it is *necessary* to stop the arms race. That is why the World Peace Council Presidential Committee decided on 2 June 1975, at its meeting in Stockholm, to launch a mass campaign to collect signatures to a new Stockholm Appeal. Its aims are summarised in the following lines:

"To make detente irreversible—*Stop the arms race*

"To move forward rapidly towards a New International Economic Order—*Stop the arms race*

"To defend the peace and build a new world—*Stop the arms race*

"Together for Banning all nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction!

"Together for general and complete disarmament!

"Together for the calling without delay of the United Nations World Disarmament Conference!"

The Conference of Representatives of National Peace Movements, held in Leningrad in November 1975, called upon all peace movements to start a mass campaign to collect signatures to the new Stockholm Appeal The campaign will continue until the end of August 1976. WCP delegations will present a Memorandum and the new Stockholm Appeal to the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva and to other relevant UN bodies in New York and to UNESCO in Paris During September and October the signed appeal will be presented to the heads of government in all

[2] *World Armaments and Disarmament: SIPRI Yearbook 1974*, p. 70.

countries. In October-November 1976 a World Peace Council delegation will present the results to the 31st United Nations General Assembly.

The national campaign committees pool the efforts of different political movements and organisations in the struggle to stop the arms race. Although the primary objective is the collection of millions of signatures, other forms of action, corresponding to the situation in each country, are also used. The Appeal has been endorsed at meetings of trade unions, political organisations, youth and student clubs in both capitalist and socialist countries. MPs and other leading figures take an active part in our campaign. About 200 members of Parliament in India representing different political parties signed the Appeal. In Britain it was signed by many Labour MPs and leaders of practically all the national trade-union centres. The French peace movement decided to hold at least 200 public debates on problems of disarmament in the next few months.

In every part of the world the campaign for the appeal is linked with the most urgent questions facing the peoples: the fight against militarism and fascism, colonialism and racism, the elimination of the sources and causes of tension and conflicts, the fight against inflation and the economic crisis, the struggle for the right of peoples to control their natural resources and put an end to the rapacious power and policy of the monopolies and multinational corporations, for equal and mutually beneficial relations between the peoples.

Now the mass peace movement is so strong that one can say, with confidence, that it is *possible* to stop the arms race. A limited objective, yes, but a realistic one, and a necessary first step on the way to general and complete disarmament.

AFTER THE VICTORY OF THE PEOPLES OF MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA: SOUTHERN AFRICAN PANORAMA

Party leaders and statesmen of the People's Republic of Angola and People's Republic of Mozambique and leaders of the national-liberation movements of the South-African Republic, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Namibia have been interviewed by *WMR*.

Three years ago we carried an interview with leaders of the national-liberation organisations of the same five countries entitled "Southern Africa: Armed Struggle Against Imperialism" (*WMR*, May 1973). The peoples of Mozambique and Angola are free now. How has the situation changed in the south of the continent? The new tasks facing the countries that have won independence and those still fighting for it differ, of course. But all these countries hate oppression and racial regimes whose existence still poisons the life of the peoples of Southern Africa and want to build a new and better society. This is the principal message of the statements published below.

GROUNDWORK FOR PEOPLE'S RULE

ALVES BERNARDO BATISTA

CC Political Bureau member, People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), Minister for Internal Administration, People's Republic of Angola

Our army, linked with the people by close bonds, has achieved an impressive victory over the forces of imperialist aggression, first of all over the army of the racists of the South-African Republic who tried to impose on Angola the rule of flunkeys of international imperialism. We owe this victory to the clarity of our political goal—the revolutionary transformation of society—to the will and determination of our fighting men and to our army's high standard equipment. The important thing is, however, that the battle for Angola was a battle of the whole of Africa and, indeed, the progressive forces of the globe. It was the moral, political and material support of these forces, of socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union and Cuba, that made our victory possible. Their stand

and actions were a concrete manifestation of the policy of proletarian internationalism steadfastly pursued by them. The Angolan people, the MPLA and our government will never forget it. I said so from the rostrum of the 25th CPSU Congress expressing, on behalf of the CC MPLA and the Angolan people, gratitude, respect and appreciation to the CPSU, the Soviet people and the socialist community.

The imperialist world has been carrying on a vicious slander campaign unprecedented in scale against the Soviet Union and Cuba. But our people, who have experienced imperialist aggression in practice and not in theory, know who is right. The criterion is simple in this case. The countries that helped and continue to help us are friends of the Angolan people. Those countries, however, that backed our enemies, the South-African racists and other reactionaries and their underlings in Angola, are no friends of the Angolan people. And we are certain that no one on earth can deny the right to solidarity with the national-liberation movement, to proletarian internationalism, or condemn actions flowing from this right.

It is most deplorable that at a time when our enemies were trying to liquidate our republic and our movement, a socialist country, instead of being with the Angolan people—a victim of aggression—joined up with the imperialists and racists and gave traitors of the Angolan people moral and material support, specifically by supplying them with arms. We wonder what has become of that country's internationalism. History will answer this question.

We think the most important lesson of our victory is that in today's international situation the masses can, if well organised, led by a consistent national-liberation movement and supported by the progressive forces of the world, defeat an alliance of home and foreign reaction, whatever the sacrifices involved. As for the situation in other Southern African countries, the MPLA and the People's Republic of Angola see their primary duty in identifying themselves with liberation movements everywhere.

Our republic has just come into being. It must now give priority to organising its administrative system, rehabilitating its economy and building a new society.

The aim of the MPLA is to establish a people's democratic regime that will determine the nature of the administrative system. The most cogent proof of the genuinely popular character of power is effective participation by the workers and peasants in government. How do we apply these principles?

Angola's Revolutionary Council has passed an important law establishing popular rule. The law defines the political aspects of state power and provides for a very simple structure of government at all levels. At

present the Ministry of internal administration is drafting an appropriate reform. All government is to be based on the principle of democratic centralism.

The primary administrative unit in urban areas is the *barrio* (neighbourhood) people's committee of 15 elected by a meeting of all residents from 18 years of age upwards. Some of these committees are functioning already. The committee performs political functions and makes decisions on all problems of the *barrio*, including medical care and education. It may be described as a neighbourhood legislature. Executive power is vested in a government coordinator appointed by his immediate superior, the municipal commissar. *Barrio* committees jointly elect the urban municipal committee.

In rural areas as well, all citizens over 18 elect people's committees. The coordinator there is appointed by the communal commissar. Rural committees elect communal committees and the communal commissar is appointed by the ministry of internal administration. Several communes are united in a *municipium,* and the assembly of delegates from their committees elects the municipal committee. Both urban and rural municipal commissars are appointed by the ministry of internal administration.

Urban and rural municipal committees send delegates to the provincial assembly, which elects the provincial committee The executive authority at this level is headed by the provincial commissar recommended by the MPLA Political Bureau and appointed by the Revolutionary Council.

In setting up this administrative system we have used the experience gained by liberated areas during the war of independence. Preparations are under way for an administrative reforms on this basis.[1] The entire system is to be established within five years. We expect to have its initial elements throughout the country two years from now.

Will this confront us with the problem of tribalism? The MPLA considers that to solve this problem, we must, first of all, eliminate the very basis of tribalism, which means reshaping the people's life on a new material production basis. To be specific, we must reorganise farming on modern lines, set up industrial complexes within a planned economy, impart a new social consciousness to the people (social consciousness, as we all know, reflects relations taking shape in the production process), and lastly, promote public education and health, which we want to reach every corner of the country. These are tasks of historic magnitude and we are going to accomplish them gradually, step by step.

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1 President Agostinho Neto of the People's Republic of Angola, speaking at a mass rally in Luanda early in April 1976, stressed that in forming organs of people's power, it was necessary to lean on the more socially conscious part of the working people, weed out disguised enemies, bureaucrats and politically unstable elements, and take the most resolute steps to defeat imperialist intrigues—*Ed.*

We have inherited a plundered and devastated country. The main economic problem is completely to release it from the stranglehold of monopoly and establish fruitful cooperation with all countries on the principles of respect for national sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference and mutual benefit. We attach primary importance to comprehensive relations with socialist states.

At this stage, the country's leadership regards farming as the basis of the economy, and industry as the decisive factor for mechanising it. Economic development must be planned according to rigid scientific standards. But we must start from the material basis left us by capitalism and colonialism. And we realise the complexity of the problems facing us, especially the problem of trained personnel. In solving this problem, the republic intends to seek aid from socialist countries.

In accordance with the character of the present period of transition, Angola's economic system rests on three types of property: state property, which must become the basic type, cooperative property and private property.

The republic is taking charge of industrial enterprises abandoned by the Portuguese. Incidentally, some of them are back in operation in spite of the flight of engineers and other specialists. This is an accomplishment of the workers, who have taken management into their own hands.[2] The State sector in industry will go on expanding.

In the countryside, production cooperatives are to be set up. They have already sprung up in some areas and unite considerable numbers of poor peasants. The big farms once owned by the Portuguese will become the basis for state property. The problem of land nationalisation is being dealt with.

Private property, too, will be protected in the interest of national reconstruction—we want no overhasty solutions. However, the expansion of the private sector will be checked.

In the political field, our pressing task is to strengthen the MPLA organisationally and pave the way for transforming it into a political party equipped with a scientific revolutionary theory.

The working class, which is linked with the peasants, has interest incompatible with either those of the exploiters—the big landed proprietors and members of the national bourgeoisie—or those of the non-revolutionary part of the petty bourgeoisie, that is, the one that took n part in the revolutionary struggle. Unlike the period of battles with colonialism, the present period, one of revolutionary transformation of tl

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[2] Workers' commissions have been set up at enterprises. The leadership of the National-Union of Angolan Workers is organising seminars for them—*Ed.*

production system, is characterised by a struggle against every form of exploitation that must be carried through to the end. We must ensure the participation of the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals in government and specify the social basis of the revolution. It is no longer possible to maintain unity among adherents of opposed views within one and the same organisation. We need an ideology and policy in keeping with our revolutionary objectives.

This is why we intend to organise the workers, peasants (the latter within the framework of cooperatives) and revolutionary intellectuals in order to form party branches. The criteria of selection will be more exacting, and appropriate party discipline will be introduced.[3] Thus it will no longer be a broad-based alignment of the type of a national-liberation movement but a class party. Led by it, the Angolan people will be able to cope with the historic tasks facing them. We are aware of the tremendous difficulties in store for us, but we are resolved to overcome them.

FORMATIVE PERIOD

Jorge Rebelo

CC and Executive Committee member of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), Minister of Information, People's Republic of Mozambique

25 June marks one year since Mozambique was declared independent, a year of sustained effort to launch the country along the road towards a new life.

In the years of armed struggle the main task was to replace the structures set up by the colonial regime by progressive, democratic structures. In the areas freed from the Portuguese colonialists, the population, under the leadership of FRELIMO, proceeded to build a new life; this was, moreover, a condition for the further expansion of the armed struggle. In those years FRELIMO was responsible for both military-political and administrative leadership. It existed as both a party and an administrative system. It is headed by a Central Committee and an Executive Committee. The latter was virtually a government in charge of the economy, public education, cultural activities and trade.

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3 "Many consider themselves activists of the MPLA", said MPLA General Secretary Lucio Lara, "yet is not those who hold a membership card that are activists but those who really and actively participate in the everyday work of the MPLA..." —*Ed.*

The goal of our revolution was to establish popular rule. And as more areas were liberated, its power structures were expanded and consolidated. FRELIMO saw to it that popular rule was really exercised and that everything served the good of the people.

Two principal government bodies developed in the liberated areas: the provincial council and the provincial committee. The provincial council had legislative functions. Most of its members were elected by the population. The provincial committee, which had executive functions, was likewise an essentially elective body. Its duty was to carry out decisions of the provincial council. A similar system existed at district and local level. At the lowest level government was embodied in a Secretariat under a secretary named by the FRELIMO agency concerned.

In the towns and in southern provinces, the administrative structures established by the colonialists to maintain their interests continued to function. With the country's liberation completed, it became our main task there to destroy those structures. As they were stronger than in the warravaged areas, their replacement by people's power structures is more difficult than elsewhere. We realise, however, that the revolution cannot succeed unless we do this. The experience of liberated areas tells us that colonial structures cannot be used in the people's interests. Nor can we restrict change to merely replacing the staffs of the administrative apparatus set up by the colonialists. The party has therefore called for the establishment of a new state apparatus, which we are now doing.

We are trying to extend the administrative system that has proved its worth in the liberated areas to the whole country. This will certainly take time. There is more to it than setting up local councils—the important thing is to decide who should be on them. This also applies to the administrative apparatus we are now forming. State structures no longer merge with party structures. And a task of primary importance is to ensure that the executive agencies and the state apparatus as a whole firmly follow the party line.[4] We therefore give much attention to checking up on those who are assigned jobs in it.

Mozambique is a large country of about 10 million people. To manage its affairs at all levels is a formidable task requiring a large body of trained personnel. Most of the educated received their education under the colonialists' direct influence. They belong to the privileged stratum of Mozambique's African society with an essentially petty-bourgeois mentality and little concern for the people's interests. In the past, those who studied to become, say, doctors or teachers did so to obtain financial and

[4] At the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the FRELIMO Central Committee (Maputo, 11-27 February 1976), the state apparatus, its officials and work were sharply criticised—*Ed.*

social advantages. At present, however, what anyone learns must not be used for his narrow aims but for the good of the people, must become a means of serving the people. This is no easy task to accomplish.

Right now the republic follows two main lines in solving the problem of trained personnel. One is to train our own people. Late in 1975 we opened a central party school. It enrols people who showed a revolutionary spirit during the war, whom the party trusts and who will really uphold the people's interests. We also plan to organise short-term courses that will offer basic knowledge needed for the performance of definite political and administrative functions. The other line is political work among people educated under the colonial regime. Its purpose is to enhance their political consciousness.

As regards the party itself, FRELIMO retains the character of a front but is changing gradually. And while it is open to all irrespective of religion, class, and even political views, there is this fundamental condition: to be admitted to FRELIMO, one must be against the exploitation of man by man. This means that those who would like to become capitalists and make profit are barred from the party. The policy line of FRELIMO was defined by its first and second congresses. The Third Congress, due to meet in December 1976, will decide on its long-term development.[5]

And so, our aim is to establish popular rule at all levels. Its core is taking shape already. It is made up of "dynamic groups" formed in every ministry, factory or farm and on the territorial principle, as in urban neighbourhoods. They comprise politically trained persons who mobilise the people for the implementation of party slogans and supervise economic activity and the work of administrative bodies.

Since independence, the people's state has been gradually assuming control over the basic sectors of national life. It has become the owner of all banks and credit institutions. The health services, public education and legal aid are all under state control. All rental houses were nationalised early in February 1976.[6] (No one in Mozambique today lives off rent as a house owner.) The land has been returned to those who till it. The big landed estates have been transferred to the state.

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[5] At the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the FRELIMO Central Committee Samora Machel, FRELIMO Chairman and President of the PRM, called for measures to rid the party of alien elements, bar ideas and views propagated by the capitalist world, strengthen and step up the activity of FRELIMO organisations at all levels, democratise working methods, improve collective leadership and proceed to form and develop mass-democratic organisations for women working people and youth—*Ed.*

[6] Without generally investing capital in production, the Portuguese specialists and traders living in Mozambique invested their savings in housing and made profit from rent. The immovable property owned by them in Maputo alone are estimated to have been worth $ 150 m.—*Ed.*

The capitalists and planters retaliated through active subversion, by destroying machinery and damaging fields, even by provoking popular discontent over food shortages. "Dynamic groups" acting with determination put an end to subversion and brought about the resumption of production. We are now establishing worker control in the enterprises.

The constitution of the republic says that farming is the basis of the economy while industry plays the role of a dynamising factor.

Our country's main asset is its people, most of whom live in the countryside. Progress in agriculture is being fostered by creating "communal villages". The rural population is scattered over large areas—a result of colonial rule. This makes it difficult to organise the peasants, plan production or solve educational problems (indeed, we cannot very well build a school near every house). Living conditions are very bad and this is precisely the reason for creating "communal villages" on the principle of "collective work and collective life". Production cooperatives are set up on the basis of these villages, and people see how the new system is improving their life. In other words, FRELIMO wins over the peasants by means of concrete examples.

Not long ago southern Mozambique was hit by heavy floods. Many people lost their homes and the overall damage was great. The party tells people that this might not have happened if they had lived together in suitably chosen areas. The peasants' social consciousness is a big problem, of course. But we try to explain things to them and hope to make headway through political work.

Armed liberation struggle was an important factor in achieving unity among the diverse ethnic groups. They were all oppressed by the colonialists and united by a common desire for freedom. In the course of struggle, people learned to understand each other, and tribalist and regionalist sentiments fomented by the colonialists gradually disappeared.[7] This was also a result of the political work carried out by FRELIMO. We told people that the differences between them were artificial and had been maintained by colonialism to oppress them all. We said there were distinctions but no contradictions and that the only way to win was by fighting in common. As a result, the problem of tribalism and regionalism in Mozambique is no longer as acute as in some other African countries, and this helps FRELIMO in implementing its agrarian policy.

Most of Mozambique's industrial enterprised were set up and operated with the aid of investments made by Portuguese state banks and credit

[7] It happened quite often that a man fought outside his native province and yet was welcomed as a friend. Sometimes, men from the south who fought in the north married there. Custom requires bride-money but the bridegroom could not pay it and in many cases local inhabitants helped him by putting up the money.

institutions, which after the victory of the revolution became the property of our republic. This means that virtually all industry belongs to our state. We can take over any enterprise at any time. But we are short of people who can manage production. After the nationalisation of public education, the health services and rental houses, and other government measures, engineers and technicians began to leave the country. The result was a sharp drop in production. The republic therefore asks socialist countries for technological aid while at the same time training specialists of its own.

We know our internal difficulties are enormous, nor do we forget the intrigues of our external enemies. An attempt at rebellion was foiled in Maputo in September 1975. The investigation is not over but its early findings show that the action was planned by imperialists. It was carried out by a small group of army officers who had simply been bought over. Our enemies know that the army firmly supports FRELIMO and remains the mainstay of the revolution. This is why they tried to undermine its unity by forming an organisation linked directly with imperialist powers. But their conspiracy failed dismally.

Taken as a whole, the present situation in the south of Africa is, we think, most favourable to the liberation struggle. The winning of independene by Mozambique and Angola dealt a powerful blow to the racist Vorster and Smith regimes. Special mention should be made of the failure of South Africa's aggression in Angola. The South African army had been made out to be invincible on the continent and the Pretoria racists had boasted that they could overrun Africa all the way to Cairo in a few days. Their defeat in Angola and the MPLA victory exploded that myth by showing the RSA to be vulnerable. This fact also came home to its rulers, who sounded the alarm.

Ian Smith, the Rhodesian racist leader, was alarmed in turn. After independence had been declared by Mozambique, on which Rhodesia depended heavily for the transit of its exports and imports, Smith resorted to manoeuvring. He released the leaders of the Zimbabwe liberation movement and began talks with them, hoping to gain time and delay African majority rule indefinitely. But the national forces of Zimbabwe, realising that the racist regime will never relinquish power to the Africans of its own free will, are stepping up their fight.

As to FRELIMO, it has always honoured its internationalist duty to liberation movements. The Zimbabwe people's struggle is also our struggle. FRELIMO has backed the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe and will back it to its victorious conclusion.[8]

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[8] On the night of 22-23 February 1976, the Smith regime attacked Mozambique. On 3 March President Samora Machel announced the closing of the frontier with Rhodesia, the confiscation of its property and the application of UN sanctions—*Ed.*

International solidarity was an important factor for our victory. What I mean is the solidarity of African countries, first of all Tanzania and Zambia, the Organisation of African Unity, the socialist countries, the progressive forces of the capitalist world.

Worthy of special note is the role of socialist countries. They were FRELIMO's main source of military supplies, and we also had their unqualified moral and diplomatic support. The socialist countries are our natural allies. Their aid to the national-liberation struggle also makes for strengthening their own positions. Why? Because our gains and victories weaken imperialism and thereby add to the strength of the socialist world. Support from the revolutionary forces of the globe contributed to the victory of the national-liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies and this, in turn, created new possibilities in Africa for the triumph of socialist ideals.

We need that support as much as in the past, for our country is virtually ruined. The rule of a thoroughly corrupt colonial administration and ten years of war were bound to tell. To consolidate political and economic independence, we must develop relations with other countries. Until recently, Mozambique based its economy on relations with imperialist powers only. Of course, the main condition for setting up an independent national economy is to mobilise our own internal forces, but we cannot be isolationists. We must reorientate our economy from the capitalist to the socialist world. Capitalism in developing countries wants nothing but profit. By contrast, the socialist countries help disinterestedly to consolidate revolutionary regimes. They realise that if our countries are strong the basis of the anti-imperialist struggle will broaden. Mozambique develops relations with many socialist countries, specifically with the Soviet Union, in such fields as the economy, education, public health and information.

The socialist countries' policy of detente has contributed to gains in the national-liberation struggle. This is the right way to develop international relations. Our country has taken an explicit stand on this issue which Samora Machel, President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, stated in a message expressing support for the Helsinki Conference.

We realise that it is in the interests of socialism to develop relations between countries with different social and political systems. Imperialism is becoming weaker as it suffers reverse after reverse, while socialism is growing stronger. The victory of the peoples of Indochina and the liberation of Portugal's colonies confirms this. Detente creates opportunities to strengthen socialism and change the alignment of forces still more in favour of socialism, to the detriment of capitalism and imperialism.

VORSTER'S DOUBLE STRATEGY

ALFRED NZO

General Secretary, African National Congress of South Africa

The changes taking place in the South of Africa are a direct consequence of the general crisis of capitalism and the further strengthening of the international positions of the forces of progress fighting against imperialism, oppression and reaction. This is the situation in which the peoples of the national-liberation zone have achieved a series of major victories, most notably, the historic victory of the Vietnamese and other peoples of Indochina, as well as the increased activity of forces opposed to imperialism and Israeli aggression in the Middle East, and the growing isolation of Israel. The collapse of the Portuguese colonial system and the rise of new states led by revolutionary democratic parties struck a crushing blow at the unholy alliance of racists and fascists in the south of Africa. The supporting flanks of the alliance—the one-time Portuguese colonies, Angola and Mozambique—fell apart.

These changes make Africans more keenly aware of the inherent unity of the three main streams of the world revolutionary process—the socialist countries, the working-class movement and the struggle of other democratic forces in the capitalist countries, and the national-liberation movement. The interaction of these streams has already borne fruit on our continent and is paving the way for the complete liberation of its southern part from the evils of racism. The fascist regimes of Southern Africa find themselves in a blind alley and are threatened with destruction.

The Vorster regime—the mainstay of fascism and racism in the south of the continent—has for years been compelled to use a double strategy. On the one hand, it persists in its traditional policy, stinting no effort to protect the economic interests of multinational monopolies[9] and the well-to-do white minority, as well as the strategic positions of imperialism. On the other, Vorster is constrained to take initiatives of some sort of stem the offensive of free Africa and preserve the system of class exploitation and racial oppression. His principal manoeuvre designed to make a show of renouncing his former "tough" policy, was the creation of so-called bantustans.[10]

Vorster's propaganda machine comments a lot on the coming "in-

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[9] And they reciprocate. In June 1975, a group of industrialists and bankers held a seminar in London on increasing investments in South Africa. In January 1976, a decision to this effect was taken by 16 major American corporations at a secret meeting in Sands Point, NY—*Ed.*

[10] See O. Yambo, "Faith in Victory", *WMR*, December 1975, and Y. Dadoo, "The Crisis of Apartheid", *WMR*, February 1975—*Ed.*

dependence" of the Transkei bantustan, to be granted in October. In particular, it carries numerous reports on the training of Transkei diplomats who may be described more correctly as black propagandists of apartheid on the international scene. But the people of Transkei do not benefit in any way from this propaganda campaign. Indeed, their living conditions are going from bad to worse as poverty, land hunger, disease and other old problems gain in acuteness. The Transkei population is becoming more active politically. However, the authorities intimidate people by using the emergency decree issued back in 1960 to prevent them from joining the working-class movement. In infringing the people's interests, the racists use the services of local puppets.

The ANC has always stressed that the apartheid policy is intended to divide the African population on tribalist principles, weaken it, distract it from the struggle for national independence, divert it from the revolutionary path and make it believe in the illusion of "independence in bantustans".

Another major trend of Vorster's manoeuvres is to emphasise the vaunted policy of "dialogue" with free Africa adopted in the mid-sixties. Ever since then, the national-liberation movement of our country has exposed this policy, which is aimed at splitting the Organisation of African Unity, preventing the establishment of a united front of African states against the fascist regime and easing the regime's isolation while trying to isolate progressive forces, primarily the African National Congress, from their African allies, and ensure that African countries stop supporting the ANC.

The new stage of this strategy is the policy of "detente", Vorster style. Although the fascist regime under Vorster resists international detente in common with the most reactionary forces of the world, it knows that the idea of detente is very popular. It tries therefore to capitalise on it, expecting African countries to believe that the regime is changing and accepts international standards of life based on detente. Unfortunately, some African countries have fallen for this ruse, imagining that the "new direction" taken by the fascist regime can produce something useful.

The fact is that Vorster has no intention of improving in any way the plight of South Africa's non-white population or renouncing the expansionist aspect of his foreign policy. This was demonstrated in, among other places Angolas. The racist regime's undisguised aggression against the new republic showed again that no "initiative" of the regime can be attributed to its leaders' realisation that they must keep pace with progressive changes on the continent. While trying to mislead African countries and progressive forces throughout the world, the Vorster regime perseveres in its policy of national oppression and of defending the interests of imperialism and domestic reaction against a revolutionary offensive.

South Africa's aggression against the People's Republic of Angola fully revealed the fascist nature of the Vorster regime. It was a further proof that the ANC is right in saying that racist South Africa, endangers the revolutionary process in Africa and provides a bridgehead for imperialist aggression on the continent. A second lesson of Angola is that it confirmed once again the imperialists' intolerance of every manifestation of economic or political independence on the part of an African country. Thirdly, the events in Angola showed that the imperialists are prepared, as they were in Vietnam, to commit open aggression to make up for losses and protect their political and economic interests. They do not shrink from resorting to arms if they think it will help them to isolate the African revolution, above all from socialist countries. This is why the aggression in Angola was accompanied by widespread and fierce propaganda against the MPLA, known to the whole world as a genuinely revolutionary movement, and in still greater measure against the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist countries, against all progressive forces of the globe.

The events in Angola also fit perfectly into the US imperialist policy of "destabilising" progressive regimes. This means that the defeat of the South African fascist regimes in Angola was also a setback for that policy. It gives a new impetus to the revolution in Africa. Its anti-imperialist content is deepening. The OAU assembly on Angola confirmed this conclusion. In spite of imperialist propaganda, many African countries unambiguously declared their support for the stand of the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist countries, their aid to Angola and their contribution to revolutionary progress throughout the African continent. By sending delegations to socialist countries, especially to the Soviet Union, to seek aid for African national-liberation movements, the OAU Liberation Committee confirms the necessity and solidity of the alliance of two contingents of the world revolution—the socialist system and the national-liberation movement—and reveals the highly important fact that Africa appreciates the role of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in its fight for independence. Our delegation emphasised this at the 25th CPSU Congress.

The defeat of the South-African army in Angola aggravated the isolation and internal crisis of the Vorster regime The regime's reaction is typical. The South-African government calls for efforts to strengthen the country's "defences" and militarise its economy still more It has approved a record military budget—$1,600m.[11] The strength of the army is to exceed 200,000. All this is bound to increase economic difficulties and lower the standard of living, with a growing strike movement and greater popular discontent as a result. It affords new opportunities for the liberation movement of the oppressed population of our country.

[11] During Vorster's visit to Israel in April 1976, the press hinted at the possibility of military cooperation between South Africa's racists and the Israeli Zionists—*Ed*

In 1955, the ANC and other progressive and democratic forces of South Africa proposed a revolutionary national-democratic alternative. Set out in what is known as the "Freedom Charter", the proposal is more relevant than ever. The preamble to the charter says: South Africa belongs to all who live in it—blacks and whites alike. No government may rule the country unless it has a mandate from the people. The South-African problem cannot be solved without genuine democracy. To carry out this programme, the ANC and other progressive forces are doing all in their power to intensify the struggle of the popular masses.

Inside the country we intend to carry on our propaganda campaign with still greater perseverance, also with regard to the white minority, to which we want to reveal that its genuine interests do not lie in supporting the racist regime but in isolating and destroying it. In working among the black majority, the ANC stresses the need for closer unity of all groups of the population. It is very important to bring about an alliance of the diverse communities of the country and unite all revolutionary forces in order to smash the system of apartheid.

The ANC considers it necessary, therefore, to develop its political work, using all legal possibilities. Even more important, it is improving the methods of its underground activity and intends to step up its armed struggle. It has never made an absolute of this method, but neither has it ever renounced it. Our goal is, now as in the past, to destroy the regime by every means.

Our movement pins great hopes on international solidarity. The events in Angola showed once again the importance of the progressive world forces' support of the revolutionary forces of Africa. This support benefits the people concerned, the revolution on the continent, and progress, democracy and peace throughout the world.

DESPITE INTRIGUES, FOR THE UNITY OF FIGHTERS

JASON MOYO

Chairman, External Administration of the Zimbabwe African National Council (Rhodesia)

GEORGE SILUNDIKA

Member of the External Administration, African National Council

The Zimbabwe national-liberation movement has become an appreciable force in spite of racist and imperialist intrigues aimed at dividing it. Enemy propaganda plays up the difficulties and differences that crop up as the movement develops.

The history of these intrigues dates from the early sixties. The Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), founded by Joshua Nkomo in December 1961, gained noticeably in influence at the time. In 1963, ZAPU was split, not without aid from outside, resulting in the rise of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) under the Rev. N. Sithole. In 1971, further intrigues led to a small group of splitters breaking away from ZAPU and assuming the name of the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (FROLIZI), with J. Chikerema as its leader.

At that time (early 1972) the so-called Pierce commission was appointed to determine the Zimbabwe people's attitude towards the proposals for a settlement of the Rhodesian problem worked out by the self-appointed Rhodesian Prime Minister, Ian Smith, and British Foreign Secretary Sir Alec Douglas-Home.[12] It was necessary to give the patriots a political weapon against those proposals. But the national leaders of Zimbabwe, including Joshua Nkomo, were either in prison or in enforced residence. It was in those circumstances that a legal organisation, the African National Council (ANC), was founded on Nkomo's initiative. Bishop Abel Muzorewa was appointed its head and it soon became a mass movement. The campaign against the Home-Smith collusion was crowned by complete success.

In 1974, following the victory of the liberation war in Mozambique, the presidents of Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique obtained under the Lusaka Manifesto,[13] the release of Joshua Nkomo and other Zimbabwe leaders. *On 7 December the Unity Declaration was signed in* Lusaka announcing the unification of ZAPU, ZANU and FROLIZI within the framework of the ANC. Agreement was reached that a congress would be called in four months to elect the ANC leadership and decide on its policy. However, seeing that the overwhelming majority of ANC branches called in the country supported the line of the former ZAPU and Joshua Nkomo, the leaders of other alignments began to block measures for the convocation of the congress and when the congress was enevertheless held (September 1975), they stayd away from it. saying that they refused to recognise either its decisions or the leadership elected by it.[14]

What are the arguments of the breakaway elements? They claim that they are backed by the majority of the population. They have also tried to prove it by gathering crawds in Salisbury. However, the underlying idea of their actions is to foment tribalist discord among the African popula-

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[12] The proposals did not really provide for the transfer of power to the African majority in the foreseeable future—*Ed.*

[13] Adopted at a conference of African countries in Lusaka. Zambia, in 1969 the manifesto allowed for talks with the Vorster and Smith regimes to establish African majority rule in South Africa and Rhodesia—*Ed.*

[14] The congress elected a new ANC Executive Committee, with Joshua Nkomo as Chairman—*Ed*

tion. Their claim to a "majority" is based on the fact that most of them belong to the Mashona people, the country's most numerous.

Actually tribalist sentiments are not typical of the Zimbabwe people, first of all because the development of capitalism has resulted in the formation of a sizable working class.[15] The workers do not give so much thought to their tribal origins as to the need to fight in common against capitalist exploitation. Those who try to impose tribalism on our people are doing so for selfish reasons, in an effort to come to power by hook or by crook. This is not to say, of course, that the danger of tribalism can be dismissed.

External reactionary forces are certainly doing all they can to aggravate the conflict. The imperialists do not want a repetition of Angola, where a progressive movement has come to power, in our country. As is known, Joshua Nkomo and his followers visualise the future of Zimbabwe in terms of the ZAPU "Ideological Concept"[16] and that Nkomo is for a party expressing the interests of the wroking class and the people as a whole. Our opponents, however, believe in an organisation of a few members of the elite who would take decisions "in the name of the people". It is hardly surprising that when Nkomo said that it was for the people to make decisions they replied that the people were not mature enough. Still, we consider that ideological differences should not be an obstacle to join struggle.

Another argument of our opponents concerns their interpretation of the talks between Joshua Nkomo and Smith. Muzorewa, Sithole and others affirm that Nkomo declares for agreement with Smith whereas they are for armed struggle.

The fact of the matter is that Nkomo decided on armed struggle in the early sixties and has never retreated from that position.[17] As for the talks with Smith, they were begun in accordance with the policy of the Organisation of African Unity as defined by the Lusaka Manifesto. In April 1975, the OAU Council of Ministers, meeting in Dar es Salaam, approved a declaration reaffirming the principle of negotiations if suggested by the racist regimes. Furthermore, it stressed that OAU members' contacts with them should not imply "detente" in their relations and that the only subject of negotiations should be the terms of transferring power to the African majority. The Declaration was confirmed by the OAU Summit at Kampala (July-August 1975).

In line with this decision, talks were held in August 1975 on Victoria

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[15] At the same time according to the 1969 census, 63 per cent of Rhodesia's Africans live in rural reservations, and hundreds of thousands more work on farms owned by Europeans—*Ed.*

[16] See *WMR*, May 1973—*Ed.*

[17] For a description of the armed struggle led by ZAPU, see *WMR*, May 197·—*Ed.*

Falls Bridge between an ANC delegation led by Abel Muzorewa, on the one hand, and Smith and Vorster, on the other. The talks were broken off over technical differences. But a beginning had been made. The event aroused widespread response among the population. It was necessary to make Smith take a stand on the substance of the matter, that is, on the issue of African majority rule, and exclude South Africa from the talks as an outsider.

It was in this spirit that the new ANC Executive Committee decided to hold the talks Account was taken of the fact that the white community was divided. On the one hand, there are the bankers, industrialists, businessmen, some military men and small proprietors, who want the problem to be solved—on neo-colonialist lines, to be sure. On the other hand, there are the farmers, big landowners, highly placed engineers and other specialists and skilled craftsmen, who cling doggedly to the existing order. It was precisely because he realised that the white community is split that Smith proposed what seemed like a peaceful settlement. The world knew this and wanted to know the Africans' reaction.

We are not fighting to kill. If we are offered a peaceful solution we agree to talks, even if we have virtually no hope of a favourable outcome. The impotrant thing is that everybody, including white Rhodesians, should see that we want a peaceful and fair solution which is not what Smith wants.[18] This will aggravate divisions among the whites and create more favourable conditions for our armed struggle.

The talks are no alternative to armed struggle, nor can they hinder it. The liberation war is going on. The Zimbabwe people's army was formed late in 1975 and has been operating ever since. It comprises former ZAPU and ZANU fighters.[19] The point is, however, that every armed struggle requires adequate preparations. Our organisation has said in a statement that there are those who play with the dangerous idea that the Zimbabwe people must be ignored and that the solution of those who have the arms should be imposed on the whole population. "These are elements, internal and external, who are, in fact, opportunists and adventurists who want the world to believe that revolution is the gun and that the man with the gun

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[18] The talks were broken off on 19 March 1976 over Smith's intransigent position —his rejection of the proposal for immediately establishing African majority rule. At a press conference following the breakdown of the talks, Nkomo said: "It is clear that Smith has declared thereby that he is willing to wage war. It was he who did it, not we"—*Ed*.

[19] Since January 1976 the army has sharply stepped up its operations. The press reports the formation of a joint command composed of former ZAPU and ZANU members—nine from each. In March 1976, N Kezwana, the London representative of the ANC, said: "We try to bring about a situation in which the armed forces will continue to function under the control of an elected political leadership"—*Ed*.

is the sole revolutionary to the exclusion of the masses. This is treachery and corruption of the revolution. The people of Zimbabwe with or without guns are a single revolutionary whole in struggle."

The situation today is more favourable to our people. After all, the Zimbabwe problem is not an isolated one. It is part of the problem of the south of the continent, of all countries of the area, of all peoples fighting for liberation, whether in Indochina or the Middle East, part of the common struggle of progressive forces against the forces of reaction. These problems have been solved in Indochina, Mozambique and Angola. As to the south of our continent, a solution has yet to come. However, the victories achieved in Mozambique and Angola mean that the enemy has become more vulnerable.

Angola has taught the imperialists a harsh lesson. The South African army was defeated and will henceforth suffer similar defeats. As to the Rhodesian army, its inefficiency has long since been proved.

The only force the racist Smith regime can lean on is the equally racist Vorster regime. Imperialist press comments alleging that Vorster is willing to leave Smith in the lurch are intended to mislead world opinion. There is no question that to preserve his rule in South Africa, Vorster has urged Smith to make some insignificant concessions to the African people of Zimbabwe. He would like the same in Namibia and in South Africa itself, but on the only principle acceptable to him, that is, provided the white settlers retain power everywhere. For if Vorster was willing to accept African majority rule in Zimbabwe, why did he attack Angola?

Vorster's "initiatives" are merely an attempt at bargaining to obtain something of a moratorium from free Africa. But this will never happen. A racist regime is as unacceptable to the South African people as it is to other African peoples. Vorster is an oppressor and fascist. He is directly responsible for the deaths of hundreds and thousands of our brothers. The days of his regime, like those of the Smith regime, are numbered.

Every liberation struggle, including the struggle in Zimbabwe, can be successful if, first of all, the people show proper determination and readiness for sacrifice. But much depends on international support as well. Nor do I mean material support only. Our struggle is part of the struggle of the oppressed and exploited of the world, part of the struggle of the international working class. We are inspired by the solidarity of our brothers, both those who are free and those who are fighting for liberation.

We are deeply grateful to the socialist countries, first of all to the Soviet Union and to the CPSU, for their assistance and their policy based on proletarian internationalism. The peoples of South Africa greeted with enthusiasm L. I. Brezhnev's statement at the 25th CPSU Congress that the Soviet Union would continue to render that assistance.

The struggle of the African people of Zimbabwe is widely appreciated

and supported. This was confirmed by the meetings which our delegation had with representatives of the progressive and anti-imperialist forces of the world during the 25th CPSU Congress. The African National Council, for its part, does its best to contribute to the solidarity of fighters against imperialism. In days that were crucial for Angola, we shared with the MPLA the little we have.

Our people are resolved to step up their struggle and they look forward to practical manifestations of international solidarity, to material and moral support from friendly forces. The assistance of socialist countries, African states, progressive regimes, fraternal liberation movements and solidarity committees throughout the world will contribute substantially to the ultimate victory of the African people of Zimbabwe.

FOR A STATE OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS

Moses Garoeb

Member of the National Executive Committee and Administrative Secretary, South-West African People's Organisation (SWAPO)

The winning of independence by Mozambique and Angola means that free Africa has moved right up to the borders of South Africa, that Rhodesia has become more vulnerable and that from now on, Namibia will have a progressive state as its neighbour in the north. This greatly weakens the positions of the racist Vorster and Smith regimes.

The so-called policy of detente in Africa, announced by the Vorster regime when the revolutionary national-liberation movement was preparing for a decisive offensive, is dead. It will be recalled that some African countries took the bait at first, thinking that the racists were changing. In Zimbabwe the policy of "detente" was thought to be bearing fruit. In Namibia too, there was a visible decline in the activity of the progressive forces even though it did not stop altogether, as the hostile press claimed. By now everyone in Africa and elsewhere has seen that the "initiatives" taken by Vorster and Smith were merely intended to gain time and that fascist regimes never change. And this means that the fight against them will intensify.

SWAPO is convinced that armed struggle is the only realistic way to free Namibia. It has become more effective in recent months. Our fighting men, operating in groups of five or two, thrust deep into the country, operating within 45 miles of the capital, Windhoek. The guerrillas' main targets are the military-political upper stratum and reactionary farmers. The strength of the National Liberation Army of Namibia has

increased considerably and its combat and political training has improved. The army has been much more active since early 1975.

At the same time, SWAPO is stepping up its efforts for politically organising the people and consolidating its organisational structure. Illegal meetings are held all over the country, underground cells inform the people and spell out the meaning of developments to them. No national-liberation movement can do anything without the people's support. We have succeeded in bringing many people into our movement.

It must be stressed that SWAPO does not in principle rule out the possibility of solving the problem of Namibia through talks. The organisation has always said that it is willing to hold talks—on our terms. SWAPO regards three of its conditions as preliminary ones that must be accepted before any talks can begin:

—first, South Africa must publicly recognise the right of Namibia to independence, a right which is not negotiable;

—scondly, Namibia must achieve independence as a united nation;

—thirdly, SWAPO must be recognised as the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

Besides, we put forward the following conditions as indispensable to any agreement:

—South Africa will withdraw its occupation forces—army, police, security forces—from Namibia;

—South Africa will release all political prisoners held in prisons or concentration camps in both South Africa and Namibia;

—all people who were forced to leave Namibia will have the right to return, with guarantees against arrest or persecution;

—no Namibian will be prosecuted on charges of "terrorism", "murder". etc., for actions in the course of the liberation struggle.

If the Vorster regime accepts these conditions, SWAPO will join in talks. But they must deal with the specific details of the peaceful transfer of power to SWAPO. It can only be a question of the technical aspects of transferring the ministries and other agencies. If Vorster is a realist he will have peace, if not, we shall fight, even if it means fighting for another five or ten years.

You will see that the SWAPO proposals have nothing to do with the much-advertised "constitutional negotiations" initiated by the Vorster regime with its Namibian puppets.[20] Their purpose is to impose division along tribal lines and set up a system of bantustans, with all riches handed over to the whites. Every tribe and the whole people of Namibia reject

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[20] The "constitutional conference" convened by South Africa has been in session at Windhoek since the autumn of 1975. The participants are spokesmen of the white population and the "chiefs" of ten African tribal groups—*Ed.*

this "solution". As to the so-called tribal chiefs, who are said to back Vorster's policy, they are paid by the South African government.

Having announced his "declaration of independence of Namibia", Vorster would like the world to believe that he is retreating. But everyone realises that he means "independence" controlled from Pretoria. This was shown by the unanimous condemnation of the negotiations in question by the Security Council meeting in January 1976, at which I had the honour to represent Namibia.

SWAPO firmly believes in a united Namibia whose people will govern the country by themselves. To be sure, the existence of tribes is an African reality. All the main tribes—the Ovambo, Damara, Nama, Herero and others—are represented in SWAPO and in the National Liberation Army of Namibia. Our radio broadcasts in five native languages (apart from English). SWAPO is a nation-wide organisation and the population knows that we are fighting for the interests of the whole people.

Ours is not a tribal struggle but a political struggle inspired by a well-defined ideology. SWAPO sees the future of Namibia in a state ruled by the people themselves, by the workers and peasants, who constitute the base of our struggle. At present the workers and peasants of Namibia are exploited by an alliance of racists, South-African capitalists and multinational monopolies. SWAPO's goal is to end this and build a new society ruling out exploitation.

We also know that in a number of African countries the colonialists have been succeeded by a local black elite. The workers and peasants have been forgotten. SWAPO does not want anything like that to happen in Namibia.

All this unites us with our northern neighbour—free Angola. Hence it is absurd on the part of the imperialist press to allege that SWAPO, which is supposedly backed by only the Ovambo tribe, supported in Angola the traitorous UNITA alignment under Savimbi linked with tribes related to the Ovambo. Ideologically, SWAPO and the MPLA are at one and our struggle is part of the common struggle of the progressive forces of Africa. SWAPO also identifies itself with the fraternal national-liberation movements of Zimbabwe and South Africa.

There is also the important fact that, as SWAPO Chairman Sam Nujoma has repeatedly stressed, our organisation is not fighting against the white population as such but against racist legislation and practices, against a system of exploitation and oppression, for complete liberation and the establishment of a state in which all blacks and whites will enjoy equal rights.

Our people and our organisation are being increasingly supported by the progressive forces of the world, which are stepping up both moral solidarity and direct material aid. At the 25th CPSU Congress, I said

that "the African people's resolve to win freedom, plus the support and solidarity of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, make the final defeat of the racist regimes merely a matter of time".

In capitalist countries, SWAPO is campaigning on a large scale to mobilise public opinion. "Groups for Namibia" spring up in Western Europe, the United States and many other countries. Meetings and demonstrations take place, protests are organised, pressure is exerted on governments to make them revise their position on our national-liberation movement. And whereas these groups lacked prestige some five years ago, they are now heard by influential political parties and by governments, and SWAPO representatives are officially received by cabinet ministers.

A very important achievement of SWAPO in the past five years is its recognition by the Organisation of African Unity and the UN as the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people. SWAPO has been granted observer status with the United Nations. I would also like to point to the International Conference on Human Rights in Namibia held early this year in Dakar.

Our gains are due in no small measure to the favourable situation created on the international scene by the policy for peace and detente pursued by the socialist countries, first of all the Soviet Union. This policy, which certainly has nothing in common with "detente, Vorster style", is not intended to preserve the social and political status quo in the world, as some ill-intentioned people allege. Oppression is incompatible with detente. The policy for peace and detente contributes to the success of national-liberation movements.

Indochina now has peace, achieved with the support of socialist countries and meaning a victory for detente as well. Peace has also been established in Angola, where the imperialist forces were defeated, and that, too, benefits detente. The gains of the national-liberation movement make, in their turn, for detente and peace on earth.

WHAT HONDURAN REACTION WANTS TO REVERT TO

MILTON RENE PAREDES
*Member of Central Committee,
Communist Party of Honduras*

A year ago, a coup in Honduras replaced the military government under Lopez Arellano by a military government under Melgar Castro. Imperialism and the domestic ultras were dissatisfied with the activity of the previous head of state, who had announced a national development plan with agrarian reform as a key provision. They conspired to win back the political positions they had lost after the December 1972 coup[1] and nullify the Honduran people's democratic gains. They launched a vast propaganda campaign to cause discord between Lopez Arellano and his cabinet and fanned social conflicts aggravating the country's economic crisis. Many strikes were inspired by opponents of democratic change, who copied the methods the CIA used in Chile against the Popular Unity government. Under pressure from reaction, the Lopez Arellano government began to vacillate and abandon its democratisation policy.

The resolute stand taken by the advanced sections of the working class foiled many of reaction's manoeuvres. Thereupon imperialism and reaction openly attacked the head of state whom they accused of "dividing the people" and "imperting class struggle". Their aim was to sow in the army distrust for Lopez Arellano as Commander-in-Chief. They succeeded, with the result that medium-ranking army officers launched a "purge" of the Army (the so-called Movement of 31 March 1975), demanded that the functions of Commander-in-Chief and head of state be separated, and forced a large group of high-ranking officers out of the government. However, this was less than imperialism and the ultras were after. They wanted to remove the head of state because of his

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[1] The coup brought down the Ernesto Cruz government which upheld the interests of the landed oligarchy and US monopolies— *Ed.*

tolerance of democratic elements. The upshot was the fall of the Lopez Arellano government.

The Melgar Castro government, which emerged on 23 April 1975, did not turn out to be what the reactionaries had bargained for. Imperialism and the oligachy had sought a fascist-type regime that would promptly do away with the people's democratic gains. Yet the Melgar Castro government is not quite living up to their expectations and all that it is doing at the moment is to provide conditions for the restoration of oligarchic power. We communists define this government as a compromising and transitional one. It is under double pressure, so to speak. On the one hand, foreign and home reactionaries are engaged in new political manoeuvres aimed at achieving victory for right-wing forces. On the other, the more politically conscious elements in the armed forces that want to prevent a swing to the right are again assuming the political initiative they lost after 31 March 1975.

The government is torn by serious antagonisms. Nor could it have been otherwise, for it is the product of a loose compromise between forces aspiring to power. This means that the near future may see an exacerbation of antagonisms and, indeed, a new deep political crisis.

After the coup, the functions of the government and the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces were separated. The former lost much of its power and became, in effect, a purely administrative agency. As for the latter, it began to make decisions on fundamental home and foreign policy issues. Real power today is no longer wielded by one man but by a body of 27. We regard this as a favourable development since today problems of "big" politics are discussed and not settled at the whim of one man.

Politically, the Supreme Council is a heterogeneous body. Some of its members are more or less agreeable to structural changes intended to end poverty, backwardness and dependence. Others, with conservative backgrounds, hold rightist views. Most of the officers on the council plainly lack political experience and know little about social problems. And although many of them are essentially men of integrity, reaction contrives to use them for its own designs.

This situation cannot last, of course. There is bound to be a polarisation of forces in the state apparatus. Many of the army officers who now have hazy ideas of the meaning of the problems under discussion will in the end make up their minds as to whether the armed forces should again play the role of executioners in the service of the oligarchy and imperialism or side with the people.

Our party considers that the Supreme Council holds real power and has thereby assumed a serious historical responsibility to the people. And while we communists do not accept every provision of the government's

appeal of 22 April to the people, we take a favourable view of its declared intention to lead the country along the road of progress, independence and sovereignty, carry out the national development plan and enforce the agrarian reform law. On the other hand, we are aware that the council has no intention of relying on the people, which explains the inconsistency of its measures.

The people cannot be indifferent to what goes on in the council. They follow its activity with close attention and back those officers who show readiness to defend the democratic gains. It is essential to bring about changes strengthening the hand of progressives on the council. This is one of the tasks facing the more advanced section of the Honduran public today.

The ultras use two basic tactics to prevent democratic changes. One of them—direct action—is aimed at first causing social disarray and then setting up a fascist-tpye regime. The other—indirect action—is based on political pressure. At present the ultras are doing their utmost to impose elections which they could exploit to further their interests. Stripped of power in December 1972, the traditional parties, which express the views of the bourgeois and landed oligarchy, will do anything to achieve their ends.

The ultras' growing political activity follows from the criminal plan they wanted to put into effect after the April 1975 coup. Its miscarriage compelled the reactionaries to change their methods but not their aims.

Today the ultras are talking of a "return to constitutional order". What they really want is to regain their lost positions. But the people reject the demagogic appeals of leaders of the traditional parties, rightly seeing them as a bid to preserve outdated economic and political structures. The people demand structural changes first and constitutionalism afterwards.

This is not to say that genuine democrats and patriots are against establishing constitutional order. It simply means that the more enlightened and progressive sections of the people, well remembering past events, want to prevent a new travesty of elections. They seek a political regime backed by a popular majority and providing conditions for real democratisation. And this cannot be achieved so long as the present social and economic structures exist. The need is for fundamental social changes raising the level of the people's social consciousness, organisation and discipline and making their participation in decision-making at state level a reality. Unless this is done, a "return to constitutional order" would mean perpetuating social injustice.

In one of his latest public appearances, General Melgar Castro said that constitutional order could be re-established in 1979. He stressed, however, that he did not mean a revival of the former system, which

ad failed in 1969 with the downfall of a bipartisan government, nor ominal democracy, but the need to promote an alternative ensuring the ventual formation of a genuinely representative government. Unless his statement is left at that, it may imply a new trend in the government's policies in contrast with the intentions of those who want an mmediate return to constitutional order.

The working people of town and countryside increasingly realise that only by rallying together can they bring about the solution of economic and social problems aggravated by the government's inconsistency. We regard the abolition of the regime of concessions dating from 1903 as a major gain for the people. It was a direct result of a long, bloody struggle against US imperialism in which the communists played a major role.

The peasant movement intensified last year because the authorities refused to allot land in spite of their promise of an early agrarian reform.[3] "Food shortages in rural areas", the Communist Party stated on 8 November 1975, "cause growing hunger and poverty, and disease is becoming widespread. Yet the state shows little or no concern for the working people."

In the closing months of 1975, members of the National Peasant Association and the National Peasant League began to seize the lands of big proprietors in 16 departments. They formed a National Front of Peasant Unity to campaign for immediate and real agrarian reforms.

The workers identify themselves with the peasants at this crucial juncture in the nation's life. The biggest unions affiliated to the Trade Union Federation of Workers of the North (FESITRAN) have demanded that the Confederation of Workers of Honduras (CTH) convene a national assembly of workers and peasants to discuss urgent tasks and forms in which pressure could be exerted on the government to break the resistance of the oligarchy and imperialism.

We communists have scored substantial gains in organising the struggle for structural changes. We concentrate on building up working-class unity. Leaders supporting ORIT have been expelled from the major trade unions. As a result of years of patient effort in the Tela Railroad Co., trade union (SITRATERCO), this big and influential trade union centre now holds class positions. The democratic coalition won the latest elections to the new Executive Committee of SITRATERCO. This success was so significant as to cause a real political upheaval in the country. It means that now the four trade unions of banana plantation workers have a real opportunity to achieve unity, and makes it possible to radically

[3] A few hundred big owners and two US banana companies hold almost 90 per cent of the land, while 70 per cent of peasant households hardly own any land.

change the situation throughout the trade union movement. The task of the working class is to support trends towards unity since the working people's enemies are out to split the trade union organisations and isolate the more democratic-minded and militant leaders.

Honduran communists see their duty in contributing to the formation of an anti-imperialist front. They work for mutual understanding with all the social and political forces willing to unite in order to demand that the government implement the positive provisions of its national development plan, effect an agrarian reform and safeguard democratic gains and, moreover, to seek anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist solutions to the problems posed by the national crisis. This makes it imperative to end disunity among the democratic and left forces. We must show breadth of vision, combat sectarianism and persevere in our drive for united action by all progressive political forces and democratic organisations. This is a first step towards setting up a democratic anti-imperialist front. At the same time, we must firmly support those in the armed forces and the government who really want the process of social change to go on.

To fight for democratic unity does not mean renouncing the party's ideological independence or withholding criticism of its allies' inconsistencies or mistakes. In supporting actions for specific democratic goals, we communists persevere in the struggle for a democratic, anti-imperialist, agrarian and popular revolution which alone can pave the way for the growth of the productive forces in the people's interest--after US neo-colonial domination has been ended and the pillars of the bourgeois and landed oligarchy undermined.

In view of the importance of the tasks facing the people and a highly fluid domestic political situation, the party must be prepared to work in any conditions, however unfavourable, promote Leninist methods of party work, steadfastly apply the principles of democratic centralism, improve the illegal and legal forms of its work and strengthen its links with popular organisations.

We must go on reinforcing our ranks apace. Only a strong party pursuing a correct and clear-cut policy can win greater influence among the people. The political context in which we are operating makes it imperative for the party to have able and devoted cadres prepared to lead mass actions. We need this if we are to exercise our role as vanguard of the democratic and revolutionary forces.

ISRAELI VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

FELICIA LANGER
Israeli lawyer

The Israeli occupation of the Arab territories in the wake of the June 1967 war is almost nine years old. Israeli ruling circles have pretended all these years that it is the most liberal occupation in history. But there are by now very few people in Israel and outside it who believe in this apologetic description of the occupation. The truth about the nature of the Israeli occupation is very persistent and stubborn, and I should like to scrutinise it in the light of law, and practice.

It is universally recognised that "the rules of warfare" are part and parcel of international law. Their main purpose is to draw a clear line of distinction between occupation resulting from warfare and the demands of any right with respect to the occupied territory through unilateral annexation. These laws emphasise the temporal character of armed occupation, their other purpose being to carry out the norms regarding the relations between the occupying state and the population of the occupied territory.

One of these laws—the Hague Convention of 1899—has been accepted by the overwhelming majority of states. In fact, it has been recognised by Israel too. The General Staff of the Israeli Army asserted in 1961, in a document entitled "Powers of the Army in an Occupied Territory", that though Israel is not a partner to the convention, she has to be regarded as committed by the regulations established by it in the same measure as she is committed to carry out the rules of usage of international law. The second convention is the fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 regarding the protection of civilians in wartime, to which Israel is a signatory.

The Hague Convention is safeguarding the rights of individual and his property, forbidding absolutely any collective punishments "because of acts by individuals, since the population cannot be respon

sible for them collectively". The Geneva Convention is forbidding to enact new laws in the occupied territories, prohibiting the use "of physical or moral coercion", in particular to obtain information. Any acts of forcible transfer or deportation are prohibited, regardless of their motive. The convention prohibits any transfer of the population of the occupying power to the occupied territory. Any destruction of property is also prohibited.

The Israeli law courts (and authorities) have always stressed that, in all verdicts, they adhere to international law and all related conventions. But is it so?

The laws applied by the Israeli authorities in the occupied territories are the Defence (Emergency) Regulations of 1945, inherited from the British mandatory rule in Palestine, and orders, enacted by the military government there. However, the Defence Regulations were abolishd in Jordan,[1] and therefore their application in the West Bank constitutes a violation of the Geneva Convention.

At one time the Regulations of 1945 were bitterly attacked by present-day Israeli rulers Mr. Jacob Shimshon Shapirah, who later became Israeli Attorney General and Minister of Justice, had the following remarks to make in 1946 as regards these same laws: "The system established in Palestine since the issue of the defence laws is unparalleled in any civilised country; there were no such laws even in Nazi Germany. It is our duty to tell the whole world that the defence laws passed by the British mandatory government of Palestine destroy the very foundation of justice in this land."

According to these laws thousands of Palestinians and other inhabitants of the occupied territories were and still are victimised, day by day, with an outspoken cruelty.

Since the occupation 27,000 Palestinians have been imprisoned and some 4,000 are still in prison. Tens of Palestinian patriots, communists and others, are administratively imprisoned, for two years without any charge.[2] The workers and intellectuals, young and old, are in prison only because of their love for their homeland and non-compliance with the occupier. This administrative detention is often called by the prisoners "a life term", because its duration is unlimited.

Israeli authorities confiscated more than a million and a half

[1] The British Emergency Regulations of 1945 were never recognised as international law in Palestine.

[2] They are jailed without trial or hearing. For instance, Mohammed Saada from Deharya village near Hebron is now 24 months in prison. He is very ill and there is a danger to his life.

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lunams[3] in the West Bank, more than one-sixth of the total area of the West Bank, and one-third of the Gaza strip. Thousands of Bedouins were forcibly evicted from their land. The total area confiscated there is around 100,000 dunams. The so-called "thinning out" policy in the refugee camps entailed mass expulsion of refugees, many thousands of destroyed houses in Jebaliah and Shaati camps.

The same activity of the occupiers is shown also in Arabic Jerusalem—confiscation of 22,000 dunams of Arab land in the city and its suburbs and forcible eviction of tens of thousands of Arabs who used to live and work there. I shall never forget the old widow Salaime who said that she preferred to die in her house instead of leaving it. After the demolition of 800 Arab buildings 13 new Israeli sectors were built—"a ring around Jerusalam" as the authorities are calling it. As a result, a serious demographic change occurred—forcible decrease in the number of Arabic inhabitants from 140,000 in 1948 to 70,000 in 1974.

The demolition of houses is one of the most cruel punishments, imposed administratively by the military governor (according to the Defence Regulations). The victims are always the innocent families of the detained, not knowing even in what sort of "crime" their son or brother is suspected. The last destroyed house I have seen was in a refugee camp Breig in Gaza in December 1975. Ten children, their parents and grandparents remained roofless, because of the suspicion against one of their sons of subversive activity. No arms were found, no proofs. They were only one of the many thousands of victims of demolished houses. In eight years (June 1967-June 1975) special Israeli punitive units destroyed more than 19,000 houses, including 10,900 in the Gaza strip, over 3,000 in Samaria, 2,000 in the Golan Heights and 1,800 in Latroun region. Behind these numbers I have seen the completely demolished Golan Heights, have heard the silent outcry of Kouneitra, have seen hundreds and thousands of homeless. On the ruins of the three peaceful villages in Latroun area, Yalu, Amuas and Beit Nooba, destroyed by the Israeli army in 1967, a Canadian Jewish investor and built a park and recreation centre. I wonder who can enjoy the beauty of flowers growing on the ruins of someone's house.

Another measure of institutionalised terror is deportation. Thousands of Palestinian patriots and political leaders have been expelled in order to deprive the Palestinians of their leadership and moral supporters.

The colonisation of the occupied territories by Jewish settlers is

[3] 1 dunam=about 0.1 hectare (approximately a quarter of an acre).

going on along with confiscation of Arab lands and forced deportation. Near Rafah a Jewish city is under construction. There are more than 50 new settlements, including 18 in the Golan Heights. One of the new settlers was questioned in a TV programme from where he came here and he answered, Houston, Texas. Yes, it is symbolic—Houston, Taxas, settling in Golan, while its legal inhabitants are living nine years in refugee camps near Damascus!

Such is the policy of "creating new realities" in the occupied territories. Those who had robbed for 28 years, and are continuing to rob in these very days, the lands of Galilee and the Triangle[4], have been robbing for the last few years the Arab lands in the West Bank, in the Gaza strip, changing names into Hebrew ones, hoping mistakingly that they are able to change the map of the Middle East.

In addition to confiscations, demolitions of houses and deportations there is another means of intimidation—military courts which have imposed many thousands of years of imprisonment on Palestinians, without any possibility to appeal against the judgements. Not only those who hold arms and fight—to which they have a right as a sacred privilege to fight against foreign occupation—are sentenced in those courts: there is nothing lawful in the eyes of the authorities—a peaceful demonstration. spreading a leaflet, giving a glass of water to a son or husband or daughter or father suspected of "subversive activity".

Now in accordance with a law enacted in 1972 the Israeli punitive forces have the "right' to kidnap Palestinians from neighbouring countries and bring them for trial before military courts in Israel, and it can be merely for membership in any Palestinian or other organisation which is considered by the Israeli authorities to be dangerous to the security of Israel. Ten Lebanese, Syrians and Iraqis were kidnapped two years ago and sentenced to six years each according to that law, contrary to all sacred maxims of the law of nations.

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[4] Galilee, a region in north-western Israel, where like in the Triangle (central part of the country) Arabs make up the bulk of the population. The Land Defence Committee, formed last October to combat government plans for confiscating Arab lands to build Jewish settlements in their stead, proclaimed 30 March 1976 Arab Lands Day and called on the Arab population of Israel to hold a general strike and protest demonstrations against the authorities' plans to confiscate 20,000 dunams in Galilee. These plans are part and parcel of the Judaisation programme, i.e. changing Galilee's population pattern, transforming it from a region with a predominantly Arab population into a region populated mainly by Jews.

The call to strike received wide response and support among the Arab population. Many progressive Jewish personalities expressed their solidarity with the Arabs' just struggle and urged the government to renounce its confiscation plans. In reply the authorities decided to crush the strike by armed force On its eve security forces

Not long ago the Military Court in Ramallah sentenced a young man, an Arab, to 5 years' imprisonment, for a minor offence without any act of violence, but as an act of vengeance, because he was a communist. Hundreds of youngsters are brought to trial for demonstrating their support for the rights of the Palestinian people and against the occupation, without any violence, too. They are fined thousands of pounds, which they are not able to pay, so their fathers have to go to jail for their sons, or to pay... And the fathers are mostly poor refugees, not having so many thousands, requested by the authorities...

The use of torture during the investigations is a method, and I declare it as a lawyer who has dealt with thousands of cases. I have seen marks of torture on the bodies of my clients and the recent ones were Hadigah Abo Arkoob, the heroic Palestinian woman, Soleiman el Najab, Housny Hadad, Khalil Higazy, Gemal Fretah, Gihad Saada in Hebron prison. I know prisoners who went mad as a result of tortures, as Abdul Metalib Abu Armeli, Ibrahim Kemook and Siad el Aza from Beit Ishem, who was half paralysed after "treatment" by electric shocks in Hebron prison, and was hospitalised after his release for nine months in a Moscow hospital. Tens of people died in prisons as a result of tortures

But despite all these terroristic measures, the struggle against the occupation is going on,[5] because its roots are in the love for the homeland, which is invincible. Thousands prefer prison cells, prefer to die, and not to surrender to the occupiers. During all these cruel and dark years the authorities did not succeed to "produce" even one quisling, despite their numerous attempts, using sometimes the well-known imperialist method of the "stick and carrot".

The nation has to pay in tears, blood and sky-rocketing cost of living for the adventurism of the Israeli leadership. Israeli dependence on US imperialism is growing constantly, while the Israeli ruling circles are ready to render it every service, whether in Angola or Lebanon, according to its request. As a "bonus" Israel is

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were sent to Nazareth and Arab villages, and attacked on their inhabitants. In some of the villages the security forces opened fire, though the villagers gave them no pretext. As a result, seven persons were killed, several dozen wounded and over 300 arrested and brutally beaten and tortured. In an attempt to justify these barbarous methods, a government spokesman claimed that the Arab protesters attacked the security forces and the latter were forced to open fire in self-defence.

The success of the strike demonstrates that the Arab population of Israel are determined to defend their land and their existence—*Note by Zahi Karkabi, representative of the Communist Party of Israel on WMR.*

[5] Powerful mass actions against the occupation regime flared up anew in January 1976—*Ed.*

obtaining from the USA the most sophisticated means of killing.[6] The Israeli economy has been fully subjected to a policy of arms race and war. Inflation is galloping, prices of consumer goods go up by hundreds of per cent, taxes increase and unemployment is growing constantly. Children no longer get lunch in the schools. Distress and poverty hit at the widest strata of the population, including children and old people.

The Israeli progressive forces do not cease the struggle against the occupation and for peace. They are fighting the oppression in the occupied Arab territories, the trampling of the human rights and the violation of international law. Nowadays new voices are heard in Israel against the government's policy warning that it leads our country to a catastrophe. More and more people are coming to the conclusion that there is no other solution than the withdrawal from all the territories occupied in 1967, and the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, its right to self-determination, which includes the right to establish a sovereign state in the territories occupied in 1967, the rights of the Palestinian refugees to chose between returning to their homeland or receiving compensation. It will lead to the recognition of Israel by the Arab world.

The occupation is a disaster not only for the occupied but also for the occupiers. Whoever wants to build a safe future in the Middle East has to choose the way to peace and mutual understanding, to which occupation and oppression are alien.

[6] In March 1976 the US Senate approved a bill granting the Israeli military $ 2.6 billion in aid—*Ed.*

WAY OF LIFE—A CLASS CONCEPT

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The historic process of transition from capitalism to socialism and of consolidating the foundations of the new system has led to radical changes in the mode of life of millions and to the formation of a qualitatively new, socialist way of life. Its essential features and their interconnection crystallised most clearly during the stage of building developed socialism and in communist construction. At this stage the further growth of the productive forces is geared to the socialist countries' main task—meeting people's material and cultural requirements in increasing measure, raising the standard of life and fostering the allround development of man—and depends to a tremendous extent on how effectively this task is accomplished. Naturally, problems of the socialist way of life, above all the key problem of how every individual or social group, and socialist society as a whole, work and live and how they spend their leisure hours, are of particular theoretical, social and political importance.

Recent congresses of the communist parties of several fraternal socialist countries devoted much attention to these problems. The 25th CPSU Congress described one of the main tasks as "steadfastly developing the socialist way of life" and stressed the need "to continue elaborating the theory of creating the material and technical base of communism, perfecting social relations, moulding the new man, and fostering the socialist way of life".

One of the reasons for the mounting interest in problems of the way of life is that they have become a focal point of the struggle between Marxist-Leninist and bourgeois ideology. At this stage of the historic contest between socialism and capitalism, the way of life is

increasingly becoming the touchstone of the viability of the two opposed systems, of their rationality, humanism and moral perfection. Detente enables the working people to compare without bias the manner in which the socialist and the capitalist world solve fundamental problems of man's existence: ensuring the harmonious development of the individual, meeting the material and cultural requirements of everyone and creating living and working conditions fit for man, including the natural environment.

Marxists-Leninists, especially those of socialist countries, have lately done a great deal to study the socialist way of life. In the course of exchange of opinion, discussions and joint research, scholars of fraternal socialist countries arrived at common or similar positions on its main features and the laws of its formation and development, defined the nature of the more important theoretical and practical problems and decided on the main lines of further research. However, there are still discussions and arguments over many important problems.

The purpose of this article is to acquaint the reader with the Marxist-Leninist concept of the way of life and tell him about the efforts of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to perfect it.

What Marxist-Leninist science means by "way of life" is the totality of man's activities in the sphere of labour, in politics and other public fields, in the family and the sphere of personal consumption. A social concept, the way of life is indicative of the substance and quality of people's life, their main interests and needs, their behaviour, their relations with other people. The way of life is determined by the character of production relations, the economic system of society and, in the final analysis, by the given socio-economic formation's mode of producing material benefits. Marx and Engels wrote that the mode of production is not simply "the reproduction of the physical existence of the individuals" but rather "a definite form of activity of these individuals, a definite form of expressing their life, a definite *mode of life* on their part" (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology*, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1968, p. 32).

Specific knowledge of the real conditions of people under a different social system, of the material and spiritual benefits they enjoy, of their living and working conditions, rights, duties, prospects, etc., often have a stronger impact on the mentality and social consciousness of the "average" man than general statements about the principles and advantages of this or that system. Bourgeois and social-democratic ideologists know this and try to impose on the peo-

ple the "Western" way of life as a model, with its "consumer society" standards and ideals, "quality of life" concepts, and so on. All these theories call for the preservation of the basic "values" of capitalism and emphatically reject socialism and the way of life created by it. This makes it our duty to publicise the socialist way of life more vigorously, for its achievements and advantages are becoming an ever more forceful argument in favour of socialism. "Already today", said L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, in his report to the 25th CPSU Congress, "socialism exercises a tremendous influence on the thinking and sentiment of hundreds of millions of people all over the world. It assures working people freedom, truly democratic rights, well-being, the broadest possible access to knowledge, and a firm sense of security".

The working people of the capitalist world show a growing interest in the qualitative aspects of life in socialist society. Underlying it is the deep dissatisfaction of millions with the capitalist social system and their desire to find a real and effective alternative. This dissatisfaction has been accentuated by the deep crisis affecting every aspect of life in capitalist society. More and more people realise the inability of capitalism to use the productive forces it has brought into being for the good of the individual, for his all-round development. It cannot by its very nature meet the people's growing requirements and assure lasting prosperity for all. In some cases it even makes it difficult for them to meet such vital needs as housing, education or medical care. It is becoming ever more obvious that the interests of big capital and monopoly dominate everything. Maximum profit and perpetuation of power and might, are the two commandments guiding the monopoly bourgeoisie and the institutions through which it imposes its will. As a result, a society which has created productive forces that under a different, socialist system would have been sufficient to assure the well-being and harmonious development of all preserves exploitation, inequality and poverty, encourages perverse, artificial requirements and cultivates violence, self-seeking and immoral behaviour.

The working people counter the mounting pressure of big capital by stepping up the struggle for their rights. They fight for greater opportunities to receive an education and improve their knowledge and skills, for the reorganisation of the health system and social security, for better living and working conditions for youth. The monopoly bourgeoisie is constrained to take these demands into account, both because it dreads social upheavals and becau-

they reflect the real needs of society as a whole. Meeting them is necessary to reproduce a work force meeting the requirements of scientific and technological progress, of organising and managing the economy. Production processes in capitalist countries on the whole contribute to the worsening of working conditions. The growing intensification and monotony of labour exhausts people both physically and mentally and compels the ruling classes to devote more attention to the replenishment of the work force. Nor is it for humanist reasons that the bourgeoisie and its ideologists now talk of the "quality of life". Their aim is to hold the working people even more tightly in the economic vise of reproduction of capital, to subordinate all their activity to the capitalist mode of production.

This inhuman quality of the capitalist system is in sharp contrast with life in socialist countries. The communist parties in power in these countries direct all their activities towards the good of man and subordinate technological and social progress to the requirements of his all-round development. Socialism shows people in the capitalist world that unemployment, inflation and social insecurity are not inevitable evils. Although the socialist countries have not yet overtaken developed capitalist countries in some indices of material production, the progress made by socialism so far enables it to meet people's basic requirements more effectively in terms of quality. Socialism eliminates exploitation and social bondage, guarantees the spiritual progress of the individual, makes all people socially equal and puts men and women on an equal legal footing. It materialises man's great social rights: the right to work, education, knowledge and culture, free medical care, social security in old age and in case of illness. All this lays qualitatively new foundations for the life of the individual, the collective and society.

A distinguishing feature and key objective law of socialist development is planned use of the material and spiritual resources of society for all-round development of the individual and increasingly meeting people's requirements. What determines the formation and main features of the socialist way of life are not abstract moral or "universal" principles but real economic, political and cultural development aimed at meeting the working people's interests and needs. The formation of the new way of life is influenced by the whole system of socialist society, by every sphere of its life. This is why communist and workers' parties strive for the balanced development of all spheres while ruling out undue haste, rash, ill-advised decisions and measures.

Fully meeting man's material and spiritual requirements has always been the declared goal of socialism. However, the possibilities for this, especially economic conditions, do not appear at once. Only the building of a mature socialist society and a full-scale scientific and technological revolution can produce a strong material base for the all-round development of the individual. This is why the SUPG, like the communist and workers' parties of other countries of the socialist community, proceeds from the unity of economic and social policy and regards growing economic efficiency and labour productivity as the basis for steadily raising the people's material and cultural standards. "...The decision to establish a still closer relationship between economic and social policy, between growing production and our people's improving standard of living", said Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the CC SUPG, "has always been in keeping with concrete requirements. This interconnection, which should continuously be strengthened, facilitates advances in both spheres—building up economic power and raising the standard of life". Thus the socialist countries' main task mentioned at the beginning of this article operates as "a catalyst of social and economic development".[1]

The inseparable unity of economic development and social policy derives from the fact that all the SUPG's efforts are geared to the fundamental requirements of the working class and the overwhelming majority of the working people. The Party Programme which generalises the experience of building a socialist society in our country, stresses that the social, political and ideological content of the socialist way of life is determined by the fundamental interests of the working class. It is the working class that translates this way of life into reality and helps, through its leading role, its political activity and its work, to extend it to the whole of society and establish it in every decisive sphere of life.

The socialist way of life is characterised above all by everyone's desire to become a full-fledged member of a collective and give expression to his individuality through it. Socialist collective labour gives rise to new interests and new spiritual and cultural requirements. Public and private life intertwine ever more closely. They are based on comradeship, cooperation and genuine collectivism. Fruitful social and personal relations develop on the fact or

[1] *Zur Durchfuhrung der Parteiwahlen 1975/76*. Aus dem Referat des Genossen Erich Honecker, Tagung des ZK der SED, Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1975, p. 24.

floor as well as in residential neighbourhoods, in the family, in political activities.

Work, useful employment are man's basic activities. The process of promoting the way of life depends on the extent to which a society is capable of using labour for the all-round development of the individual. The nature and organisation of labour are a most important indicator, a criterion of a society's humanism and progressiveness. The new content and new place of labour in socialist society serve therefore as the main standard of distinction between the socialist and the capitalist way of life. Where exploitation has been abolished and the fruits of labour benefit both the individual and the nation, labour does not merely serve as a means of subsistence but becomes increasingly a vital requirement. With the victory of the socialist revolution, for the first time after centuries of work for others, it becomes possible to work for oneself and there sets in, Lenin wrote, a "great change from working under compulsion to working for oneself, to labour planned and organised on a gigantic, national (and to a certain extent international, world) scale" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, p 408).

Under socialism, one of man's most important rights—the right to work—also means job security. This right has been formalised by law and is universal. Every able-bodied member of socialist society is always certain of obtaining a job according to his abilities and educational standard.

An essential feature of the socialist way of life is that mental and physical labour draw gradually closer together. Labour under socialism gradually becomes a free activity by people striving consciously for high efficiency. This new attitude to labour expresses itself in widespread socialist emulation, the movement of production innovators, and other initiatives. To give an example innovation proposals put into effect in the GDR's economy in 1975 saved about 3,600m. marks.[2] Our socialist state does everything to allow scope for the people's initiative, improve the nature of labour and add to its creative content. It spends millions of marks on measures to improve working conditions, industrial safety, medical care and cultural services. Out-patient hospitals and cultural institutions are part of today's socialist enterprise. Much is done to mechanise operations in which the share of manual, arduous physical or unskilled labour is still great

[2] ***Mitteilung der Staatlichen** Zentralverwaltung fur Statistik uber die Durchführung* ***des Volkswirtschaftsplanes** 1975*, "Neues Deutschland", January 26, 1976, p. 4.

The Eighth SUPG Congress (1971) called for efforts to raise the cultural level of socialist labour and extend this process to every aspect of production relations. Culture in labour does not imply high moral qualities alone, although these are important, but also an atmosphere of comradely mutual aid and friendly criticism. Labour rich in spiritual and creative content, and the workers' rising ideological, political and educational standards are factors directly influencing the results of labour and making it more productive. People with high cultural standards work more actively and with keener interest, and are more aware of the significance of comradely cooperation, of the meaning and aesthetic value of socialist labour.

Work and relations between people at work are of fundamental importance to the socialist way of life. At work people both create the material means of improving the standard of life and develop and consolidate advanced, socialist moral standards, fostering respect for the individual and other workers and pride in their achievements. Socialist standards in work, life and studies are three fundamental, closely intertwining aspects of the people's activity. Their dialectical unity is a feature of the socialist way of life. Conscientious work for the good of the people, and hence for one's own good, is a criterion of one's prestige among one's fellow-work team and in society and determines the extent to which one is respected. More and more people realise that their labour is something more than merely a source of income. They regard labour full of deep social meaning as a most important sphere in which they can prove their worth, develop and use their physical and mental abilities and establish better relations with others.

The rulers of West Germany and other capitalist states try to mislead the people by promising them an excellent economic future (while at the same time forecasting a continued high rate of unemployment and semi-employment and hypocritically urging the workers to "learn to live amid a crisis"). By contrast, the SUPG sets tasks whose human value requires no proof. Between 1976 and 1980, for instance, 256,000 young specialists with a higher or specialised secondary education will take jobs in the economy and other spheres[8] and a million secondary-school leavers will receive

[8] *Direktive des IX. Parteitages der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands zur Entwicklung der Volkswirtschaft der DDR 1976-80*, Entwurf, "Einheit", Nr. 2/1976, p. 233.

good vocational training and become skilled workers.[4] In the sphere of preschool education, our socialist society aims at providing kindergartens for all children, where they are prepared for school.[5]

The foregoing shows that for the working class of a socialist country, a harmoniously developed personality is not a speculative model based on purely ethical principles. Indeed, the working class is already providing all requisites for the real development of the individual. Thereby it serves the fundamental interests of socialist society and the overwhelming majority of its members.

In shaping and perfecting the socialist way of life under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party, the working class seeks to ensure the confidence of every working person in the security of his social position, in his present and future. The struggle for social security is part of the revolutionary working-class movement. To the working people of a capitalist country, this means, first and foremost job security. Socialism considerably extends the content of social security. "Man's fundamental right to work, job security as an essential aspect of his social security, is a natural component of everyday life in the GDR", said Kurt Hager, Political Bureau member and Secretary of the CC SUPG. "Equal pay for equal work, ample rights and development opportunities for young people, the all-round assistance they enjoy in their work and their studies, in sports and other leisure activities, are as much a living reality here as society's tangible effort to meet the needs of its older members. Real socialism is an impressive panorama of the people's steadily rising material, spiritual and cultural standards, which go up in step with the growing possibilities of society".[6]

Social security under socialism is guaranteed by all the advantages of the socialist system, primarily by the domination of socialist production relations and by the political power of the working class. Every member of socialist society has a secure position which he owes to the very nature of the social system, and is confident of his future. This confidence stimulates people's activity and initiative and makes them feel socially protected. However, social security is neither a gift nor something immutable. It is an achievement of the people themselves, who provide it by their daily effort.

Under socialism, people also feel socially protected outside the

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., p. 232.

[6] Kurt Hager, *25 Jahre DDR. Aufstieg des Sozialismus im Bruderbund mit der Sowjetunion*, Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1974, p. 37.

production sphere. This is seen in the human relations that have taken shape in socialist society and are based on mutual trust, unity and solidarity, both between individuals and between the main social groups, in the working people's deep conviction that socialist society and a collective will always help a person faced with difficult problems.

It is safe to say that social security and the feeling of being socially protected are among the most remarkable direct manifestations of the new type of relations between individuals, the collective and society, relations which are typical only of socialism and the socialist way of life.

The situation is entirely different where production is based on capitalist relations. There the working people are forever in dread of losing their job completely or partly, of finding themselves without a livelihood. This dread is justified. The rate of unemployment, the highest in the postwar period, has stayed high for years in many capitalist countries. Unemployment is not merely a loss of income. It is a tragedy for millions of people and their families, who feel they are not wanted in a society in which money, profit, wealth is the highest criterion of value of the individual and the main indicator of his social prestige. Social insecurity, inherent in capitalism, grows especially in period of aggravated crises. It becomes a feeling of alarm and even desperation besetting millions.

Progressives are particularly alarmed by growing unemployment among youth. In West Germany it went up by 210 per cent in the 1973-75 period. This is the highest index registered in any European country.[7] Hundreds of thousands of young people are not certain they will be able to learn a trade or improve their skills. Many school-leavers begin their active life with a painful search for employment.

And now for some examples from life in a society with a different social and economic system. In the GDR, 206, 800 school-leavers were able to learn their chosen trades in 1975.[8] Socialist society guarantees young people both thorough vocational training and work according to their inclinations and educational level. Socialism knows no unemployment among youth and shapes young people's way of life in a manner assuring a dignified and interesting life, the development of their abilities and the materialisation of their creative plans.

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[7] "Aktion Essen", 1975, 9/10, p. 3.

[8] *Mitteilung der Staatlichen Zentralverwaltung fur Statistik*, p. 5.

Against this background, it is perfectly clear that social insecurity, helplessness and fear of the future, unemployment or semi-employment, low standards of vocational and general training or even illiteracy are not "sun-spots" of capitalism as its defenders allege, but ineradicable evils that are also inherent in the developed capitalist countries of today. Only those who preach inhuman morals and despise working people can speak, as bourgeois ideologists do, of "only slightly more than a million jobless" in West Germany or "only a few tens of thousands of homeless".

It is particularly hard for bourgeois ideologists and propagandists to deny the fact that only socialist society is in a position to surround *every* person with care and attention, to use its entire production potential for the good of the working class, of *all* working people. This is evident in both the record of existing socialism as a whole and the experience of the first worker-peasant state on German soil.

The ruling communist parties of fraternal countries maintain that the process of consolidating and carrying forward the socialist way of life is inseparable from the working people's growing material requirements. However, they are far from interpreting this process in vulgar materialist terms. Our party gears its social policy to both achieving a higher material standard of living for the people and meeting the demand of the working class and the people as a whole for socially useful activity, creative labour, education and culture, full and varied human relations in the community. The population of the GDR has already reached a noteworthy standard of material well-being and culture. This finds expression, among other things, in increased appropriations for education and culture, growing book publishing, especially fiction, the fact that households are to a substantial extent with up-to-date appliances and that per capita consumption of high-calory food has reached a high rate.[9]

Unlike the capitalist world where inflation and prices are growing, the GDR has for years had unchanged food prices, utilities charges and rent. The draft guidelines for the republic's economic development in the 1976-80 period provide for selling the population 120 to 122 per cent more goods while ensuring stable retail prices.[10]

With regard to perfecting the socialist way of life, the SUPG sees

[9] Cf. *Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR 1975*. Herausgegeben von der Staatlichen Zentralverwaltung fur Statistik, Staatsverlag der DDR, Berlin, 1975, p. 309 and foll.

[10] *Direktive des IX Parteitages*, p. 181.

its main task in linking up the growing material standard of life still more closely with the growth and satisfaction of the people's spiritual and cultural requirements. The way of life of the working class in socialist society leaves no room for doubt that material well-being and personal property have never been an end in itself but merely serve as a means, if an important one, of improving life, meeting spiritual and cultural requirements, perfecting people's creative abilities, and assuring the all-round development of man. This is what guides the communist parties of socialist community countries in setting guidelines for developing and meeting people's requirements. Achieving a harmonious ratio between the growth and satisfaction of people's requirements, and fostering their creative abilities is a fundamental objective of SUPG policy in perfecting the socialist way of life. This policy releases new creative forces and makes for high achievements in labour being combined with the enjoyment of everyday life, of material and spiritual values.

The formation and development of the socialist way of life are a splendid result of the struggle of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party. The SUPG has been working steadfastly to impart to the working people correct ideas of a way of life fit for members of socialist society. It fights for the working people's solidarity, for the effective participation of everyone in the effort to improve public and private life, for the development of the whole gamut of harmonious, morally sound relations between people, for the education of the younger generation in the spirit of socialism, peace and friendship among nations, of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

THE MAOIST CONCEPT OF "INCREASING FACTORS FOR WAR AND REVOLUTION"

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Chinese foreign policy has changed substantially over the past quarter-century. Even since the late fifties, Mao Tse-tung and his followers have been revising step by step the strategic principles of the revolutionary working-class movement and the foreign policy of the socialist state. After the Maoists broke China's ties with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community and the world communist movement, Mao's great-power guidelines became the official expression of Chinese foreign policy. The 10th CPC Congress (1973) finalised the Peking leadership's volte-face in favour of a bloc with imperialism and an overall anti-socialist reorientation of Chinese foreign policy, and the January 1975 session of the National People's Congress (NPC), which adopted a new constitution, gave these changes legal form.

This foreign policy line of Peking was received with apprehension by even those who regarded the Maoist principles introduced in the "cultural revolution" years as passing deviations arising from the domestic situation and were inclined to believe that when the inner political storm had abated sober views prompted by the actual state of affairs would prevail.

No such thing happened, however. The deformation and degeneration of China's foreign policy went on. Today this policy is based on principles hostile to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It replaces the class approach to international affairs by geopolitical concepts of the world as an arena of struggle for hegemony and a redivision of spheres of influence. Besides, the form used by the Peking leaders to express their aims and aspirations is insulting, intolerant of objections and extremely aggressive, all of which is thoroughly alien to the standards of relations established in the communist movement.

There is no ignoring the gravity of the situation, for the present Chinese

leadership heads a country of over 800 million. No one can be indifferent to the foreign policy of a country inhabited by so many people. Hence the significance of examining the ideological foundations of Maoist foreign policy to gain a deeper insight into the actual content of Peking's activity. Many Maoist foreign policy principles are indicative of immediate and long-range objectives.

We must note from the outset that the Maoists' ideological formulas bearing on foreign policy perform a twofold function: substantiating and masking Peking's actual interests in the world. This also applies to Maoist estimations of current international developments.

Judging by Chinese official party and government documents, "disorder" or "chaos" (Maoist terms for "increased international tension") is the salient, most important aspect of the present world situation. "Relaxation is a temporary and superficial phenomenon, and great disorder will continue", said the CC CPC in its report to the 10th Party Congress (*Peking Review*/subsequently referred to as *PR*, No 35-36, 7 September 1973, p. 22). "The present international situation...is characterised by great disorder under heaven", the NPC stated at its session in January 1975. "...The factors for both revolution and war are increasing. The peoples of all countries must get prepared against a world war" (*PR*, No 4, 24 January 1975, pp. 7-8). "The people of the whole country and the commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army" are constantly urged by the Peking politicians and ideologists "to firmly implement Chairman Mao's principle: dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere" and to be ready to "wipe out any enemy" (ibid, p. 8). Hence there is good reason to state that few other political currents in today's world uphold more persistently—a persistence verging on fanaticism—the idea of stepping up international tensions that threaten another world war.

The Maoists strive stubbornly to create the impression that they approach the meaning and trends of international relations from Marxist-Leninist positions. But even the Maoist theses we have quoted show how far removed their estimations of the international situation are from a genuinely Marxist-Leninist analysis of the objective laws and real factors determining the trend and nature of world development. The Maoists' views are not based on scientific analysis of lasting international factors, such as the change in the world balance of forces in favour of socialism, the powerful uptrend in the working-class and national-liberation movements, the extension of the social basis of the general democratic struggle in capitalist countries, the manifest crisis of "power politics" in international relations, or the scientific and technological revolution in the military field which has created weapons of enormous destructive power. They are based on prejudiced interpretation of particular events and facts.

While seats of tension still persist and the likelihood of more tension

arising can hardly be ruled out in view of imperialist intrigues, the process of detente is a reality. It is not a passing or superficial phenomenon. The socialist community, the international working-class, democratic and peace-loving forces have already imparted considerable stability to international relations which largely reduces the possibility of local conflicts developing into a world war.

By analysing contemporary world development trends, Marxist-Leninist thought has come to the conclusion that international relations can be reshaped on the principles of peaceful coexistence and that world war can eventually be excluded from the life of society. Peace "is not a utopia—it is a fully feasible aim. Mighty social and political forces exist in the world today which oppose war and work for a relaxation of tension and broad international cooperation", the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties emphasised (*International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow* 1969. Prague, 1969, p. 48). Such is the scientifically based opinion of the world communist movement on a cardinal problem of our time.

Peking has a different idea. It asserts that peace all over the world cannot last throughout the lifetime of a generation and that every generation must have a war of its own. What the Maoists say about the sources of growing tension and war menace leaves no room for doubt that they do not merely misunderstand or misappraise the balance of forces between peace and progress, on the one hand, and reaction and militarism, on the other.

Peking views the destiny of war and peace in terms of its doctrine of "superpowers" and tries to squeeze international relations, despite their great complexity and multiformity, into the artificial pattern it has created. The two "hegemons", the Maoists claim, meaning the Soviet Union and United States, are out to divide the world, to redivide it into spheres of influence. Rivalry between the "superpowers", they declare, is becoming fiercer and should logically lead to war "either they will fight each other, or the people will rise in revolution" (*PR*, No 16, 19 April 1974 p 7) Losing, all sense of reality, the Maoists affirm that "today it is the country which most zeaously preaches peace that is the most dangerous source of war" (*PR* No 49, 5 December 197- p. 8).

The tendency of these interpretations of the sources of war is obvious. Indeed, by linking the "fatal inevitability" of world war with the coexistence of opposed social systems and the mythical "aggressiveness" of the Soivet Union, the Maoists are whitewashing imperialism, the real source of the war danger. It is imperialism and its inherent antagonisms and contradictions and not coexistence that endanger peace. The dialectics of history are such that it is due to changes in the alignment of forces in favour of socialism that imperialism can no longer shape the peoples'

destinies and that war can really by averted. Experience shows that existing socialism is a source and guarantee of world peace. The Peking ideologists abuse the peoples' hatred for imperialism as the principal source of wars and conflicts by trying to extend that hatred to existing socialism.

Moreover, the spurious Maoist slogan of fighting against the "two superpowers" is also clearly lopsided. After the Ninth CPC Congress (1969), its anti-American component was assigned a secondary place and the emphasis was shifted to the struggle against the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community. More and more often, Peking refrains from even a verbal condemnation of the US imperialists' foreign policy moves. It talks readily about the decay of imperialism, only to stress that it is being succeeded by "social imperialism", which is "more treacherous" than the imperialism of the old type (*Jenminjihpao*, 23 March 1975).

All this invites the conclusion that the Peking leaders' attitude to problems of war and peace and to the sources of the war danger is markedly anti-socialist.

The Maoists try to justify their insistence on the "inevitability" of a new world war by claiming that they want to further the cause of the world revolution. The revolution cannot triumph in the absence of tension and war, they contend. Every "genuine" revolution must or so they say, go through the purgatory of war. "Whether war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, in either case the international situation will develop in a direction favourable to the people", the NPC stated in January 1975 (PR, No 4, 24 January 1975, p. 24).

The question naturally arises: What is to be the content of the revolution which Peking's policy is allegedly aimed at accomplishing? But first a few words about the interconnection of war and revolution.

Marxism-Leninism has never held that revolution is predestined to "grow" out of war. War and revolution are qualitatively different social phenomena with no direct one-to-one link. From the Marxist-Leninist point of view, the real connection between war and revolution is that the interests of the socialist revolution are linked with the struggle against wars of imperialist conquest. Behind the Maoists' pseudo-revolutionary demagogy lies a lack of confidence in the possibility of defeating imperialism in the climate of peaceful coexistence.

The theoretical basis of Maoist interpretations of the revolution includes the concepts of "two imperialisms", "three worlds" and "struggle against the superpowers". A common feature of these concepts—borrowed, incidentally, from bourgeois ideology—is that the contradiction between the "superpowers" and all other nations is alleged to make up the basic content of contemporary international relations. This definition will be

found, for example, in the documents of the 10th CPC Congress (see *PR*, No 35-36, 1973, p. 26). According to the theory of "three world", the United States and Soviet Union make up the "first world" and are confronted by developed capitalist countries, as well as by socialist countries, except China, which form the "second world", and by the developing countries and China, which belong to the "third world" (see *PR*, No 16, 1974, p. 6).

Furthermore, it is only the developing countries that are seen as a force that can, by "radiating the powerful revolutionary energy of chaos", "free" capitalism and safeguard socialism against "degeneration". Peking declares that the revolution "deciding the fate of the world" in Asian, African and Latin American countries will be a replica of the "classical, Chinese revolution". This probably explains why China has declared itself a "developing socialist country belonging to the third world" (*PR*, No 4, 1975, p. 24).

The main defect of the Maoist conception is not, however, that it demagogically overrates the role of the national-liberation movement in the world revolutionary process. While describing the developing countries as "the main force in the fight against imperialism and colonialism", the Maoists urge them to unite with the "small" and "medium" imperialist countries, looking on the one-time colonial powers as "allies" of the newly-free states It is hardly accidental that immediately after the Sixth Special UN General Assembly (1974) which the Maoists took advantage of to announce for the first time their "three world" concept, Peking began to promote the thesis of "coincidence of the interests" of the developing countries and such imperialist powers as France, the FRG, Japan and Britain.[1] Peking urges the developing countries to increase their economic dependence on the economic alignment of imperialist powers[2] and declares for extending relations between them to politics.

This circumstance alone is an unmistakable indication that the "international front against the superpowers" which the Chinese leaders would like to bring about has a definite class content. As Peking strives to draw the developing countries into its projected alliance with imperialism, it should be clear that the Maoists' anti-imperialist demagogy is a mere propaganda device. Actually its "fight against imperialism", rather

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[1] See *Jenminjihpao*, 5 May 1974. The leader of the Chinese delegation to the 30th UN General Assembly described relations between imperialist countries and the "third world" as a "dialogue" and added that ties between the second and third worlds have grown stronger. This is a welcome development in today's international economic life" (see *Jenminjihpao*, 27 September 1975).

[2] Contrary to facts, Peking claims that relations between the developing countries and the EEC are based on "equal rights and mutual benefit" (*Jenminjihpao*, 13 July and 3 August 1974).

than weakening the front of imperialism and other reactionary forces tends to strengthen it.

It should also be evident that the "revolution" Peking's politicians and ideologists seek so eagerly is not anti-imperialist. Indeed, the "three world" pattern does not imply struggle by Asian, African and Latin American countries against imperialist, neocolonial policies but a loose bloc of the imperialist part of the "second world" and the developing countries, a bloc that is, moreover, unnatural from the class point of view.

Incidentally, this conglomeration of states is anything but homogeneous, since classed as "developing" are countries with a socialist orientation, countries going along with imperialist powers, and countries where the choice of social and economic development is still a matter of sharp controversy. Most sober-minded politicians of the developing countries see through the Maoists' "anti-imperialist" hypocrisy and their false doctrines of "three worlds" and of uniting the "poor" countries against the "rich".

The negative attitude of most leaders of the developing countries to Maoist concepts was exemplified by the outcome of the fourth conference of heads of state and government of non-aligned countries (Algiers, 1973) and by the meeting of the foreign ministers of these countries (Lima, 1975), which rejected Peking's attempt to insert Maoist theses into their documents.

Whom should the peoples of the world unite against and why? This is the next question, which must be answered if we want to understand Maoist notions of the content and character of revolution and which arises in examining Peking's latest ideological formulas. On the face of it, the Maoists want the peoples to unite for "joint struggle against hegemonism". But if we bear in mind that Peking imparts an essentially anti-Soviet content to this thesis and has repeatedly stressed the need to distinguish between the "chief enemy" (the Soviet Union) and "secondary enemies" and "unite with secondary enemies" in order to defeat the chief enemy", it is obvious that the thesis serves the Maoists as both ideological camouflage for the virtual betrayal of the interests of peoples fighting for national liberation and a means of concealing the anti-socialist nature of Peking's policy.

The Maoists regard whipping up anti-Sovietism as the main line of the "anti-imperialist" struggle. Every genuine revolutionary will see that existing socialism is unthinkable without the Soviet Union and that there has never been and never will be an anti-Soviet socialism. "*There is no socialist country*", said Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC HSWP, "*which can say that its existence does not depend on the first socialist state, just as there is no country whose stable prospects of socialist de-*

lopment and security are not protected by the existence, internationalist policy and might of the Soviet Union" (*1969 Meeting*, Prague, 1969, p. 332).

The Maoists would like to set up a united front of opponents of world socialism, in particular by provoking anti-social sentiments and discontent among the peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The Peking leaders have repeatedly appealed to the peoples of socialist countries to this end. The CC report to the Ninth CPC Congress quoted the following statement by Mao Tse-tung: "The Soviet people, the mass of party members and cadres... want revolution..." (*Peking Information*, Special Issue, 28 April 1969, p. 28).

The reason why the Maoists talk about "increasing factors for war and revolution" is that they want to dissemble their policy, which runs counter to the fundamental interests of the revolutionary forces. Whereas the Maoists' reliance on war in the past was prompted by their belief that armed struggle was the only means of defeating imperialism, their current policy of building up international tensions and advocating war is directed against the socialist community, the international working-class and communist movement, all fighters for national liberation. "Maoism", said CPUSA General Secretary Gus Hall in his speech to the 25th CPSU Congress, "is a classical example of where opportunism can lead unless resisted. On the bottom of the muddy bog of opportunism is counter-revolution. And Maoism has touched that bottom" (*Pravda*, 2 March 1976; retranslated).

The delight with which the Maoists greet every international conflict shows that the CPC leadership regards its objectives as attainable only in an atmosphere of international tension reminiscent of the worst cold war days, nor do they rule out the use of armed force.

We think this line is prompted, among other things, by some traditions of Chinese society. Prerevolutionary China was characterised by oft-recurrent periods of tension and war. Their memory is still fresh in Chinese society. The Maoist leadership deliberately revives past experiences in so far as this helps it to lean on the force of tradition and at the same time to represent tension as something of a "natural condition". Thus, the 10th CPC Congress repeated, Mao's thesis: "Great disorder across the land leads to great order. And so once again every seven or eight years" (*PR*, No 35-36, 1973, p. 30). It is clear that the policy of whipping up international tensions is a peculiar foreign policy projection of the principles guiding the Peking rulers at home. In August 1958, speaking to a CC CPC Political Bureau meeting, Mao said that "tension is profitable to us and less profitable to the West". He saw another "advantage" of international tension in the fact that it "sets in motion all

active factors... We can produce more iron, steel and food" (see *Noveishaya istoria Kitaya*, Moscow, 1972, p. 317).

Entirely in keeping with the traditional diplomacy of Chinese emperors, who strove to use "the struggle between two tigers" in their own interests, the Maoist leaders want to provoke a deterioration of Soviet-American relations. They would like the Soviet and American peoples to clash in a nuclear war, which they believe would pave the way for carrying out China's "historic" mission. There is no escaping the conclusion that Peking wants to build up its leverage at the price of the sufferings of other nations.

Behind the "world revolution" and similar goals advocated and sought by the Maoists are primarily their great-power, hegemonist aspirations and interests. Peking's talk about "increasing factors for war and revolution" betrays its desire to make China a strong power imposing its will on other nations.

Great-power chauvinism and hegemonist ambitions are at the heart of Maoist ideology and policy. Hence the search for means and allies that can be used for achieving these aims, for China's military and economic potential plainly falls short of the ambitions of its leaders. They try to fill this gap through unprincipled manoeuvring so as to drag their real or imaginary enemies into a mutually devastating war to Peking's political advantage.

The Peking rulers promote their hegemonist designs all over the world. They carry on subversion against the socialist community[3] by systematically staging provocations, in particular on borders, against their socialist neighbours. Peking's allegation that the "German problem is unsolved" and its approval of the West German revanchists' wild plans to annex Poland's western territories are an outright challenge.

Dreams of hegemony in the "third world" and new territorial acquisitions at the expenses of neighbours are among the motive forces of China's policy towards the developing countries, which is aimed at weakening and disuniting their progressive forces and at isolating them from the socialist community and the international working class. A revealing example in this respect is Peking's stand on the Angola events. Peking found itself on the same side of the barricades as imperialist and domestic reaction and the racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia, which wanted to crush the struggle of Angola's patriots for independence. Equally revealing is the history of the Chinese-Indian border dispute provoked by the Chinese leadership to discredit India's policy for peace and materialise

[3] Ignoring elementary facts with remarkable ease, Peking declares that "as a result of the emergence of social imperialism, the socialist camp which existed for a time after World War II no longer exists" (*PR*, No. 16, 1974, p. 6).

ts territorial claims to that country. From time to time, Peking publishes naps showing parts of Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, Burma, Malaysia, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and other countries as belonging to the PRC.

Hegemonist aspirations also pervade Peking's policy towards the international communist and working-class movement. Mao and his group furnish proof of a complete break with proletarian internationalism. Peking has cynically betrayed the communist parties of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand. The true nature of the Peking advocates of "revolution" is also seen in their support of the bloodv fascist regime in Chile. In many countries, the Peking leaders are engaged in divisive activities against the communist parties. They set up and openly back pro-Maoist groups and organisations in contrast to the world communist movement.

Maoist iedology and policy are prompted by a bid for expansion and by a claim to the role of world leader. They are at variance with the objective requirements of social progress and hostile to the fight for peace, socialism and national independence.

Maoism discredits itself more and more. Nevertheless, the serious danger which Maoist policy presents must not be underrated. We in Hungary, for our part, regard unrelenting struggle against Maoist ideology and policy as a most pressing task.

IT IS NOT SUICIDE

Reflections on Claude Julien's *Suicide of the Democracies*

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This book by an editor of the Paris monthly *Monde Diplomatique* now brought out in English,* is a noteworthy phenomenon in non-Marxist literature analysing capitalist realities of today. It is representative of a trend of bourgeois political science that endeavours to take a critical look at contemporary capitalism, ascertain the causes of its social maladies and prescribe the best remedies.

The author is certainly not indifferent to the fact of capitalism and bourgeois democracy. In fact, his book shows that he would like to save the system whose evils he exposes. And perhaps this is what makes his evidence particularly valuable, for the book reveals the utter futility of attempts by apologists of bourgeois democracy to conceal its deep crisis from public opinion and, on the other hand, give capitalism credit for democratic gains, credit for which must in all justice be given to the people. Indeed, it is due to the struggle of many generations of revolutionaries, the working people's class battles, the militancy and morale of the working-class movement, the trade unions and democratic forces, communists in the first place, that the democratic rights and social achievements of the working people of capitalist countries have been preserved and. moreover consolidated.

Another—perhaps the most remarkable—quality of Julien's book is its approach to the problems of democracy. In contrast to the flood of theoretical, pseudo-theoretical and downright primitive bourgeois propaganda literature which reduces democracy to pluralism, universal suffrage and parliamentary and other political institutions, the author concentrates on fundamental social problems: equality, equitable distribution of the national income, the degree of participation of classes and population groups in national decision-making and defining economic and social development

* Claude Julien, *Suicide of the Democracies*, Calder and Boyars, London, 1975, 272 pp.

objectives, the interaction of society and nature, relations between races and nations, and so on.

One finds plenty of criticism of various aspects of life in present-day capitalist society in voluminous monographs, in the press, in radio commentaries. The book under review systematises all those criticisms. This is why the author does not diagnose particular ailments of the capitalist social system lending themselves to treatment with standard social medicines or, at worst, by surgery. The diagnosis he has put in the title of his book-suicide of the bourgeois democracies—must have been prompted by a feeling of hopelessness.

Let us see what leads him to that conclusion.

A considerable part of the book is devoted to revealing the incompatibility of the concept of democracy with the crying social inequalities of the capitalist world. The gap between wage workers and the monopolies, the big private proprietors and all else who share directly or indirectly in profits derived by exploiting the workers, far from narrowing, goes on widening.

Bourgeois propaganda admittedly uses as a trump-card the relatively high living standard of the bulk of the population of some developed capitalist countries. But apart from the fact that this prosperity is a result of daily struggle by the working people over more than a century and, to a certain extent, of neocolonial plunder of underdeveloped countries and is combined with poverty and hunger on the periphery of imperialism, it by no means removes the problem of social inequality. Referring to John K. Galbraith, the American economist, the author stresses that people are poverty-stricken when their income, even if it is adequate for survival, falls markedly below that of the community—they cannot have what the larger community regards as the acceptable minimum (see p. 31).

The distribution of poverty according to race and nationality is revealing. In the United States, of the 24,300,000 officially designated as poor in 1969 whites were the most numerous (16,700,000), yet they represented only 10 per cent of the white population. The Blacks, Indians and Puerto Ricans included in this category, however, constituted 31 per cent of the total non-white population of the wealthiest capitalist country (p. 40).[1]

Much space is given in the book to data on the concomitants of poverty—limited opportunities for education, the availability of only laborious jobs, low social status, social insecurity. The poor and people of modest means are particularly affected by slumps, unemployment, inflation and other crisis phenomena, which have lately become chronic. The danger threatening them is not financial ruin, of course, but outright pauperisation

[1] Incidentally, even in 1975 the living standard of over 25 million Americans was officially admitted to be below the poverty line.

Julien wonders whether a system or a regime can be called democratic if it tolerates such grave inequalities—so much poverty alongside so much luxury (p. 28).

The next group of problems he deals with bears on the adverse effects of unplanned, anarchical production and consumption. He does not use Marxist definitions of the capitalist economy, but he points, to such of its anomalies as uncontrolled urban concentration which diminishes the quality of life, acts as a brake on economic development, and paralyses political life (pp. 55-56).

Capitalist urbanisation is a further cause of social inequality. Even in the United States, which is better off in this respect than any other country, there are 4,128,000 dwellings without running water, one million without heating (p. 73), and all this in urban areas, mostly in neighbourhoods inhabited by the lower social strata or by segregated national minorities.

Who is to blame for the hardships resulting from this kind of urbanisation and from wasteful use of manpower and natural resources? It is private firms which find it entirely normal to make profits out of industrial processes that sacrifice the general interest by polluting rivers, lakes, and the sea (p. 78).

The trade unions, long accustomed to fighting for a higher standard of living, Julien notes, inevitably came to see that wage increases are not enough: they now also demand improvement in the quality of life, improvements that can only be realised in terms of slower production schedules, more humane working conditions, shorter hours, longer holidays, and more comfortable housing and transport facilities (pp. 77-78).

The pages criticising the contemporary capitalist political system are equally interesting. Unlike apologist propaganda, which praises the bourgeois electoral system as an "exemplary" mechanism for the people to express their will, the author refuses to ignore the fact that in countries where bourgeois parties traditionally succeed one another at the helm of state, the very passivity of many citizens undermines and largely nullifies the principle of popular representation. In 1968 the United States had more than 120 million citizens of voting age. A little over 73 million went to the polls in the presidential election. In other words 47 million Americans—39 per cent of the electorate—quietly abdicated their civil prerogatives. In West-European countries, according to Julien, some 20 per cent of the electorate stay away from the polls (p. 111).

As a result, Richard Nixon, for example, got in to the White House with only 43.4 per cent of the votes cast, i.e. with the backing of 26 per cent of all citizens of voting age, and the 1972 referendum on Britain's entry into the Common Market resulted in 67.7 per cent for, representing only 36.11 per cent of the registered electorate (pp. 115-116).

Why this absenteeism? Citizens do not expect the future MPs to keep

their election promises. Besides, they can often choose only between bourgeois parties. Electoral consultation, Julien writes, "is not a positive act by which citizens make their will known and give their representatives an imperative mandate to carry it out. It is essentially a negative act by which citizens, instead of backing a constructive programme, choose the lesser evil: it becomes a question of 'stopping' the forces of conservatism, or of progress, or of communism" (p. 122). For all the aptness of these observations, it is hard to agree entirely with the author and ignore the fact that progressives use even the existing suffrage as a weapon in their fight for democracy and social progress.

The divorce between the people and its political institutions is also apparent, according to Julien, in rampant extremism, political kidnappings and assassinations (John and Robert Kennedy, Martin Luther King and trade union leaders in the United States, Pierre Laporte in Canada, and others), provocations and bomb attacks (in Italy, Britain Ireland, France, West Germany) (pp. 123-128).

"It is fashionable", Julien remarks, "to be ironical at the expense of countries where 'universal suffrage' gives the government majorities in excess of 99 per cent. It is too easily inferred that democracy is respected in countries where universal suffrage only just manages to arrive at a slender majority more or less capable of governing. But such countries discovered long ago how to practise universal suffrage without giving voters the chance to make a clear choice" (p. 124). Julien goes on to offer numerous examples to show that by skilfully presenting the issue in a referendum or by deliberately ignoring its essence, bourgeois politicians obtain the voters' "consent" to pursue policies about which they hadn't the slightest notion. There is also the device of winning votes through various manoeuvres, including outright bribery. Julien, who has calculated how many millions of dollars various politicians spent to win governorships or congressional seats in the United States, concludes that it is "a funny kind of democracy. . .where money opens the door to power and at the same time to the chance of making more money" (p. 135).

In examining the capitalist political system, Julien points out that at the root of anti-democratic manifestations are, in the final analysis, the selfish calculations of private proprietors, who do business contrary to the principles of justice and to the interests of society and their fellow-citizens. The monopoly giants impose investment trends, being first of all concerned with making profit and ignoring the fact that injudicious investment is the cause of injustices, inequalities, a de-humanisation of labour and growing social tensions (p. 165).

It is this unquenchable thirst for gain that gives rise to such dangerous anti-social phenomena as free trade or even the imposition of arms sales on potential users. Between 1960 and 1969 the number of fire-arms sold

annually on the American market increased from 2,163,000 to 6,180,000, meaning big profits for manufacturers and dealers who armed some 45 million Americans. As a result, crime is steadily growing (p. 193).

However, "private initiative" is not the only source of violence, engendered above all by the desire of those who have power and money to preserve their privileges. This is done by misleading public opinion through an irresponsible press which, giving its public the expected daily fare of anti-communism, has won a reputation as "witch-hunter", and fosters a climate of suspicion and fear (p. 231).

Operating hand in glove with the yellow press is the punitive machinery of the bourgeois state, whose every step is nominally justified by the need to combat subversion. Skillful forgeries whip up anti-communist hysteria the aim of which is to strengthen the hand of reaction. The author reminds that Americans who campaigned for peace were accused of having plotted...to blow up the Pentagon, that the French authorities attributed the popular unrest of May 1968...to Cuba, said to have inveigled young Parisians into waging urban guerrilla warfare, and that the Italian reactionary press whitewashed fascist assassins while describing their victims as left-wing "trouble-makers". He quotes the West German Minister of the Interior, who called for the purging of Communists from all spheres of public life, including education.[2] "Throughout the West", Julien writes, "every rebel is immediately presumed to be either a potential criminal or a subversive agent in the pay of a foreign power" (p. 182).

The reader must have noticed that most of the examples cited by Julien refer to the United States. This is no coincidence, for it is precisely there that "the most serious violation of democracy has been committed" (p. 9). This conclusion gives the lie to apologists of capitalism who contend that further development of the bourgeois system will result, if not in the disappearance of its evils, than at least in their lessening.

Indeed, the United States is the most developed capitalist country, the one that has outstripped other Western countries in many respects. Bourgeois political science is almost at one in considering that what exists in the United States, whether good or bad, will eventually become a standard for other bourgeois democracies following in the footsteps of their leader. And here is how the French author views this prospect. "If in the United States", he writes, "with a per capita income three times that of Europe, growth and affluence had eliminated poverty, social injustice, and the exploitation of certain categories of worker, the temptation would be strong to follow its example. But the experience of that country, which entered the age of technology and consumption earlier than Europe, destroys any

[2] In October 1975, a special law on "radical elements" barred all progressives in the FRG from holding jobs in the civil service and education.

illusion: expansion has not got rid of poverty, it has raised the standard of living more than improved the quality of life, it has multiplied the number of jobs in which work loses all human interest whatever, it has created a virtually uninhabitable urban environment, and it has broken all the records for pollution... And Europe is in the process of doing likewise" (p.154).

Such are, in brief, the numerous symptoms of the grave malady, of capitalist society shown in the book. Naturally, they require a generalisation making it possible to find the microbe which has caused the infection and continues to destroy the social system. What has the author to say about this? He sees the main cause of the malaise of "Western democracies" in the fact that they have let their economic objectives get ahead of their social and political objectives (p. 7) and that to achieve economic growth, they have ignored all the principles of justice, liberty, equality and brotherhood (p. 19). Yet democratic growth is even more vital than economic growth: any lack of balance between them can only result in dragging both to ruin (p. 167).

This argument undoubtedly contains a grain of truth. But it calls for serious corrections.

To begin with, capitalism as an economic system has never intended to meet all people's manifold requirements. It produces to make profit. When a capitalist sees that his goods do not sell he resorts to every ruse and device. What is the so-called consumer society that has developed in accordance with Keynesian theory and state-monopoly regulation methods? It is, in effect, a means of maintaining the capitalist order by artificially reviving the market. The system functions not to meet people's requirements but to keep capital circulating and accumulating and, ultimately, to head off its break-down.

Many conferences of capitalist experts and governments have been held lately to discuss the economic crisis, inflation, the disarray in the monetary system and other problems. Is their purpose to give jobs to the jobless or rid the poor of poverty? No, and if these problems are dealt with at all, they are treated as side issues. Effort, calculation, imagination, ingenuity and cunning are all aimed chiefly at preventing the colossus from tottering, at rescuing the system of private enterprise.

Our opponents from among the defenders of capitalism might object that the motive does not matter and that the far more important fact is that in the "consumer society" the economy is geared to people's needs. The point is, however, that motives are not just appendages—the callousness of the economic system inevitably puts its disastrous stamp on every aspect of public life, as Julien shows well enough in his book. The drive for consumption dominated by a bid for profit can be and is carried to the extreme of man's self-consumption.

Rightly noting that increasing social inequality is incompatible with democratic principles, Julien sees the roots of the trouble in the "Western" countries having "abandoned their objectives". But the term "West" is misleading, for it does not stand for any animate social force. As for capitalism, it has never sought genuine equality except, of course, in the general form in which the issue was taken up by the bourgeois revolution: equality for all before the law, which was a screen for the capitalists' unlimited freedom of private enterprise and freedom to purchase labour power like a commodity. This slogan was the verbal expression of the main task of the bourgeois revolution, that of bringing production relations into line with the productive forces. Whatever came after that ran counter to the idea of equality.

In other words, capitalism could not have turned away from the objective of achieving social equality because it has always had its back turned to it. To be sure, a by-product of some objective processes going on in the capitalist world is a certain equalisation of living standards within some categories of the population. A contributing factor is the artificially engineered orgy of consumption. The poor are equalised by the steam-roller of capitalist oppression. So are the middle strata, which get their crumbs from the monopolies' feast. But this equalisation never solves the main problem, that of closing the gap between poor and rich, between people of average means and the rich, between the poor and people of average means. Indeed, the gap is widening and this applies all the more to the capitalist system as a whole, to the gulf between its developed and underdeveloped segments.

An inaccurate diagnosis is bound to lead to inaccuracy in prescribing the remedy.

Julien is perfectly right and we must give him credit for his sharply critical approach and his political courage when he says that bourgeois societies are less democratic today than they were yesterday and they run a high risk of being even less so tomorrow (p. 8). He calls equality in bourgeois society a "dream betrayed" (p. 21) and adds with bitter irony: The question "Does democracy need reinventing" naturally suggests a further question: "Has it ever existed?" (p. 103).

Julien is right in saying that "there is a whole rhetoric by means of which the Western democracies manage to clear their consciences in this way and keep up an appearance of liberalism. They tolerate, both at home and abroad, the odd outburst, that fringe of nonconformity—as long as their essential privileges remain unimpaired. They are fond of granting a people its independence when that independence has been wrested by main force, of 'accepting' a freedom that is beyond being refused" (p. 263).

Julien is also perfectly right when he states that "the societies of the West are sick not only because they have sacrificed human aspirations to

their will to power and to purely material aims but also because the groups (and they include the churches) that put themselves forward as champions of man have failed in this aspect of their mission" (p. 241).

Lastly, we must agree with the author when he says that if the West is in search of a new meaning in life, the only way to achieve it is by sacrificing all privileges, great and small, and aiming at more equality, more justice —and an authentic democracy whose primary aim on the economic level is the humanisation of labour, with production designed not to secure a maximum of profit and power, but to give man the means of satisfying his needs (p 187).

However, except for well-formulated general slogans and warnings (the book itself is declared a "warning"), the author has no clear and explicit answer as to how the crisis can be overcome.

There is no such answer because, we repeat, the diagnosis is wrong. What is described in the book is *not suicide* of the "Western democracies" but a logical and inevitable process of the *demise of the capitalist system*, a process which was scientifically predicted by the classics of Marxism-Leninism and which continuously and inevitably narrows the sphere of capitalism while the new, socialist world goes on developing.

Julien's book hardly mentions the other system, which has become firmly established on earth. He only makes it clear that his aim is not to compare the two systems but the realities of the capitalist world with its "ideals".

Such an approach can of course, be used, but it inevitably narrows the field of vision and shuts out the real perspective. For the life of mankind does not end with capitalism. On the contrary, it is only with socialism that its real history begins, to use Engels's words. "Unless they act quickly". Julien writes, "the Western democracies risk falling before the first crisis. Unfortunately, it seems that both voters and those voted into office have, by passivity, already accepted this form of suicide" (p. 12). This warning has an apocalyptic ring. But, really, it is uncalled for because the inevitable downfall of the capitalist economic and political system—a system based on the oppression of man by man and of one nation by another—is by no means tantamount to the end of civilisation or of the democratic principles and institutions won as a result of bitter struggles of the working class and all working people. The decline of capitalism implies no more than the decline of bourgeois democracy, revealing its limited nature, its class content, its passing character. Only the beginning of the new, socialist era which is capable, as confirmed by the practice of existing socialism, of ensuring real power of the people can promote and perfect genuine democracy and fully assert the ideals of justice, equality and liberty betrayed by the bourgeoisie and inscribed on the banner of the working class and other working people.

LAWS TO JUSTIFY LAWLESSNESS

Kevin Boyle, Tom Hadden and Paddy Hillyard, *Law and State: The Case of Northern Ireland,* Martin Robertson, London, 1975, 194 pp.

Northern Ireland has been in the headlines all over the world for many years now. The situation is as tense as ever, and the protracted crisis repeatedly erupts into violence.

Much has been written about the events, they have been discussed from various angles. The authors of *Law and State: The Case of Northern Ireland* are three young Northern Ireland lawyers who seek, despite the narrowness of their liberal notions, to reveal the role and impact of the legal system on the situation in this area of Ireland. They want an honest answer to the question: "To what extent and in what way is the law as a specific institution able to contribute to social order?" (p. viii).

They start out from the year 1921, when British imperialism forcibly wrested that six north-east counties from the rest of Ireland to set up an artificial state gerrymandered to include one million Unionists—supporters of union with Britain (mostly Protestants)—and 500,000 anti-Unionists (mainly Catholics) who favoured union with the rest of Ireland.

The authors note that the 1920 Government of Ireland Act, or, as it became known, the constitution, made specific provisions "declaring void any law... which gave privilege, preference or advantage or imposed disability or disadvantage on account of religious belief. The reality was otherwise" (p. 7). For the guarantees of equality irrespective of religion were effectively annulled by the provisions of the Civil Authorities (Special Powers) Act of 1922.[1] As Lord Craigavon, first Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, declared, the country had "a Protestant Parliament for Protestant people", a promise effectually fulfilled through the "continued stranglehold of the exclusively Protestant Unionist Party in the Parliament

[1] The 1922 Act was passed by the Northern Ireland Parliament (Stormont) and was, as the authors note, more draconian than any legislation enacted by the Apartheid government of South Africa. In 1923 it was superceded by the Northern Ireland Constitutional Act passed, it should be noted, by Westminster.

at Stormont" (p. 7). The Unionist Party controlled the affairs of central and local government, the courts and judiciary, the police and the dominant sectors of industry and commerce (which meant the allocation of jobs in every sphere). What this meant in practice is aptly illustrated by instructions issued by Sir Dawson Bates, first Minister of Home Affairs in the Northern Ireland cabinet, to the effect that no Roman Catholic (even the lowest-paid typist) was to be employed in his ministry. This became the general practice in all ministries.

The authors of the book note that though the Special Powers Act of 1922 was not "formally directed against Catholics and Republicans,[2]...it was common knowledge that it was against them and them alone that it was directed and used" (p. 7). This, it should be said, is not wholly true. Its victims included not only Catholics. It would be more correct to say that legislation in Northern Ireland, as indicated by many facts cited in the book and examples of recent history, is as a rule used to justify or camouflage both social and religious discrimination. In 1932, for example, the 1922 Act was used to quell the great unemployment struggle for "bread or work" when some 100,000 jobless Catholic and Protestant workers marched and demonstrated together in support of their demands. The Act was used again in 1933 and 1934 against members of the Communist Party, dozens of whom were sent to jail for "preaching subversion".

After detailing the pogroms instituted against the Catholic people in Belfast, Londonderry and other cities in order totally to intimidate the civil rights movement, the authors go on to question "the failure of the civil rights leaders' to make any sustained attempt to obtain a legal remedy for their grievances... Why was it that in Northern Ireland this essential safety valve of legal redress was not there to avert the confrontation which developed?" (p. 10). They explain "this failure of the law and the lawyers" on the absence "of any formal guarantees in the British and Northern Ireland constitution of the basic civil rights" (p. 10).

That is correct, but not the whole story, for Britain, as well as Northern Ireland, never had, at any time, any form of written constitution. The safeguard was always thought to reside in Common Law. There are numerous examples that reaffirm that Common Law is usually interpreted against the poor, the Catholics and anti-Unionists. That is why to reduce the problem of Law and State in Northern Ireland to the "failure of the law and the lawyers" begs the whole matter at issue. It is hardly accidental that none of the four major tribunals of inquiry into the events in Northern Ireland "achieved anything positive or specific. Their prime significance is probably the fact that they were held at all" (p. 130). This is a conclusion fully shared by the author of this review, who testified for five hours

[2] That is, supporters of union with the Irish republic.

before the Cameron Commission on discrimination policies of the Northern Ireland regime against its political opponents, against the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association. During the hearing the policies and work of the NICRA were dealt with but, in the main, questions and answers were concerned with the role of the Northern Ireland regime. And though the various commissions ascertained facts of physical or moral torture by security bodies and established the illegality of internment without trial, the violaters were not punished, and internment was preserved as a "necessary measure". It is also indicative that no British government since 1965, Labour or Tory, has agreed to set up a commission to determine whether the Government of Ireland Act offered adequate guarantees of freedom to the citizens of Northern Ireland.

Totally unjustified are the authors' attempts to cast "blame", like other liberals, on each side in the conflict. But where they analyse events on the basis of a wealth of factual material their work is extremely useful in gaining an understanding of the role of the law imposed by British imperialism as a fig-leaf for lawlessness. The abolition of the Stormont Parliament and institution of direct rule from Westminster; military security and police persecution; the screening system; internment without trial, with interrogation "in depth" and torture; Commission hearings (with no real defence for those detained, right of evidence or right of appeal)—this is a far from complete list of practical applications of the "legal system".

It is the authors' (correct) contention that Northern Ireland cannot be taken as a "simple colonial model": the Unionist majority have always had sufficient economic and military force at their disposal to make continued coercion of the Catholic minority a practical proposition, but the "minority is large enough to ensure a continuing degree of instability within the state..." (pp. 180-181). The crux of the problem is that it is not just a matter of "two communities"; there is also the position of the British government, whose Prime Minister Wilson stated shortly before his resignation that the unity of Ireland was "light years away".

London is concerned with resolving the "Irish problem" in a way that would satisfy the interests of British monopoly and Irish capitalists and prevent the unity of the working class. That is why the Northern Ireland authorities endlessly violate existing legislation, while legislation introduced by the British authorities is inherently unlawful.

—Betty Sinclair

A HANDBOOK OF REVOLUTIONARY EXPERIENCE

Gilberto Vieira, *Escritos politicos* (Political Writings), Bogota, 1975. 198 pp.

The author of this book is the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Colombia, a man prominent in the world communist movement. He has headed the party for over thirty years and it is precisely this period that has been most fruitful for the vanguard of the Colombian working class. These years have seen the party equip itself with a scientific, Marxist-Leninist programme, establish Leninist organisational principles and evolve revolutionary tactics.

Along with tremendous practical work in the party and with parliamentary activity, Gilberto Vieira developed his talent as a leader of the people and a forceful journalist. His speeches and writings appeared in many different party newspapers and periodicals as well as foreign publications. Now they have been assembled in a book, and this collection should be of great value to both the Colombian revolutionary movement and countries where conditions are similar to those in Colombia. The collection under review comprises articles and speeches of the 1972-75 period. They deal with the communists' struggle for democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic unity, for a patriotic national-liberation front paving the way to socialism.

The importance and urgency of this problem is indicated, among other things, by the title of a speech which G. Vieira delivered on behalf of the Communist Party at the close of a convention of the National Opposition Alliance (NOA—Bogota, September 1973)—"Unity Is the Road of the Revolution" (p. 78). The speaker called for closer unity of the workers and people, a unity which now finds real expression in the NOA (comprising the Communist Party, the Broad Colombian Movement and other democratic organisations).

Elaborating strategic and tactical problems of the working-class party, Vieira defines the communist attitude to the present regime as democratic and revolutionary opposition. He reveals the roots of anti-communism and

stresses that whatever the guise used, anti-communism has been an instrument of reaction ever since Marx and Engels advanced the ideas of scientific socialism. It was under an anti-communist banner that the Colombian government waged a "pre-emptive war" against revolutionary peasants, took repressive measures against workers of the United Fruit banana monopoly and against democrats and progressives, and executed the popular leader Jorge Eliecer Gaitan.

Dividing the working-class and democratic movement has always been one of the bourgeoisie's prime objectives. Vieira denounces the anti-communist activities of the Maoists, Trotskyists and Zionists, who play a pernicious role in Colombia. He exposes those who "reject existing socialism to invent a make-believe, utopian socialism in Colombia" (p. 56) and takes issue with the authors of "idealistic socialist concepts having nothing to do with genuine socialism" (p. 57).

G. Vieira hails social movements whose declared goal is socialism, and lays bare narrow-minded, essentially anti-communist nationalism, which dissociates the Colombian revolution from the world revolutionary process. "If we want to be on the side of Cuba and if we identify ourselves with the peoples fighting for independent development", he writes, "we must necessarily see the future of our country in the overall context of the contemporary world, in which the socialist system headed by the Soviet Union is the principal force backing the peoples on the road to freedom" (p. 74). Vieira stresses that anti-Sovietism has been and remains an instrument of monopoly.

The speeches and articles in the collection are militant, profound and substantial, and anything but academic. They came on the heels of events and are inspired by the struggle which the working people of Colombia are carrying on with the energy of conviction. Consistency and loyalty to principle, an uncompromising stand with respect to the enemies of socialism and communism, fidelity to proletarian internationalism, concern for world communist unity based on Marxism-Leninism—this is what distinguishes Gilberto Vieira's book, which its publishers are sure "will be received with revolutionary enthusiasm and consulted by all the left-wing forces of Colombia" (p. 8).

—Alvaro Mosquera

WITH READER INTEREST IN MIND

Interview with NIKOLAI TROPKIN, *Director of Politizdat (USSR)*

Politizdat—its full name is Political Literature Publishing House—specialises in the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism, the theoretical and practical work of the CPSU and fraternal parties and their experience in revolutionary struggle and in building socialism and communism.

Dating back to the "Kommunist" Publishing House founded by the party Central Committee in 1918, Politizdat has long become the largest publishers in the country. The scale of our work can be judged from these figures: our twelve specialised departments put out about 400 titles a year, (books, pamphlets, yearbooks, etc.) in a total printing of more than 100 million copies. They cover a wide range of subjects: the Marxist-Leninist classics, reports of party congresses, conferences, Central Committee plenums and other party documents, speeches by party and government leaders, books on the history of the CPSU, party building, political economy, Marxist-Leninist philosophy, the communist, working-class and national liberation movements, and international relations.

Naturally, much of our work concentrates on the classics of Marxism-Leninism. Additional volumes 43 and 44 of the second edition of the Marx-Engels works will be published this year, and work will continue to produce the fourth additional printing of the full Lenin works, and the seventh volume, prepared by the CC CPSU Marxism-Leninism Institute, of the Lenin Biographical Chronicle.

This is a special year in the life of our party the year of its 25th Congress, and it is only natural that we should issue a number of books devoted to this most important event. They deal with what has been accomplished in the Ninth Five-Year Plan, the men and

women who played a prominent part in it, the Soviet way of life. Prior to the congress we put out, among other things, a collection of documents and other materials on the CPSU—"The Mind, Honour and Conscience of Our Epoch". An important event in the country's ideological and theoretical life was the publication of books by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU: "The main Problems of the CPSU Economic Policy at the Present Stage" (in two volumes), "The Foreign Policy of the CPSU and Soviet State", "On the Communist Education of the Working People". Immediately after the 25th Party Congress we started publishing the materials of the congress and other literature intended to explain and popularise its ideas.

Politizdat is preparing to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution in a big way. We plan to put out over twenty books for this momentous event. Among them: "Lenin : October 1917", which will include all important documents and materials showing Lenin's role in preparing and carrying out the revolution, "The Humanism of October", "Sixty Victorious Years (Facts and Figures)", "The Revolution That Changed the World", and also a collection "The Influence of Great October on the Development of the World Communist and Working-Class Movement". The Marxism-Leninism Institute has prepared, and we shall publish, for the glorious jubilee the two-volume edition of Lenin's pronouncements on the socialist revolution, and collections of documents, "The CC RSDLP (B) Archives of 1917" and "The Bolshevik Party in the Fight for the Soldier and Sailor Masses in 1917".

Guided by the decisions and ideas of the 25th CPSU Congress we attach great significance not only to the ideological content, but also to the literary standard and design of our books, to the search for new topical subjects. Experience has shown that editions put out in series are highly popular. In 1976-77 we shall continue publishing over 20 series.

Our books keep the reader abreast of the world revolutionary process, acquainting him with the achievements of the socialist community, the documents of fraternal parties and the works of their leaders. Books on these subjects have become a tradition with Politizdat, and this year we shall be bringing out collections on the Seventh Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party, the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba and the 14th Congress of the Italian Communist Patry. We shall prepare for publication collections of materials of the 11th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Ninth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and

the 17th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, also monographs "Unity of the Countries of the Socialist Community", "Communist Party Mass Work in Developed Capitalist Countries", "Socialism, Detente and the Class Struggle".

Literature exposing bourgeois and non-Marxist ideology holds a special place in our work. I shall mention such books, for example, as the three-volume "Battle of Ideas in the World Today", "Communism and Anti-Communism in the Face of Our Time".

The dynamics of world development, the achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, political, social and economic changes in the capitalist and developing countries are clearly explained in annual reference books.

Our collective takes pride in the fact that many of Politizdat books have been widely acclaimed abroad and are reprinted in other countries. On its part, Politizdat readily translates and publishes the literature of fraternal parties.

The purpose of all our publications is to meet the constantly rising interests of our many readers in questions of Marxist-Leninist theory and the practice of the socialist transformation of the world.

THE PARTY PRESS

PROBLEMS OF RADIO AND TV

The Polish State Committee for Broadcasting and Television has begun publication of the quarterly **Przekazy i opinje**. The purpose of the new magazine is to promote deeper analysis of the activity of the mass media and enlist the assistance of philosophers, sociologists, psychologists and other scholars in their efforts. The quarterly will carry listeners' and televiewers' comments on the programmes they hear and watch, and print records of various discussions. It will devote special attention to the experience of TV and radio journalists of socialist countries.

—W. Dix

CLOSER TO THE READER

Comment, the British Communist weekly, has certain new features this year. Its layout is more colourful and expressive, and there are some new regular rubrics. Under the heading, **Viewpoint**, it carries items on current political issues. Another rubric, **Party News**, offers a selection of readers' letters about rallies and demonstrations, leaflets and bulletins brought out by party branches, support for working people's demands by factory newspapers, and so on.

—C. Nicholson

CIRCULATION: A KEY ISSUE

One of the questions put to members of the Communist Party o Martinique during the exchange of party cards early this year wa what they had done to increase circulation of **Justice**, the commun

ist newspaper. The party held a seminar to discuss the matter. Speakers at the seminar showed that gains in circulation were a direct result of the party's growing strength and influence. General Secretary Armand Nicolas summed up the discussion and called for effort to increase circulation by 10 per cent. Communists are working to reach this target.

—D. VITAL

PRINCIPIOS RESUMES PUBLICATION

"The Communist Party of Chile is operating. It has sustained losses but has not been destroyed. The nazis were unable to eradicate communism and still less can their despicable followers from the banks of the Mapocho do it. We offer this first issue of **Principios** to the communists and people of Chile. It is our contribution to the efforts to set up a broad and powerful anti-fascist front that will lead the people to the overthrow of the bloody dictatorship ruling Chile." This is said editorially in **Principios**, theoretical and political journal of the CC, Communist Party of Chile, which has resumed publication this year. The journal was banned after the fascist coup in September 1973.

The fact that **Principios** comes out again will help to establish new links between the party leadership and activists, between communists and the masses. The appearance of the first issue is a notable political event in Chile, for this is the first national publication of this nature to be circulated illegally. The task of the journal, the editorial says, is to spread "the revolutionary truth in common with democrats of all trends of all ideological or religious views, with all sincere representatives of the Church, all honest military men and all Chilean patriots".

—H. FAZIO

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF HARAVGHI

Haravghi has served the working class of Cyprus for 20 years now. Its first issue appeared in 1956, when the Cypriot people were completing their fight against British colonialism. It took over from **Neos Dimokratis**, closed by the British imperialists after they had banned the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (**AKEL**) and its mass organisations.

Haravghi is one of the most widely read newspapers in Cyprus. It adheres to a firm, consistently anti-imperialist position. Its realistic approach to the problem of Cyprus complicated by the imperialists, and its serious and constructive analysis of government activities have earned it widespread esteem. Many issues of **Haravghi** have lately been brought out in 25,000 to 30,000 copies, an impressive figure for Cyprus.

—G. L.

GENERALISING EXPERIENCES OF THE WORKERS' PRESS

The German Communist Party Executive publishes **Praxis,** a periodical generalising the experience of party organisations and supplying information on the party's more successful political campaigns and other actions. **Praxis** is circulated in district and city organisations and factory groups of the party. An issue published during preparations for the GCP congress tells about the experience of bringing out and circulating newspapers published in factories, educational institutions and district organisations of the party.

—O. Brau

NEW BOOKS

W. Wesolowski, **Teoria-Badania-Praktyka, Z. problematyki struktury klasowej** (Theory, Research, Practice, The Problems of the Class Structure), Warsaw, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1975, 311 pp.

Proceeding from Marxist-Leninist theory, a Polish sociologist looks into the problems of planning and forecasting changes in the social structure, and analyses the development of the social consciousness of classes. He pays a great deal of attention to the status and role of the working class in socialist society.

The General Strike 1926, Edited by Jeffery Skelley, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1976, 412 pp.

This book, devoted to the 50th anniversary of the General Strike in Great Britain, includes fresh assessments by Marxist historians John Foster, James Klugmann and Martin Jacques. The authors study the political and economic prerequisites of the strike and its impact on the working-class movement. The book also contains reminiscences by strikers and contributions by local historians on the class struggle of that period in various countries

"Demokratischer Sozialismus"—Schein und Wirklichkeit ("Democratic Socialism" · Illusion and Reality), Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1975, 180 pp.

A group of scholars in the German Democratic Republic examine the reformist concept of "democratic socialism" on cardinal issues—attitude to the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the historical mission of the working class, the class struggle, revolution, ownership of the means of production, the state, the national question—and show that the theoretical views and the policy of the right-wing of social-democracy ultimately serve the interests of big business and aim at splitting the working class.

A. Dunchev, **Tvorcheska Svoboda, Mit i realnost** (Creative Freedom: Myth and Reality), Sofia, Partizdat, 1975, 191 pp.

The study deals with a number of urgent issues concerning artistic creation under socialism and under capitalism. It lays emphasis on the fruitfulness of the Marxist-Leninist, scientific conception of freedom of creation, and criticises bourgeois and revisionist views on the relationships between the artist and society.

O. Quin, **Classes sociales et union du peuple de France** (Social Classes and Alliance of the People of France), Paris, Editions sociales, 1976, 221 pp.

The author, an economist and the editor-in-chief of the Communist Party journal **Economie et politique**, analyses the structure of French society. He refutes the assertion that the working class has disappeared by showing that more than 80 per cent of the country's gainfully employed population are factory and office workers and other employees, and emphasises that the working class has been playing an ever greater role in today's society. The book expounds the stand of the Communist Party, which calls for unity of the majority of the people, and explains that this unity is based on the alliance of the left forces in the struggle for socialism, against oppression by the capitalist monopolies.

E. Knorr, **Sicherheit und Sicherheitspolitik in der BRD** (Security and the Security Policy of the FRG), Frankfort on the Main, Verlag Marxistische Blatter, 1976, 46 pp.

Between 1952 and 1975 the Federal Republic of Germany spent more than 500,000 million marks on its "security policy", designed to promote a military buildup and justify the revanchist aims of the reactionary forces. Using documents, reports from the periodical press and official material, the author shows that this policy runs counter to the interests of the people and serves the big monopolies and banking capital He leads the reader to the conclusion that only by extending international detente can the FRG and other European states achieve real security. The task of today is to supplement political with military detente

I. Nicolae-Valeanu, **Gindirea economica burgheza si lumea contemporana** (Bourgeois Economic Thought and the Modern World) Bucharest, Editura politica, 1975, 251 pp.

This book by a Rumanian scholar is concerned with the evolutio of bourgeois political economy and with certain changes in its methodology. It considers such issues as state-monopoly capitalism an bourgeois economic thought, and explains how the latter is influenced by existing socialism. It also shows the inconsistency of th theories of "convergence", and of "industrial" and "post-industria societies.

G. Palmer, **Strejken i skogen seger for enheten** (The Timber Cutters' Strike—A Victory for the Cause of Unity), Stockholm, Arbetarkultur, 1976.

The author, a correspondent of the Swedish Communist newspaper **Ny Dag,** uses documents and his own observations to recreate a picture of the 70-day strike staged by timber cutters in the spring and summer of 1975. This was the biggest class conflict Sweden saw since the metallurgists' strike of 1945; it furthered the working people's struggle for their rights.

Problemy gumanizma v marksistsko-leninskoi filosofii, istoriya i sovremennost (Problems of Humanism in Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, History and Our Time), Moscow, Politizdat, 1975, 304 pp.

The book by scholars from socialist countries tackles such problems as humanism and the harmonic development of the personality, the overcoming of contradictions between the individual and society, class interests and the interests of society as a whole. Communist humanism, the study emphasises, is the acme of humanism in the history of mankind.

I 30 anni della CGIL (Thirty Years of the Italian General Confederation of Labour), Rome, Editrice sindacale italiana, 1975, 376 pp.

The book contains the materials of the conference devoted to the jubilee of the Italian General Confederation of Labour. Prominent Italian scholars and trade-union leaders analyse the activity of the country's biggest trade-union association in defending the interests of the working people and cementing their unity.

Az europai szocialista orszagok gazdasaga (The Economy of the European Socialist Countries), Budapest, Kossuth Konyvkiado, 1975. 538 pp.

This is a comprehensive research by Hungarian scholars into the economic development of the European socialist countries. The authors elaborate on such aspects of the economic life of the CMEA member states as the dynamic growth of their national economy, the combination of scientific and technological achievements with the advantages of socialism, socialist integration and its positive impact on the economy of individual countries, the perfecting of management, systematic improvement of the working people's living standards, and the development of agriculture and foreign trade. A special chapter shows the superiority of the socialist over the capitalist economy.

ANTI-LABOUR LEGISLATION

Anti-labour legislation, this typical outgrowth of capitalism, may take the form of separate legal rules or whole series of laws limiting the social and political rights of the workers and their organisations. Its aim is to forestall strikes and undermine the position of trade unions, thus making it easier to deny their demands for better working conditions.

Anti-labour legislation is the bourgeoisie's retaliation to the workers' intensified efforts to set up their own organisations. As early as 1791, the Le Chepelier law in France banned strikes and trade unions. So did the laws of 1799-1800 in Britain.

The proletariat fought hard to have the more reactionary laws repealed and to uphold its right to organisation. But to this day labour legislation in developed capitalist countries continues to contain anti-worker provisions. In some anti-labour acts adopted many decades ago are still in force: in Britain—the 1875 law on conspiracy and protection of property, which qualifies strikes as infringement of civil law; in Australia—the 1904 federal law on conciliation and arbitration, which is likewise designed to curb strikes; in Sweden—the 1928 law on labour courts.

During the period of cold war and anti-communist hysteria that followed the Second World War, the monopolies managed to step up anti-labour legislation. In 1947 the USA adopted the Taft-Hartley Act restricting the rights of the working people; and the Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959 introduced new curbs on trade-union activity. Anti-labour laws were also passed in Japan—the laws on labour relations in state corporations and national enterprises (1948) and those on labour relations in local state enterprises (1952), and in Canada—the 1948 federal law on labour relations in industry and on the investigation of labour conflicts.

In subsequent years the bourgeoisie did not abandon its anti

labour legislation, seeing in it an important instrument for preserving its rule. In 1963, a law was passed in France restricting strikes by civil servants. The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties (1969) noted that "in its actions against the working-class movement imperialism violates democratic rights and freedoms and uses naked violence, brutal methods of police persecution and anti-labour legislation. Moreover, it has recourse to demagogy, bourgeois reformism and opportunist ideology and policy, and is constantly in quest of new methods to undermine the working-class movement from within and 'integrate' it into the capitalist system."[1]

As to which of these two methods (open violence or inadequate reforms) predominates in the policy of the ruling circles depends on the alignment of class forces and the nature of the political regime. Of late the state-monopoly bourgeoisie in most developed capitalist countries, confronted with the growing resistance of the working people, have been compelled to pursue a more flexible social policy and make concessions. As a result of these manoeuvres, the form of anti-labour legislation has changed. Nowadays the bourgeois states do not dare to pass laws which blatantly violate the working people's rights.[2] But anti-labour regulations are included in new laws that make certain concessions to the working people and are pushed through as "amendments" to the old ones. The basic aim of anti-labour legislation (to suppress the class struggle) remains the same; it is only the legal methods of attaining this aim that have changed.

The monopoly bourgeoisie is always seeking to intensify state control over the trade unions—the largest mass organisations of the working people—and to establish more rigid administrative surveillance over them. The 1974 law on trade unions and labour relations with which the British government replaced the hateful law of 1971 retains a number of anti-union regulations. It rules that trade unions must be registered in order to obtain tax benefits. To be registered they have to present their annual financial reports and make their charter and activity conform to the demands of the law. Otherwise the registration, and consequently tax benefits, are liable to be annulled.

In New Zealand, a 1973 law abolished the system of compulsory

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[1] *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow 1969*, Prague, 1969, Peace and Socialism Publishers, p. 12.

[2] Some capitalist countries sometimes adopt such laws even today. The Industrial Relations Law passed in Great Britain in 1971 when the Conservatives were in office, was flagrantly anti-labour. The trade-union press called it the British variant of the Taft-Hartley Act. There were country-wide protests against it. In 1974 the law was repealed by the new Labour government.

arbitration that was disadvantageous to the workers, but it required trade unions to register officially and present reports to the authorities, and established administrative control over union affairs.

In Spain, where the working people are still deprived of elementary democratic rights, the openly anti-union legislation passed under Franco is in force. It includes, above all, the 1971 law which legalises the monopoly of official corporative trade unions and at the same time places them under more rigid administrative control, exercised by a special minister for Syndical Relations. The workers' commissions, which express the true interests of the working people, are illegal.

The new laws contain clauses limiting the working people's right to strike. Although Britain's 1974 law on trade unions and labour relations abrogated the anti-strike provisions of the 1971 act, it made the trade unions and their members answerable if strike action interfered with the fulfilment of commercial contracts. New Zealand's 1973 law imposes a number of conditions that make it difficult to conduct strikes in bargaining collective agreements. The minister of Labour has the right to cancel the registration of trade unions engaging in "illegal" strikes. In New Zealand, as in Canada, Sweden and some other countries, strikes are unconditionally prohibited after the conclusion of a collective agreement.

Anti-strike regulations are included in legislation on the procedure for settling labour disputes. In Denmark, the 1973 law broadened the powers of labour courts to impose fines on strikers. In Spain, a 1970 decree on the settling of conflicts between labour and management rigidly restricts strikes for higher pay; it gives the authorities the right to resort to compulsory arbitration and legalises lockouts.

New legislation, especially in the USA and Canada, greatly restricts the union rights of civil servants. In the USA, the presidential order of 1971, which introduced compulsory arbitration, virtually nullifies their right to strike, and the legislation of individual states imposes even more rigid restrictions on the trade union rights of white-collar workers. In Canada, it has become common for the provinces to adopt bills banning strikes by civil servants and establishing compulsory arbitration.

A number of new anti-labour legislative acts aim at instituting state control over collective agreements. Spain's 1973 law enforce the registration and approval of collective agreements by the authorities and regulates their content. Britain's 1975 law on job protection makes a number of concessions to workers but deprives un

registered trade unions of the right to represent the workers in collective bargaining.

The laws on incomes policy and on prices and incomes introduced in the 1970s in a number of capitalist countries are directed against the trade unions. They not only legalise a temporary "wage freeze", but also limit the content of collective agreements and often prohibit strikes for higher wages.

Anti-labour regulations are often included in legislation on workers' representative bodies in enterprises. For example, West Germany's 1972 law on factory structure bars factory councils from engaging in political, strike and other activities.

Finally, anti-labour legislation sometimes provides for methods of political discrimination. The law on "radical elements" passed in October 1975 in West Germany prohibits communists and other democrats from working in the state apparatus and the educational system.

In the face of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, the state-monopoly bourgeoisie is extending its arsenal of legal devices directed against the working people and their trade unions. It makes greater use of the old laws as well as of new ones. More reactionary bills are being drafted.[3]

The communist parties and other progressive forces in the working-class movement consider the invalidation of anti-labour legislation one of the key tasks at the present stage of the class struggle. In May 1975 the communists of Great Britain called on the workers to step up their struggle against the growing authoritarian tendencies in the government's policy and against its hostility

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[3] In Britain for instance, the court in Shrewsbury on the grounds of an 1875 law,
sentenced three workers to jail for picketing during a strike in 1972. One of the
prisoners, Des Warren, was still in jail in April 1976. In Japan the authorities
annually punish, on the grounds of laws passed in 1948 and 1952, thousands of
civil servants for engaging in "illegal strikes".

In Denmark, in November 1974 a labour court in Svendborg convicted 400 strik-
ers on the grounds of a 1973 law. The trade unions staged a demonstration of pro-
test, and the communists demanded the abolition of the labour courts. By "Bill 19",
in April 1972, the Canadian Province of Quebec prohibited general strikes by civil
servants, introduced compulsory arbitration, imposed fines on the trade unions, and
tried three trade union leaders. In 1975, by "Bill 146", the Province of British Colum-
bia forced 60,000 workers to return to work, and the conflict was submitted for
compulsory arbitration.

In the USA, the working-class movement and progressives launched a campaign in
autumn 1975 against the adoption of a reactionary bill on the reform of the criminal
code, which restores some clauses from the anti-communist and anti-labour laws of
the McCarthy period.

towards the trade unions. In October 1975 Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the USA, warned against the Administration's preparation for new anti-labour bills and drew attention to the necessity of achieving unity of the trade unions and democratic forces, and of the popular mass movement against anti-labour legislation. At the close of 1975 France's General Confederation of Labour put forward as an urgent task the defence of trade union rights through united action by the working people.

—B. ZHARKOV

THE WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH

After the defeat of the fascist coalition in the Second World War, young anti-fascists from 63 countries met at the World Youth Conference held on 10 November 1945, in London's Albert Hall and decided to set up their own international organisation. They vowed to "secure the unity of the youth all over the world without distinction as to race, colour of skin, nationality or religion; to destroy all the remnants of fascism on earth; establish sincere internationalist friendship between the peoples of the whole world; maintain lasting and just peace, eradicate poverty, lawlessness and unemployment..." That was how the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) came into being, and 10 November became World Youth Day.

Throughout the thirty-odd years that have since passed, the WFDY has remained true to the letter and spirit of that oath. In fighting for peace, the rights and unity of the youth, and against imperialism, colonialism, fascism and racism, it has become a powerful international union of youth organisations, an international centre of the democratic youth movement. Today it unites more than 200 national youth organisations in 108 countries.

The WFDY's highest directing body is its Assembly, which convenes every three years. The Assembly elects the Executive Committee, convened once a year, and the Bureau, a permanent working body comprising the President, the Vice-President, the General Secretary and his deputies, and the Treasurer and his secretaries. The federation issues the journal *Youth of the World*, the newspaper *WFDY News* and a number of bulletins.

The WFDY has such specialised agencies as the International Committee for work among children and teenagers, and the International Bureau for tourism and the exchange of youth delegations. Both agencies are housed at the federation's headquarters in Budapest. The WFDY enjoys consultative status at UNESCO.

The history of the WFDY's struggle, its experience and achievements show that one of its main activities is strengthening solidarity among the militant youth of the world. Such examples as the world-wide movement

for solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, against imperialist aggression, and the immense success of the 1968 campaign "For Final Victory" convinces us of the WFDY's ability to mobilise the world's progressive youth to tackle the burning problems of our time.

On the WFDY's initiative, 24 April (the anniversary of the Bandung Conference) was declared International Day of the Youth's Struggle Against Imperialism, Colonialism and Neocolonialism; and subsequently, after the downfall of the colonial empires, it was called International Youth Solidarity Day. On this day tens of millions of young men and women demonstrate their support for the peoples fighting for freedom, independence, democracy and peace.

An important field of the WFDY's activity is its struggle for the rights of the youth, for democracy and the release of political prisoners in Latin America. The federation and its local organisations are conducting a permanent campaign aimed at exposing the fascist junta in Chile, saving the life and securing the release of Luis Corvalan and restoring democracy in that country. The federation pays a great deal of attention to solidarity with the Arab people of Palestine, who are fighting for their legitimate rights and independence.

The federation's International Solidarity Fund gives active help to youth organisations, especially to those in Asia, Africa and Latin America. For example, it sponsored a successful campaign to collect funds for building a children's hospital and then a school in South Vietnam. To promote closer unity and friendship among the youth of the world, the federation also organise international labour and sports activities, exchange of letters, etc.

The WFDY is the sponsor of, and an active participant in, world youth and students' festivals. By decision of its Eighth Assembly (1970), it set up another specialised agency—the International Volunteer Service for Solidarity and Friendship among Youth, one of the tasks of which is coordination of solidarity actions of young people the world over. The International Permanent Volunteer Youth Brigade, which bears the name of the Cuban hero Julio Antonio Mella, is already well known in many countries. It will participate in building the headquarters of the Standing Committee for the preparation of the 11th World Youth and Students' Festival, to be held in the summer of 1978 in Havana.

The federation greatly assists the struggle waged by the youth for their social rights, against exploitation by the monopolies, for their right to adequate occupational training.

It contributed to peace, security and cooperation in Europe by initiating a dialogue between youth and student organisations representing various political and ideological trends on the continent.

The Ninth WFDY Assembly (1974) announced the beginning of a new ernational campaign for joint action under the slogan "The youth for ti-imperialist solidarity, peace and progress". The federation is now busy th this campaign, the aim of which is to unite the youth at large in the uggle for peace, freedom, democracy, national independence and equa- / throughout the world.

— YENB KOVACS
Vice-President of the WFDY

IN MEMORIAM FELIX OJEDA

The working people and communists of Puerto Rico and the world have suffered a great loss with the death on April 22 of Comrade Felix Ojeda, veteran of the world communist and working-class movement, General Secretary of the Puerto Rican Communist Party.

Felix Ojeda was born in Naguabe, Puerto Rico, on 15 March 1903. Under the powerful impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution, he became a Marxist-Leninist and devoted his life to selfless struggle for the interests of the working people, for the liberation of his country from US colonial domination.

He was a member of the Socialist Party for 27 years and was one of its leaders; he organised major strikes and other actions in defence of the working people's rights and interests. In 1952 he withdrew from that party in view of the anti-Soviet line adopted by some of its leaders and joined the Communist Party.

A talented journalist, Felix Ojeda was editor-in-chief of **El Pueblo**, the CC PRCP newspaper. He wrote many articles which after an example of revolutionary propaganda and of creative application of the Marxist-Leninist theory in Puerto Rican conditions. In 1965, he was elected Secretary of the PRCP Executive Committee and five years later he became the party's General Secretary, a post he held to his death.

It takes courage to be a communist in Puerto Rico. And to be a leader of the Communist Party is to be a hero. Felix Ojeda was a hero and patriot. Defying police surveillance, he led the communists' struggle to strengthen the party and step up its activity, their fight for the interests of the working class and all working people, for democracy, independence and social progress. He consistently championed unity and cohesion of the world communist and working-class movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

An ardent patriot and internationalist, Felix Ojeda was a great friend of the Soviet Union. He saw existing socialism as a bulwark of the peoples fighting for liberation from colonial and capitalist bondage. His name is familiar to communists throughout the world. He led PRCP delegations to various forums of fraternal parties and to the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

Felix Ojeda's death is a heavy loss for the communists. But the Puerto Rican Communist Party is alive and goes on fighting, loyal to the behests of its General Secretary, to Marxist-Leninist principles. Fighters for freedom, independence, peace, democracy and socialism will never forget the courageous Puerto Rican communist.

JAPANESE COMMUNIST POSTERS

In Japan, where the mass media are highly developed, our party carries on political propaganda among the people in a variety of forms.

First among them is **Akahata**, the party's newspaper, whose daily, weekly and special issues are delivered by communists direct to readers' homes. The party campaigns widely to win more readers for **Akahata**, considering this a particularly important means of strengthening its ranks politically and organisationally.

The party's propaganda vehicles include periodicals, leaflets, wall newspapers and newsreels. Party branches, for their part, publish newspapers, posters and leaflets.

Posters are a powerful weapon, especially during election campaigns. Every time the Central Committee is preparing for elections, it brings out several posters whose main content is slogans reflecting the party's political position and key aspects of its policy and revealing crucial issues of the campaign.

The government and the ruling Liberal Democratic Party try hard to restrict the activity of our party and other democratic organisations and reduce to a minimum our party's use of posters as propaganda vehicles. In these circumstances, publishing and circulating posters is a most important party activity. In recent years, posters invariably contain an image of Mt. Fuji, the symbol of Japan, and specific demands for better living conditions. This helps people to form a better idea of the Communist Party of Japan, a party of the working class and, at the same time, a party of the people and nation.

—HIDEO SAKAMOTO

DIARY

At the invitation of the CC, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, a delegation of **World Marxist Review** composed of K. I. Zarodov, alternate member of the CC CPSU, Chief Editor of the journal, Badamyn Lhamsuren, CC member, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, MPRP representative on the journal, and Milton Parades, CC member, Communist Party of Honduras, CPH representative on the journal, attended the 15th CPCz Congress.

Henry Winston, National Chairman of the CPUSA, a delegation of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos led by Phoumi Vongvichit, member of the CC Political Bureau, deputy Premier of the Laotian People's Democratic Republic, and Mohit Sen, CEC member, National Council of the Communist Party of India, who attended the 15th CPCz Congress, told **WMR** Editorial Council meetings about the situation in their countries and the problems being tackled by their parties.

Ruben Dario Souza, General Secretary of the People's Party of Panama, Americo Zorrilla, member of the CC Political Commission and Secretariat, Communist Party of Chile, Eduardo Mora Valverde, deputy General Secretary, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, Bruce Skilton, National EC member of the National Committee, Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand, as well as Abdulla Badib, Political Bureau member and Secretary, United Political Organisation—National Front of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, who attended the 15th CPCz Congress, visited the **WMR** editorial offices and publishing house.

During the interviews that took place, the guests told about the situation in their countries and the struggles of their parties and discussed steps to strengthen creative contacts with the journal.

Hugo Villar, a leader of the Broad Front of Uruguay, and **Enrique Rodriguez**, EC member and Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of Uruguay, visited the offices of **WMR**.

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—Hideo Sakamoto

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R. N. 25550/73 REGD. No. D(C)-9

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Bernardo Leighton, *founder of the Christian Democratic Party of Chile*

Zoila Bertha Deras

Shafic Jorge Handal, *General Secretary, CP of El Salvador*

Wieslaw Iskra, *Professor, Higher School of Social Sciences, CC, Polish UWP*

Santiago Alvarez, *member, EC & Secretariat, CC, CP of Spain*

Fanny Edelman, *General Secretary, Women's International Democratic Federation*

John Takman, *member, Parliament, Left Party—Communists of Sweden*

Alves Bernardo Batista, *CC PB member, MPLA, Minister, People's Republic of Angola*

Jorge Rebelo, *CC & EC member, FRELIMO, Minister, People's Republic of Mozambique*

Alfred Nzo, *General Secretary, ANC of South Africa*

Jason Moyo, *Chairman, External Administration of Zimbabwe ANC (Rhodesia)*

George Silundika, *member, External Administration, ANC*

Moses Garoeb, *member, National EC & Administrative Secretary, SWAPO*

Milton Rene Paredes, *member, CC, CP of Honduras*

Felicia Langer, *Israeli lawyer*

Prof. Gunther Hoppe, *Head, Chair of Scientific Communism, Institute of Social Sciences under CC SUPG*

Gabor Arbi, *Hungarian historian*

Georgi Shakhnazarov, *Doctor of Law (USSR)*

Betty Sinclair

Alvaro Mosquera

Nikolai Tropkin, *Director of Politizdat (USSR)*

W. Dix

C. Nicholson

D. Vital

E. Fazio

G. L.

O. [illegible]

B. Zharkov

[illegible] Kovacs, *Vice-President of WFDY*

[illegible] Sakamoto